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MURPHY BROWN AND DAN QUAYLE...TOGETHER FOREVER / PAGE 12

THE CAROLINA CRITIC

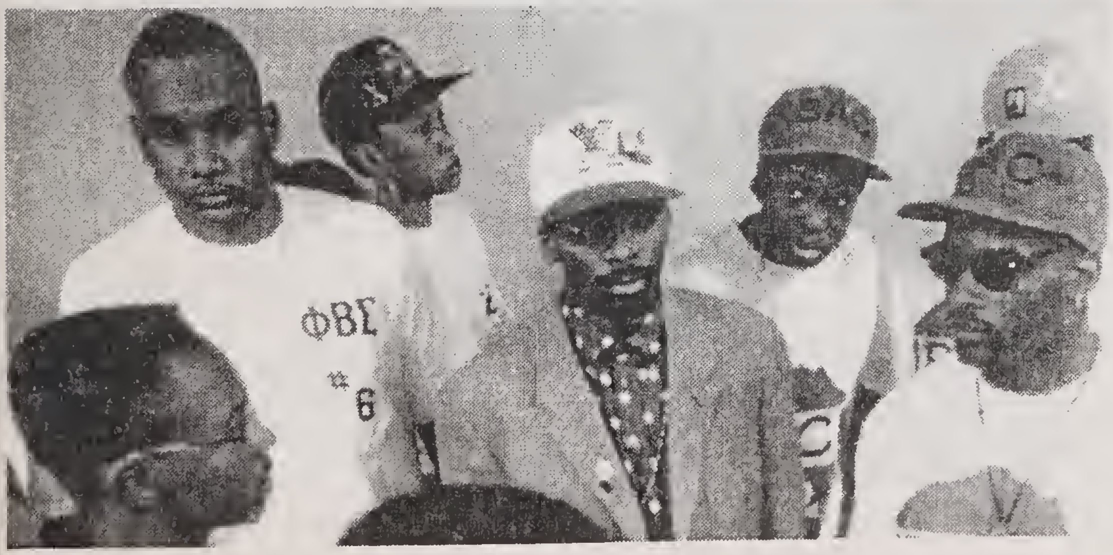
VOLUME VI, ISSUE 1

SEPTEMBER 23, 1992

SHOULD JOE GO?

JOE HERZENBERG ▶
Chapel Hill's town council member who has neglected to pay his taxes for 14 years insists on remaining in office. See editorial and poll. / Page 4

▼ SPIKE LEE IN THE DEAN DOME
Background information on the fight for a free-standing BCC, and excerpts of Lee's speech last Friday night. / Page 10



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COURT DECISION EXPANDS FREE SPEECH

A recent Supreme Court ruling invalidates "hate speech" restrictions. The decision could impact the UNC campus code.

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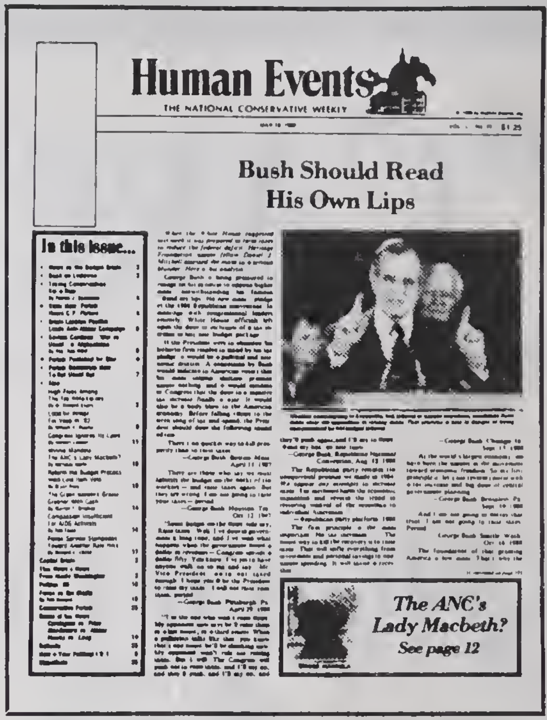

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THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY

Bush Should Read His Own Lips

In this issue...

The ANC's Lady Macbeth? See page 12

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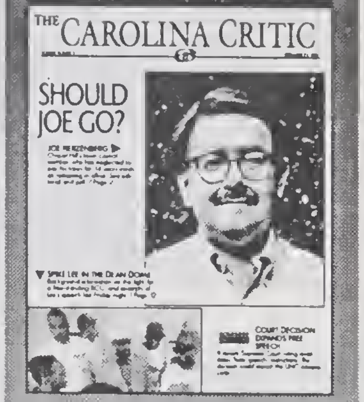
VOLUME VI, NO. I SEPTEMBER 23, 1992


THE CAROLINA CRITIC

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Courtesy of the DTH

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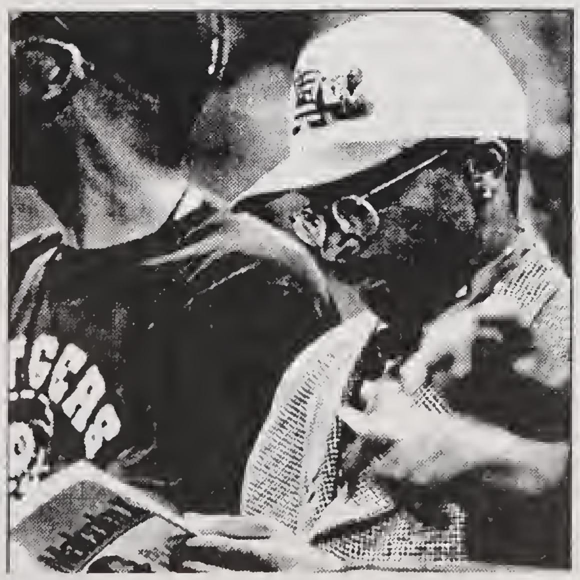

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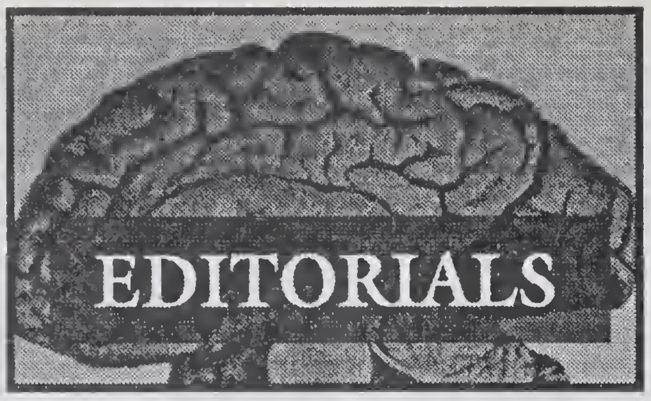


Joe must go

A government of the people has the authority to make laws only if those people believe it to possess that authority, whether it be moral or legal. A democratic government without credibility is impotent. Chapel Hill Town Council member Joe Herzenberg has lost his legitimacy, and thus his actions on the Council are forever suspect, at least until the people reaffirm their faith in his privilege to govern.

Herzenberg has deceived the voters who granted him power to begin with. Now he has the audacity to contend that not only should he not resign, but that his doing so would not be fair to the voters who put him in office. Without a recall mechanism in Chapel Hill, those voters have no power until 1995 to let Joe know whether their opinion might have changed.

What Mr. Herzenberg fails to understand is that the operation of government, already viewed with extreme suspicion by voters, is hampered further when the people of Chapel Hill doubt his ability, honesty, or integrity in the wake of his not having paid taxes for fourteen years. If Joe Herzenberg decides that he is not bound to observe the laws handed down by government, then why should his constituents believe that they should abide by the laws the local government itself has created?

When Mr. Herzenberg initially won election to the Chapel Hill Town Council, he made a decision to maintain the public trust. At the same time he had taken on this responsibility, he was making a conscious decision to betray that trust, to continue his blatant tax evasion. 95% of the state intangibles tax that Herzenberg avoided returns to local government, thus to the very council on which he sat.

The Daily Tar Heel suggests that Herzenberg's record as a pro-student, pro-environment legislator, and his open homosexuality, are reasons why he should not resign. While certainly relevant, these issues are essentially red herrings, and the *Tar Heel*'s stance is clearly one of selective ehtics. In fact, Herzenberg's continued place in power and prominence, given his sexual preference and confirmed wrongdoings, might serve to reinforce negative stereotypes.

The recent disclosure that Town Council member Roosevelt Wilkerson forged Mayor Ken Broun's name when serving as Mayor Pro Tempore prompted a quick resignation. Wilkerson understands the fundamental link between credibility and authority in a democratic society.

The people of this community have been taken for fools. Herzenberg has refused to resign, yet citizens must continue to obey the laws of a man who himself avoided adherence to the law. If Mr. Herzenberg really wants to serve the people and help to mend their faith in government, he should resign and let the healing process begin.

Eliminate hate speech ban

In their recent *R.A.V vs. St. Paul* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that a city ordinance making "it a crime to engage in speech or behavior likely to arouse 'anger or alarm' on the basis of 'race, color, creed, religion or gender'" was unconstitutional under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. According to the Supreme Court, racial, religious, or sexual insults or threats may no longer be singled out for prosecution as "hate speech."

As we at UNC attend a public university, an extension of the state, we are bound by this decision. Hence, campus code provisions disallowing the very hate speech found unconstitutional this summer are thrown into question.

"Hate speech" is an undesirable facet of personal expression, but the principle of regulating free speech in the student honor code is disturbing. A university is supposed to be the hot bed of ideas and opinions, and any limit upon these is a blow to the university. "Hate speech" is a terrible aspect of self expression, but it should remain as legal as "non-hate speech". An attempt to legally limit any kind of speech is just the first step in eroding our sacred wall of personal freedoms that protects us from governmental oppression.

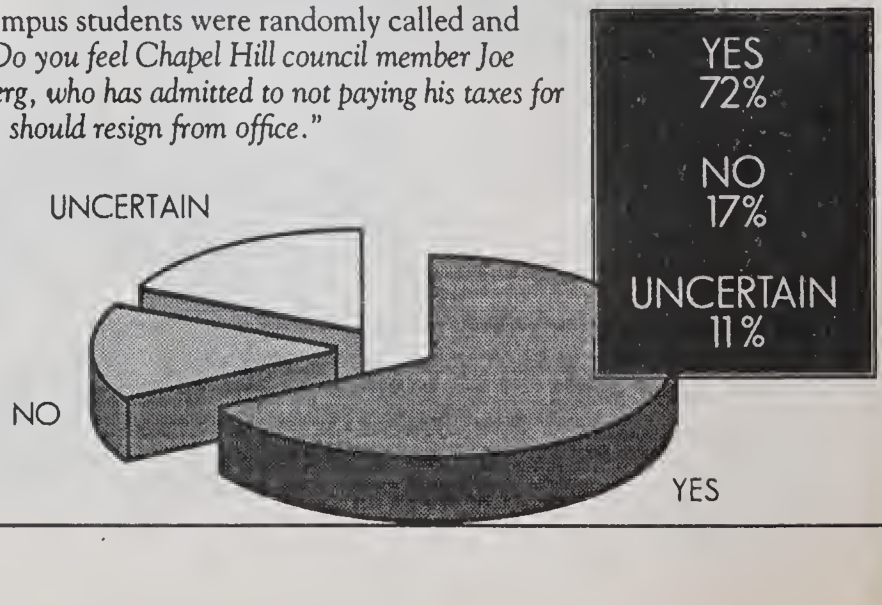
On the surface, a student environment without the friction caused by insulting and offensive remarks might seem preferable to one in which hate speech is protected. But while it is easy to construe that "hate speech" creates sexism, racism, and discrimination, the root causes are far deeper. The suppression of ideas, even abhorrent ones, only exacerbates misunderstanding. Ignorant beliefs can only be dissolved when aired and confronted, not when they are hidden and allowed to fester.

It is important to emphasize that private universities are not bound by the decision. A private school, like a private business, can forbid categories of speech. Only when the government curbs that speech are the implications ominous. The great irony about the debate is that the hate speech restrictions are purported to protect minority interests, but the protection of free speech which they violate is in place to protect those very minorities from oppression. In a democracy, the government represents the majority's will. Without a constitutional construct such as our Bill of Rights, dissenting minorities could be silenced. The carefully articulated freedoms which we are all afforded prevent our democratic government from embracing the tyranny of the majority.

In effect, the Supreme Court ruling tears through selective curbs on personal expression. Trying to force students to conform with ideas of what one "can" and "cannot" do in society defines political correctness.

CRITIC POLL

80 on-campus students were randomly called and asked: *"Do you feel Chapel Hill council member Joe Herzenberg, who has admitted to not paying his taxes for 14 years, should resign from office."*



LETTERS

Critic misrepresents "Queer Nation"

To the Editor:

The sniplet (The Critical Eye, 14 April 1992) about Queer Nation and its fight against heterosexism demonstrates your ignorance once again. Queer Nation works against the "subversion of heterosexism," the assumption by straight society that everyone is straight and that lesbigays (for the ignorant—lesbians, bisexuals, and gays) are abnormal.

The Critic mistakes 'heterosexuality' for 'heterosexism' as shown by the statement, "they didn't come from the stork, after all." Heterosexuality,mthe attraction between two different sexed persons, is obviously different from the assumption that everyone is straight. While many straights are heterosexist, others realize the existence of lesbigays.

Finally, to demonstrate heterosexism, I will point to your statement about stork. You are assuming that parents are straight when in actuality thay may not be. In the real world, many homosexuals and probably more bisexuals are parents. For example, Oscar Wilde, a famous author, had two sons. Jim, I thought you were smarter than that.

Kathy Staley
Senior
English Education

The Critic welcomes letters to the editor, and will print them under the following conditions:

- The letter must be legible.
- The letter must be of reasonable length.
- In addition to signing your name, you should write your major, and year in school. Please mention any title you may have if related to your letter.
- Send your letter to:

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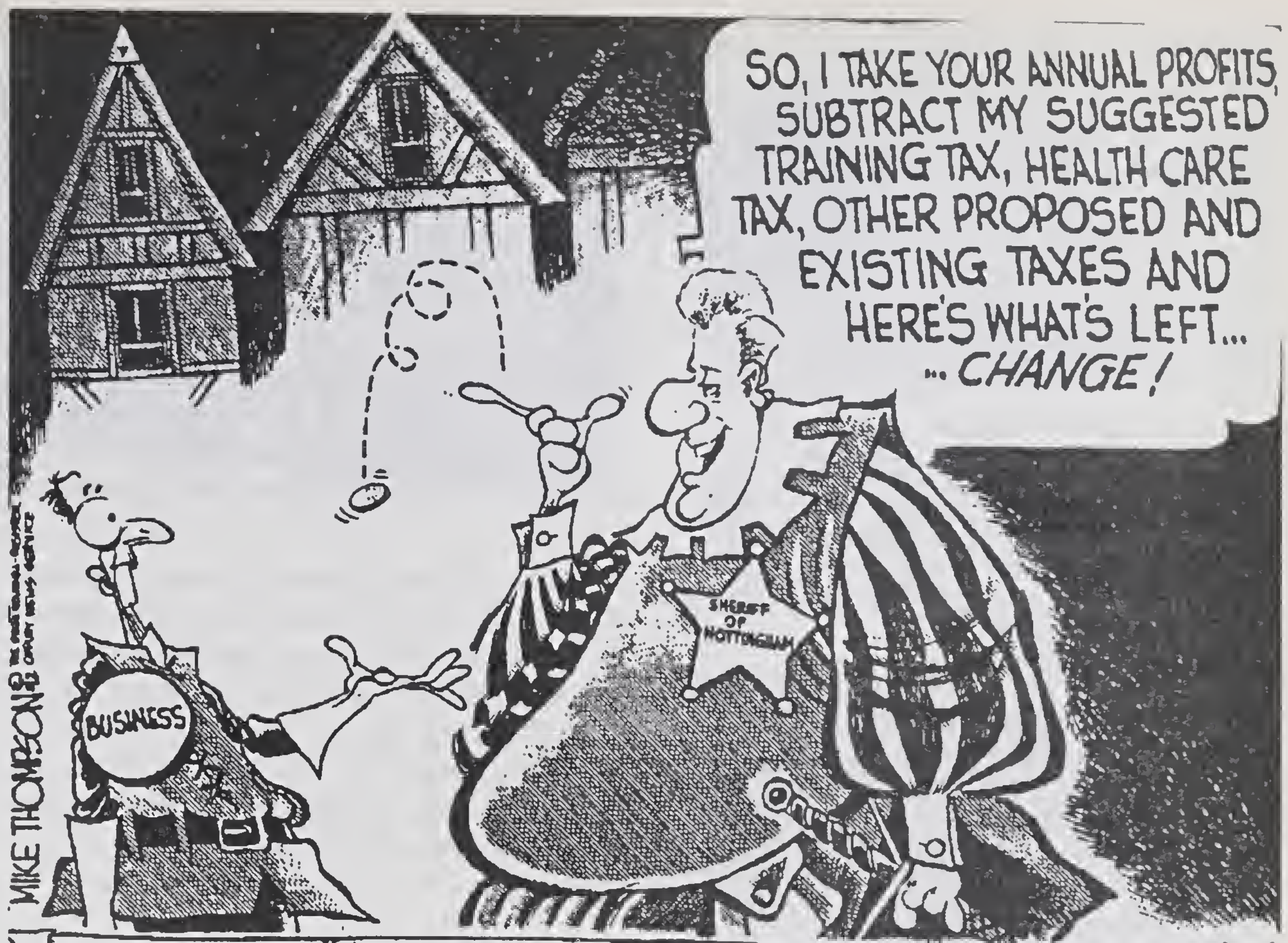
SO, I TAKE YOUR ANNUAL PROFITS, SUBTRACT MY SUGGESTED TRAINING TAX, HEALTH CARE TAX, OTHER PROPOSED AND EXISTING TAXES AND HERE'S WHAT'S LEFT... ...CHANGE!
BUSINESS
SHERIFF OF NOTTINGHAM
MIKE THOMPSON

Bill Clinton, the candidate of "change"

APHORISMS

"It is up to them [the voters] to remove me from office. I owe it to them not to resign. It's the least I can do for them."
-Joe Herzenberg

"She got her good looks from her father. He's a plastic surgeon."
-Groucho Marx

"Television is a device that permits people who haven't anything to do to watch people who don't do anything."
-Fred Allen

"All politics are based on the indifference of the majority."
-James Reston

"We who are liberal and progressive know that the poor are our equals in every sense except that of being equal to us."
-Lionel Trilling

"Revolutions have never lightened the burden of tyranny, they have only shifted it to another shoulder."
-George Bernard Shaw

"Government is an association of men who do violence to the rest of us."
-Leo Tolstoy

"Education: the inculcation of the incomprehensible into the indifferent by the incompetent."
-John Maynard Keynes

"I have taken more out of alcohol than alcohol has taken out of me."
-Winston Churchill

"Morality cannot be defined by individual choice."
-Rush Limbaugh

"Morality is the theory that every human act must be either right or wrong, and that 99 percent of them are wrong."
-H.L. Mencken

"An optimist is a man who has never had much experience."
-Don Marquis

"A pessimist is a person who has had to listen to too many optimists."
-Don Marquis

"Romance, like the rabbit at the dog track, is the elusive, fake, and never attained reward which, for the benefit and amusement of our masters, keeps us running and thinking in safe circles."
-Beverly Jones

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion

Volume VI, No. 1

THE CRITICAL EYE

• *Reason* notes: "During a news conference to announce his support for a constitutional amendment mandating balanced federal budgets, Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) said,'We're going to finally wrestle to the ground this gigantic orgasm that is out of control.' But enough about Bill Clinton's campaign. What about the balanced-budget amendment?"

• Other news about Clinton: *Human Events* tells of how "homeless veterans" who were honored at the opening of the Democratic National Convention were forced to spend the night in a homeless shelter in Harlem where their sleep was interrupted by gunfire, as convention planners refused to put them up in a hotel.

• And as for Clinton's worthy opponent? He's been trying to hammer out "the vision thing." Bush was recently quoted in *New Republic* as saying:

> "I think I've got to do better in making clear what the message is, and I think I can do better. But I think there's so much noise out there that I've got to figure out how to make it clearer that we are for the things that I advocated that would help." Hmm...

• Of course, one of the most astute statements of the political year came from Ross Perot, when *Fortune* asked him about his ideas on the role of the federal government in American life. Perot said:

> "Interesting question. Never thought about it. Have to think about it."

• Some politicians, though, really astound us. According to *Reason*, while lecturing Deluth fifth graders, Minnesota Governor Arne Carlson emphasized study ethic and imagination. On the blackboard, however, he wrote immajination. He looked at the word, realized he had made a mistake, erased the j and wrote a g.

• Maybe creativity is applicable to spelling, too. Hey, maybe we should talk to Dan Quayle's PR guy.

• Speaking of intellectual paragons, though, winners of a Los Angeles scholastic competition were recently awarded for their efforts. Each received a medal misspelling *academic*.

• And our favorite veep does seem to have gotten himself into some pretty hypocritical-seeming positions lately. No, we're not talking about his daughter's hypothetical abortion choice. But with all his and Marilyn's ranting about family values, and Dan's stressing of sexual responsibility, we wonder why the Second Lady titled her new novel *Embrace the Serpent.*

• Speaking of Marilyn, she recently had this to say:

> "Our level of poverty is considered middle class in some countries."

• And to our beloved *Daily Tar Heel.* A recent editorial asserted that Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy would never be seen lobbying Congress to ban abortion. Of course not. Kennedy voted with the majority this summer to uphold *Roe V. Wade.*

• *The Daily Tar Heel* has also come out against Student Congress for taking money from *The Phoenix.* Don't they realize that, this time, those government folk were actually doing a public service?

• Resources notes that deforestation has declined in Nicaragua, plagued by jungle warfare in the 70's and 80's. Fighting caused cattle ranchers to leave the country and lumber companies to close. A Berkeley conservation adviser to the Central American state notes: "People shooting people don't cut down trees." Interesting idea. We can't decide whether to use it as an eco-terrorist rallying cry or as a promo for P.J. O'Rourke's new book, *Give War a Chance.*

• Speaking of eco-terrorists, some breaking news from the Earth Summit: *Competitive Enterprise* notes an estimate from the Federal University of Rio that area rivers were polluted with 13,000 gallons of untreated sewage during the conference, killing thousands of fish.

• According to *Reason*, cat control is the new hip idea for animal rights extremists. Since cats kill "birds, rabbits, frogs, and other cute creatures," it is in the best interests of animal society if we inhibit cat freedom to protect other fauna. Merritt Clifton, former editor of *The Animal's Agenda*, notes that felines are the vicious, immoral mass murderers of the animal kingdom. "A house cat hunts for fun," he says . "It gets all its calories indoors, and then goes out to devastate whatever there is to devastate." Animal rights activists are thus pushing for legislation to prohibit cat owners from letting their pet out of the house. Lock up your cat, or we'll lock you up. Novel idea.

- Also from *Reason*: Chicago's Christian Industrial League threw a benefit barbecue for the homeless on July 4. The league's executive director, Richard Roberts, publicized the event on public radio station WBEZ. He noted that red, white, and blue balloons would be launched to kick off the event. Phone calls flooded the office, but not one caller volunteered to help with the event. Instead, callers were angry, fearing that birds might eat the balloons and choke. Roberts, puzzled, asks,"Where were these 'concerned' people last winter when we ran out of food at the shelters and were in desperate need for help?" Maybe they were "trying to teach their cats not to kill birds"?

- Speaking of birds, *Newsweek* tells that the dye canthaxanthin may soon be outlawed from flamingo food in the European Community by a Brussels directive. Unless zookeepers can suddenly afford to feed the birds on their native shrimp diet, the birds will turn gray. Government regulation at its finest.

- One has to wonder about Student Congress. In funding a program on AIDS by Campus Crusade for Christ, they came dangerously close to violating their own code, which excludes religious groups and programs from the class that can receive student fees. What seems strange is that the most fervent supporters of the measure were the same who tried to defund some student groups in the spring, citing the very same sentence of the code as it pertained to politically partisan activity. Can we say hypocrite?

- Happily, though, the leadership void left by Congress has been filled ably by Student Body President Moody. Though he admits his greatest failure has been the inability to book U2 in Kenan Stadium, he does have more bike racks on order. We're still on pins and needles awaiting the day—it's bound to be soon—when the General Assembly repeals the private university tuition grants.

- From *Reason*: "When Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) heard Ted Bundy say that pornography made him kill, he introduced a bill to let sex-crime victims sue the publishers whose books supposedly inspired their attackers. One wonders what he'll do when he hears about Daniel Blomquist. The Santa Clara, California, resident has been charged with beating his 11-year-old son almost to death. The child suffers from an adrenal disorder that makes him lethargic. But Blomquist thought the boy was just lazy and beat him daily for four weeks because 'that's what the Bible says to do.'"

- *Newsweek* notes that *Design Quarterly* magazine has commissioned artist Richard Haas to design four dramatic new bills—in denominations of $25, $50, $100, and $200. Each would feature a prominent dead American—Martha Graham, Duke Ellington, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Tennessee Williams. House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez supports the project. Who knows? Maybe soon the Fed will get corporate sponsors.

- According to a study by psychologist Stanley Coren, right-handers outlive lefties by an average of ten years. *Reason* reports that Coren posits that the difference is due to the stress of being left-handed in a right-handed world. He thus wants to expand civil rights laws to fight "handism" and end discrimination against left-handers. Somehow, we don't think he's right, er, correct.

- Along a similar vein, *Reason* tells of a four-foot six-inch man from Houston who's been charged with the murder of his grandfather. His lawyer has requested that some of the jurors be under five feet tall to insure a fair trial. We've heard of a right to a jury of your peers, but get real! I mean, really, how many homosexual cannibals were in Jeffrey Dahmer's jury?

- Speaking of Dahmer, Eron Shosteck of the Leadership Institute has this to say: "Jeffrey Dahmer is not bad, he's just morally challenged."

- *Newsweek* asserts that the federal government might be racially biased in its enforcement of hazardous waste laws. According to the National Law Journal, the average fine under one federal law for polluters in white communities is $333,556 and in minority communities is $55,318.

- According to *Reason*, phone companies will soon be forced to make their lines more accessible to wire tapping if Congress heeds an FBI request. Can we say "Big Brother is Watching You?"

Average civil servant earnings in Washington, D.C.: $42,000

Salary of Bill Clinton as Governor of Arkansas: $35,000

Cost of three stealth bombers: $32 billion

Ratio of American CEO's income to that of an average worker: 116:1

Of Japanese CEO's: 19:1

Number of New York Times articles published this year in which the name Willie Horton was mentioned: 69

Number of articles published during the 1988 presidential campaign in which Horton was mentioned: 33

Percentage of Gross Domestic Product spent on federal domestic programs in 1992: 16.9 percent

In 1977: 15.1 percent

Capital gains tax (federal) in 1992: 28.0 percent

In 1977: 49.1 percent

Manufacturing as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product in 1992: 23 percent

In 1977: 23 percent

Amount the Department of Defense will spend on softballs this year: $1,000,000

Amount spent on the U.S. prison system last year, per prisoner: $20,296

Amount spent on welfare last year, per benefits recipient: $1,620

Washington Monthly 3/92, Mother Jones Mar/Apr 92, Harper's Oct 92, Policy Review Summer 92.

COURT RULING **BY ROBERT SMITH**

Supreme Court overturns "hate speech" law

IF A STUDENT WERE FOUND TO BE IN VIOLATION OF THE CODE, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR HONOR COURTS OR ANY OTHER COURT TO EXPEL OR PROSECUTE A STUDENT...

On June 22 of this year, the Supreme Court ruled that laws which ban "hate speech," such as racial slurs and sexual or religious insults, are unconstitutional.

This ruling could have an impact, albeit a small one, on students here at UNC. The Supreme Court case was based upon a challenge to a St. Paul, Minnesota city ordinance which stated:

"Whoever places on public or private property a symbol, object, appellation, characterization or graffiti, including, but not limited to, a burning cross or Nazi swastika, which one knows or has reasonable grounds to know arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender commits disorderly conduct and shalt be guilty of a misdemeanor."

The court ruled unanimously against the constitutionality of this law. The unanimous decision, however, was based solely on the Minnesota law. The court's decision to ban all such laws against "hate speech" passed by only a 5-4 margin.

The conflicting opinion came from Justices White, Blackmun, Stevens, and O'Connor, who agreed that the St. Paul ordinance was "overbroad," and thus concurred with the majority. Yet they differed philosophically with Justices Kennedy, Thomas, Souter, Rehnquist, and Scalia, who wrote the majority opinion. The difference of judicial philosophy occurs over the spectrum of speech covered by the decision.

As Justice Blackmun stated, "I see no first amendment values that are compromised by a law that prohibits hoodlums from driving minorities out of their homes by burning crosses on their lawns, but I see great harm in preventing the people of St. Paul from specifically punishing the race-based 'fighting' words that so prejudice that community. I fear that the court has been distracted from its proper mission by the temptation to decide the issue over politically correct speech and 'cultural diversity,' neither of which is presented here."

Justice White said the decision by the majority "legitimates hate speech as a form of public discussion."

Speaking for the majority in this case, Justice Scalia wrote,"The First Amendment generally prevents government from proscribing speech, or even expressive conduct, because of disapproval of the ideas expressed. Content-based regulations are presumptively invalid. From 1791 to the present, however, our society, like other free but civilized societies, has permitted restrictions upon the content of speech in a few limited areas..."

"We have sometimes said that these categories of expression are 'not within the area of constitutionally protected speech'... Such statements must be taken in context, however, and are no more literally true than is the occasionally repeated shorthand characterizing obscenity 'as not being speech at all.'"

Justice Scalia continued on to say,"The First Amendment does not permit St. Paul to impose special prohibitions on those speakers who express views on disfavored subjects," and further described the St. Paul ordinance as "facially unconstitutional."

According to the New York Times, nearly 100 colleges and universities have speech and behavior codes similar to the St. Paul, Minnesota, ordinance that was struck down by the court. UNC is among these.

These codes are not as all-encompassing as the St Paul ordinance because "generally they take existing crimes and enhance the penalties if the crimes are motivated by racial, religious or sex bias."

The code here at UNC could be affected by the Supreme Court's decision. If a student were found to be in violation of the code as it pertains to hate speech, it would be difficult for honor courts or any other court to expel or prosecute a student in view of the unconstitutionality of such a measure.

UNC Law Professor Burnele Powell favors the court's decision. Professor Powell said, "Whenever the court seeks to expand our rights of freedom of speech, we should be proud."

Realistically, the Supreme Court's decision will not affect UNC in any dramatic sense, if at all. Dealing with hate speech is a very difficult task to undertake. The Supreme Court struggled over the matter for seven months before reaching a split decision on laws concerning hate speech.

Many groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union support the ruling, while other groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People oppose the decision. The hate crime ruling is certain to be controversial for as long as hate crimes and speech remain. The question is: Should laws be used to quiet these forms of intolerance?

Professor Powell sums up the argument against hate speech and the laws designed to limit speech by saying, "Hate is a bad idea and ought to be responded to with better ideas."

Justice Scalia's opinion on "hate speech"

In the predawn hours of June 21,1990, petitioner and secular other teen-agers allegedly assembled a crudely made cross inside the fenced yard of a black family that lived across the street from the house where the petitioner was staying. Although this conduct could have been punished under any number of laws, one of the two provisions under which respondent, City of St. Paul, chose to charge petitioner (then a juvenile) was the St. Paul Bias-Motivated Crime Ordinance, which provides:

"Whoever places on public or private property a symbol, object, appellation,characterization or graffiti, including but not limited to, a burning cross or Nazi swastika, which one knows or has reasonable grounds to know arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender commits disorderly conduct and shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Petitioner moved to dismiss this count on the ground that the St.Paul ordinance was substantially overbroad and impermissibly content-based and therefore facially invalid under the First Amendment. The trial court granted this motion but the Minnesota Supreme Court reversed. That court rejected petitioner's overbreadth claim because, as construed in prior Minnesota cases, the modifying phrase "arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others" limited the reach of the ordinance to conduct that amounts to "fighting words," i.e. "conduct that itself inflicts injury or tends to incite immediate violence," (citing Chaplinsky v. New HAmpshire,1942), and therefore the ordinance reached only expression "that the First Amendment does not protect."

The court also concluded that the ordinance was not impermissibly content-based because, in its view, " the ordinance is narrowly tailored meanstoward accomplishing the compelling governmental interest in protecting the community against bias-motivated threats to public safety and order."

In construing the St. Paul ordinance, we are bound by the construction given to it by the Minnesota court. Accordingly, we accept the Minnesota Supreme Court's authoritative statement that the ordinance reaches only those expressions that constitute "fighting words" within the meaning of Chapinsky.

We find it unnecessary to consider this issue. Assuming, arguendo, that all of the expression reached by the ordinance is proscribable under the fighting words document, we nonetheless conclude that the ordinance is facially unconstitutional in that it prohibits otherwise permitted speech solely on the basis of the subjects the speech addresses.

The First Amendment generally prevents government from proscribing speech, or even expressive conduct, because of disapproval of the ideas expressed. Content-based regulations are presumptively invalid. From 1791 to the present, however, our society, like other free but civilized societies, has permitted restrictions upon the content of speech in a few limited areas, which are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality.

We have sometimes said that these categories of expression are "not within the area of constitutionally protected speech," or that "the protection of the First Ammendment does not extend" to them, such statements must be taken in context, however and are no more literally true than is the occasionally repeated shorthand characterizing obscenity "as not being speech at all." What they mean is that these areas of speech can, consistently with the First Ammendment, be regulated because of their constitutionally proscribable content (obscenity, defamation, etc.) not that they are categories of speech entirely invisible to the Constitution, so that they may be unrelated to their distinctively prosrcubable content. Thus, the government may prosribe libel; but it may not take the further content discrimination of proscribing only libel critical of the government ...

Our cases surely do not establish the proposition that the First Amendment imposes no obstacle whatsoever to regulation of particular instances of such proscribable expression, so that the government "may regulate them freely." That would mean that a city council could enact an ordinance prohibiting only those legally obscene works that contain criticism of the the city government or, indeed, that do not include endorsement of the city government.

WE NONETHELESS CONCLUDE THAT THE ORDINANCE IS FACIALLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN THAT IT PROHIBITS OTHERWISE PERMITTED SPEECH SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF THE SUBJECTS THE SPEECH ADDRESSES.

Fighting words are thus analogous to a noisy sound truck: Each is as Justice Frankfurter recognized a "mode of speech," Niemotko v. Maryland, (1951) both can be used to convey an idea; but neither has in and of itself, a claim upon the First Amendment. As with the sound truck, however, so also with fighting words: The government may not regulate use based on hostility or favoritism towards the underlying message expressed.

Applying these principles to the St. Paul ordinance, we conclude that even as narrowly construed by the Minnesota Supreme Court, the ordinance is facially unconstitutional. Although the phrase in the ordinance, "arouses anger, alarm or resentment in others," has been limited by the Minnesota Supreme Court's construction to reach only those symbols or displays that amount to "fighting words," the remaining, unmodified terms make clear that the ordinance apllies only to "fighting words" that insult or provolke violence, " on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender."

Displays containing abusive invective, no matter how vicious or severe are permissible unless they are adressed to one of the disfavored topics. Those who wish to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

BCC DEBATE **BY CHRIS TUCK**

Spike Lee enamors crowd of 5,000

The push for a free-standing Black Cultural Center (BCC) has been gaining momentum on the UNC campus, as the recent flurry of publicity surrounding the controversy led to the arrival of noted film director Spike Lee to the Smith Center. Lee, who has manufactured such critically acclaimed movies as "Do the Right Thing" and "Jungle Fever," with "Malcolm X" on the horizon, came to Chapel Hill following a heated series of confrontations between BCC supporters and Chancellor Paul Hardin.

The most current firestorm regarding the proposed BCC began with the formation of the Black Awareness Council (BAC), put together over the summer by four UNC football players to step up the struggle for a free-standing center of African-American culture on campus. The Black Student Movement (BSM), along with the BAC, have been the major players in attempting to construct a building to commemorate the work of former UNC professor Sonja Haynes Stone.

In their path, and ultimately serving as the only significant obstacle to the BCC facility, has been the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees. Arguing that a free-standing BCC would promote racial separatism rather than act as a force of unification, the Chancellor has remained steadfast, thus far eluding BAC demands that he take immediate action to rectify the situation.

In a staunch and assertive reply to the Chancellor's tactics, a march was launched, carrying Black students to the home of the Chancellor. The protest,ogh loud and vocal, was nevertheless unseen and unheard y Hardin, who was not at home at the time of the incident.

In a effort toorce Hardin to take notice of the BAC demands, a peaceful march on South Building was held, in which an ultimatum was presented to the Chancellor. The ultimatum called the fight for a BCC "a revolution," and stated that the failure to take action on behalf of a free-standing BCC by November 13 would result in "direct action." *The New York Times* subsequently did a story on the march, which Spike Lee read. It was at this point that he made the overture to the BAC to come to the University of North Carolina.

Excerpts of Spike Lee's speech September 19, 1992

Sonja Stone is my cousin, and even if she wasn't, I'd still be here.

This is history...this is a national event

I saw a story about black students at Chapel Hill raising hell. I said wait a minute, and then the article said it was being led by athletes. Excuse my language, but I said 'Oh, shit.'...When we start talking colleges and universities and black athletes, and they start to get politicized, then watch out. Because this building would not be here if were not for Michael Jordan, Phil Ford, and Sam Perkins...

Without the black athlete, there would be no sports, because there ain't that many Christian Laettners and Larry Birds to go around. A quick aside. What black player today can step on somebody's chest twice and not get ejected? He stepped on a brother's chest twice and nobody says nuthin'

I hope you get the national coverage you need...Because colleges and college sports are run by their basketball and football programs, and we know what the make-up of those teams are...And black athletes, please understand the power that you have.

This building [Dean Smith Center] would not be here if it wasn't for the black athlete. For a long time they did not want you. Bear Bryant, Alabama...they didn't have any black athletes there. They played...one game against UNC...and UNC crushed them. Next year, Bear Bryant said, 'I need me some niggas.'

You can shame the pro athlete...They will not do anything to jeopardize their paychecks...And they make millions, and they can't even get it together. What the black college athlete can do is shame the pro athlete, by taking action, and taking a stand. How many black pro athletes spoke out on the L.A. uprising.

This is history, there comes a point where you have to make a move...You may have to take drastic measures, but you have to have the backbone to do that. Does that mean that you'll be willing to sit out games?...there would be no Final Four, no Rose Bowl, no Sugar Bowl, no Cotton Bowl, no cotton-pickin' bowl...Thank you very much.

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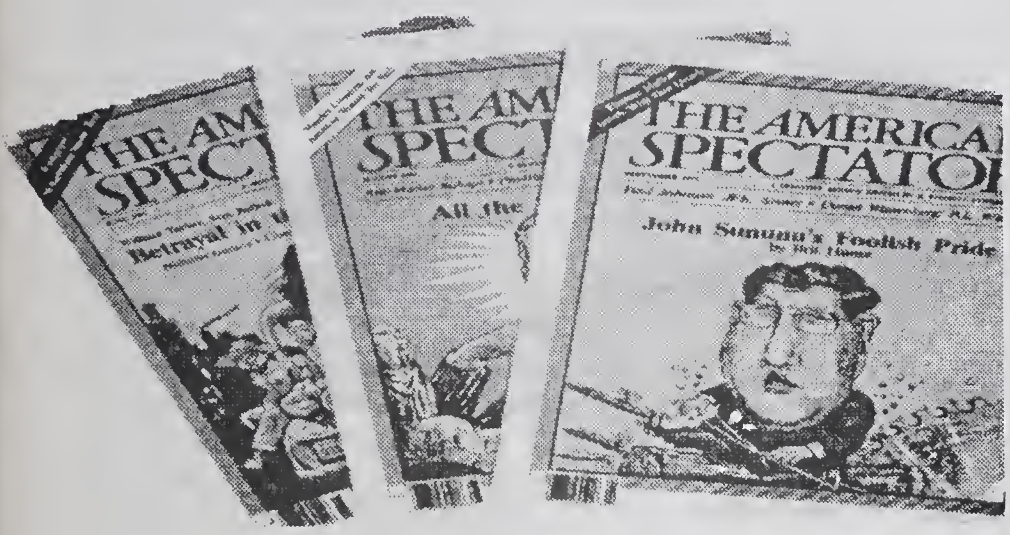

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CAROLINA CRITIC 9/23/92

MEDIA BASHING **BY MARK BANDY**

Murphy Brown gives birth to Dan Quayle's lovechild

An unlikely political target entered the presidential race this summer. It wasn't the economy or the environment, it wasn't an international crisis or a domestic emergency. Instead it centered around those little glowing black boxes in our living rooms, our own private altars to the pop culture gods, our TV's. What was even more shocking than the attack against television was the man leading the charge, Mr. Heartbeat away, Mr. Snafu himself, Dan Quayle.

PETER JENNINGS TRIES SO HARD TO HIDE HIS LEANINGS TO THE LEFT, BUT HIS EYEBROWS KEEP GIVING HIM AWAY.

Media bashing is hardly uncommon in the mix of presidential politics but usually the attacks are reserved for the journalists and reporters covering the race. Dan's attack, however, was aimed higher in the celestial television hierarchy at that priestess of pop culture, Murphy Brown. Dan's remarks harkened all the powers of TV land to a call of war and once the war was over, the powers returned to their prospective routines and Dan and his remarks were left for dead as weak jokes for the late-night comedy vultures to feed upon.

Though the imagery may have been a little much, Dan Quayle raised an extremely valid point in questioning the power of television and its use of that power in a speech much longer than the 30-second Murphy Brown sound bite that the networks gave on the nightly news. But instead of any serious debate on the question, the networks, in a move to protect themselves from criticism, chose to summarily dismiss the whole thing as a Republican attempt to create an issue.

Courtesy of the DTH

But there is an issue here with serious ramifications for this country, and it raises a few questions. To begin with, is there a bias on television? Second, does TV affect its viewers and if so how? And finally, does TV have any responsibility to its viewers?

To address the question of a bias in television, it is first necessary to separate network news from ordinary prime time programming. Since Quayle's speech, and continuing at the Republican convention, the conservative right has argued that the "dominant media," i.e., television, has liberal leanings to say the least. But I sincerely doubt that this is some sort of massive conspiracy. Rather, I believe that a large percentage of journalists just happen to align themselves to the left of the political spectrum.

Nevertheless, journalists are supposed to be unbiased, right? This is where the crux of the matter lies in regards to television journalism. Is it possible to remain unbiased in front of a TV camera even if the material you are reading is? For example, if worst comes to worst, most of us can lie or at least hide our true feelings on paper or over a phone, but when we have to stand in front of someone and do the same, we usually fail. The old saying that a camera never lies often trips up even the most professional of journalists.

Many journalists have just quit trying to hide their personal biases, most notably Dan Rather. Another comical example is Peter Jennings, who tries so hard to hide his leanings to the left, but whose eyebrows keep giving him away. For example, if he has to report that the President has decided to do more to save the environment, he gives you that Church Lady-esque raised eyebrow that says more poignantly than words, "yeah, right."

As for prime-time shows, the bias is still there sometimes in subtle ways, but increasingly in not so subtle ways. This is what Quayle was addressing in his speech aimed at shows such as Murphy Brown. At this point it is only fair that you the reader know that I am a die-hard Murphy Brown fan, but even I have to admit that sometimes the overt political statements make me want to hurl.

Murphy Brown, Designing Women, and similar shows, many labeled as sit-coms, have become the political soapboxes for their producers, directors, or stars. The most frequent running gags on Murphy Brown are the slams on conservatives, especially Bush. Designing Women's Linda Bloodworth Thomason has transformed her show from what used to be a very enjoyable 30-minute series of comedy into a veritable showcase for women's issues, and while many of the episodes have handled these issues with some degree of balance, other episodes have been less than kind to opposing viewpoints.

These overt political statements are only part of the picture, however. Many political statements come across simply in the ways the characters act and interact on the show. The fact that Murphy Brown became a single mother is not something to be criticized in and of itself, just as real life single moms don't deserve to be criticized. Rather, what is to be criticized is the fact that Murphy Brown's choice to have a baby out of wedlock as a single mother was presented as the norm and an equally viable option for women that is no better or worse than a two parent family. The role of the father was completely ignored and passed off as an unimportant obstacle to Murphy's having the baby. Besides, Murphy Brown, the epitome of feminism, has no need for men.

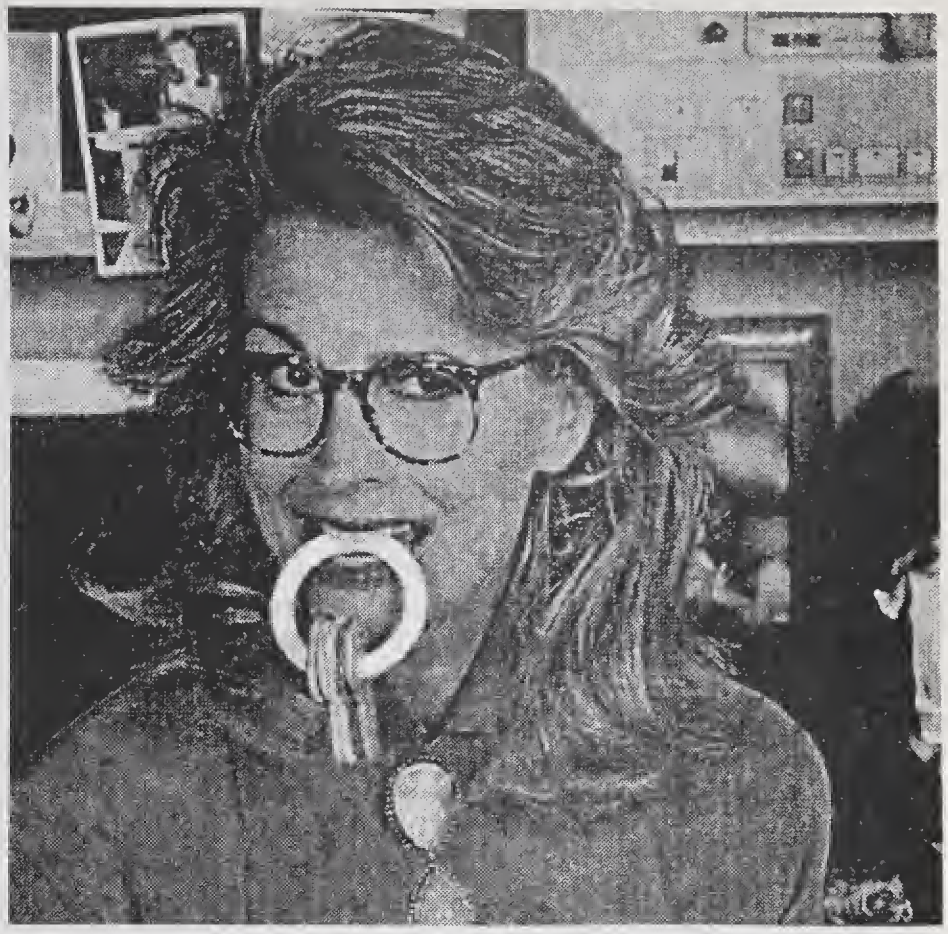
For Republican ideologues, this just isn't the case, and to present it as such is to encourage more women to take on the task of child rearing alone, whether they have to or not. Remember that for Murphy Brown, it was a choice to become a single mother. She knew who the real father was, but felt she possessed all the requirements to be both a mother and a father to her child. But for most single moms in America today, single motherhood was not the path they chose.

So it's not improbable to assume that television's official ideology lies somewhere on the left. What effect, then, does it have on viewers? When Dan Quayle accused television of creating moral decay in society, the critics scoffed at him, saying that TV's effects were minimal and that he was being too paternalistic in assuming that Americans actually acted upon what they viewed. Yet companies like General Motors, Proctor and Gamble, and Phillip Morris spend close to 10 billion dollars a year doing just that, trying to get consumers to act upon the thirty second commercials that they develop. If General Motors can get a television viewer to spend $12,000 on a new car from a thirty second spot, what can a thirty minute or hour long program accomplish?

The influence of network programming is difficult to measure, unlike the success of a TV commercial, which can be measured by consumer purchases. However, there are some notable instances in which TV has successfully promoted a political issue. Environmentalism is probably the most recent example in which television specials, TV series, and news coverage combined to measurably alter Americans' habits.

With so many shows having such obvious leanings to the left, and television possessing such a power for change, the question of television's responsibilities to its viewers becomes paramount. Unfortunately, networks are rarely responsible to their viewers and instead remain loyal to the advertisers. This leaves producers and directors with a free hand to "create," as long as their show draws an audience. Some producers and directors use this freedom to mainstream leftist groups such as militant feminists and radical environmentalists. They discard the traditional family values and argue instead for a moral relativism which translates loosely into "do whatever the hell you want to do." The most frightening thing about television is that at present it has no check. There is little if any balance to the liberal bias found in both the network news and prime-time programming.

Dan Quayle's concern about media dominance and the stands television takes on various topics are extremely relevant. The question as to whether or not television will eventually elect our presidents is truly frightening. Until the television industry recognizes and admits to their medium's influence and decides to act responsibly, Americans will be continually bombarded with the ideals and values of the liberal left, and our national perception of the world will not be seen through rose-colored glasses, but rather from the distorted view of a cultural elite with no regard for the majority of Americans.



Courtesy of theTV Guide

IF GENERAL MOTORS CAN GET A TELEVISION VIEWER TO SPEND $12,000 ON A NEW CAR FROM A THIRTY SECOND SPOT, WHAT CAN A THIRTY MINUTE OR HOUR LONG PROGRAM ACCOMPLISH?

GENERAL MEETING

The Critic is having a general interest meeting Monday September 28. We are hiring staff members in all areas, especially photography and writers. The meeting will be located in Suite C on the second floor of the Union Building at 7:30 p.m.

If you cannot attend please call Jim at 942-7804

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Scalia's decision on “hate speech”

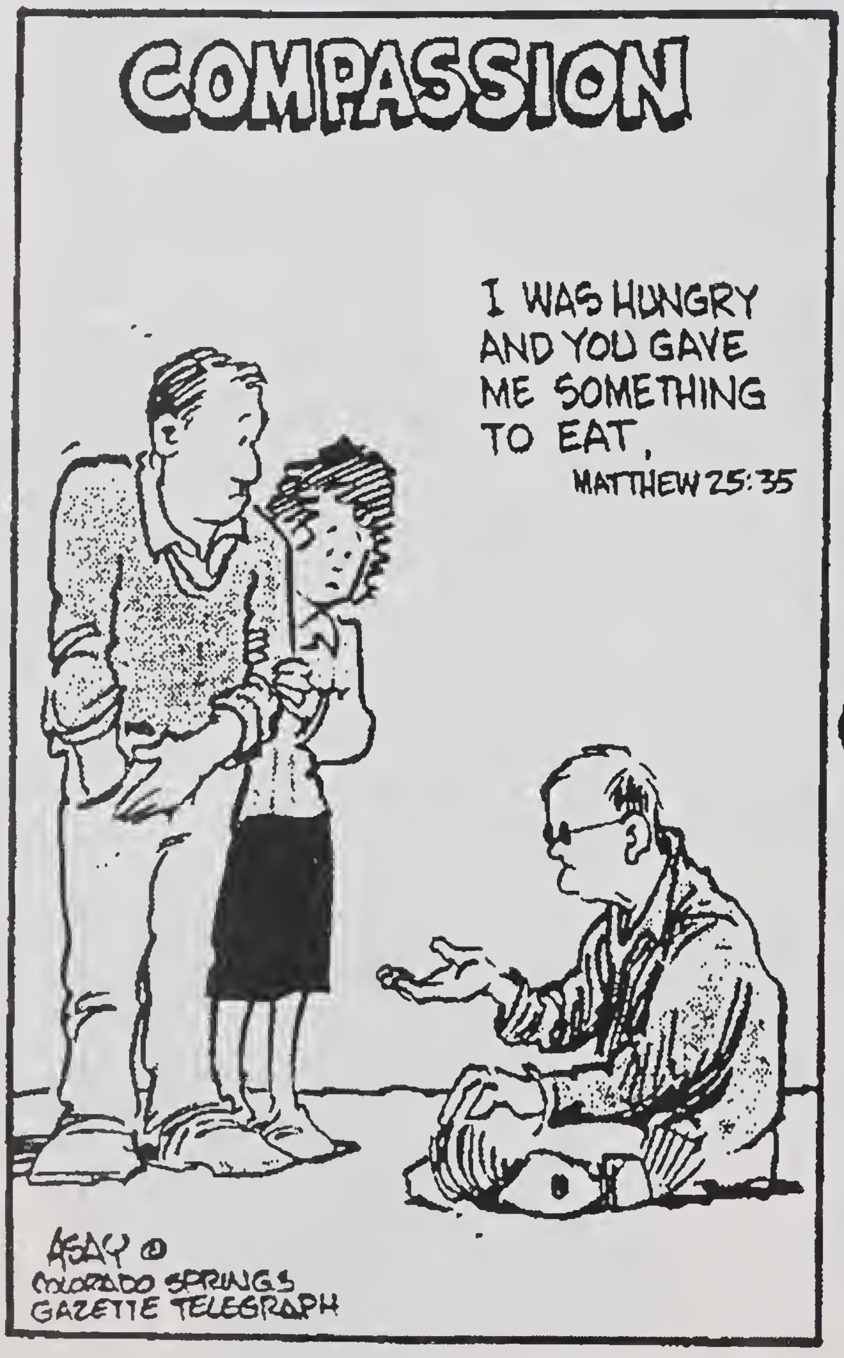
use “fighting words” in connection with other ideas to express hostility, for examp;le on the basis of political affiliation, union memebership or homosexuality are not covered. The First Amendment does not permit St. Paul to impose special prohibitions on those speakers who express disfavored subjects.

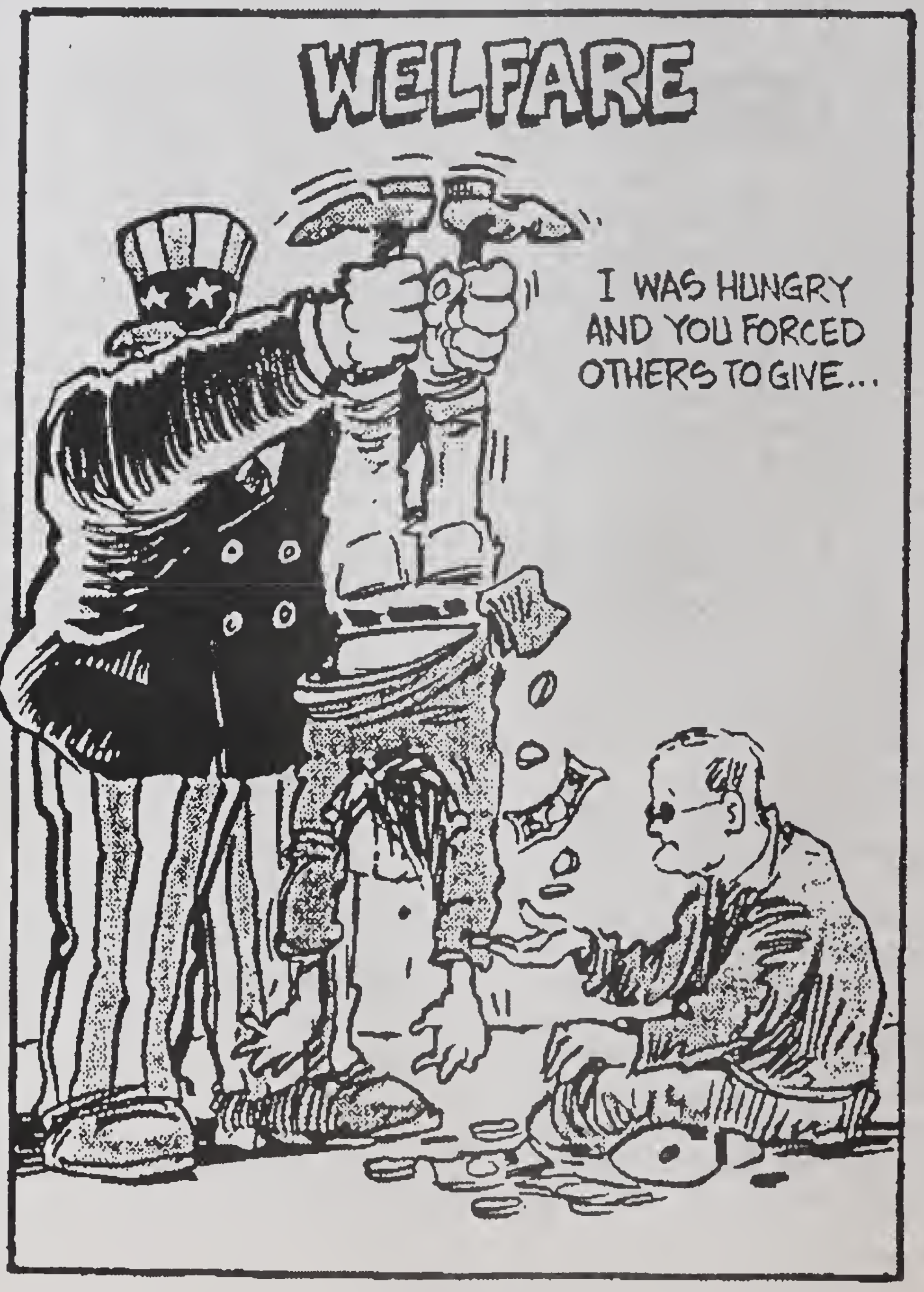
In its practical operation, moreover, the ordinance goes even beyond mere content discrimination. Displays containing some words, odious racial epithets for example, would be prohibited to proponents of all views. But “ fighting words” that do not invoke race, color, creed, religion, or gender aspersions upon a person's mother, for example would seemingly be usable ad libitum in the placards of those arguing in favor of racial color, etc. tolerance and equality, but could not be used by that speaker's opponents. One could hold up a sign saying, for example, that all “anti-Catholic bigots”are misbegotte; but not that all papists are, for that would insult and provoke violence “on the basis of religion.” St. Paul has no such authority to liscense one side of a debate to fight freestyle, while requiring the other to follow Marquis of Queensbury Rules.

St. Paul has not singled out an especially offensive mode of expression. It has not for example, selected for prohibition only those fighting words that communicate ideas in a threatening (as opposed to a merely obnoxious) manner. Rather it has proscribed fighting words of whatever manner that communicate messages of race, gender or religous intolerance. Selectivity of this sort creates the possibilty that the city is seeking to handicap the expression of particular ideas.

The dispositive question in this case, therefore, is whether content discrimination is reasonably necessary to achieve St. Paul's compelling interests; it is plainly not. An ordinance not limited to the favored topics, for example would have precisely the same beneficial effect. In factthe only interest distinctively served by the cointent limitationis that of displaying the City Council's special hostility towards the particular biases thus singled out. That is precisely what the First Amendment forbids. The politicians of St. Paul are entitled to express hostility but not through the means of imposing unique limitations upon speakers who (however benightedly) disagree.

Let there be no mistake about our belief that burning a cross in someone's front yard is reprehensible. But St. Paul has sufficient means at its disposal to prevent such behavior without adding the First Amendment to the fire.

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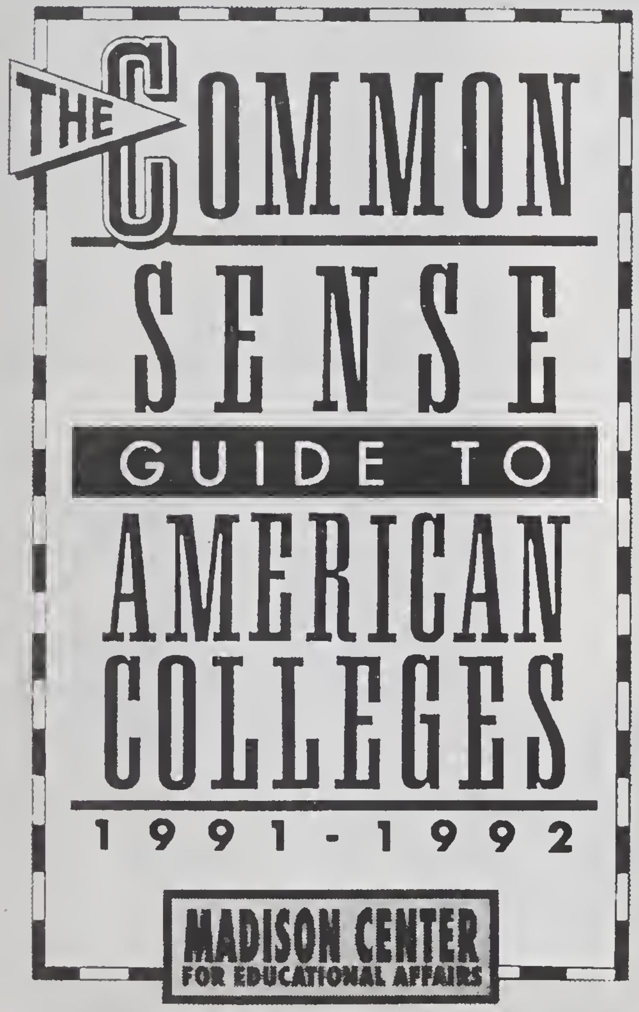

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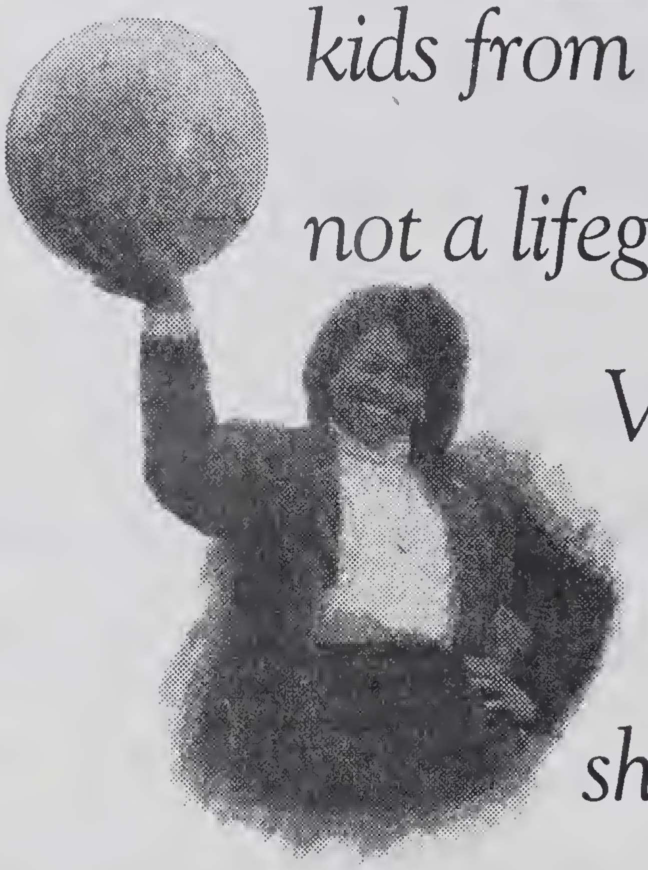
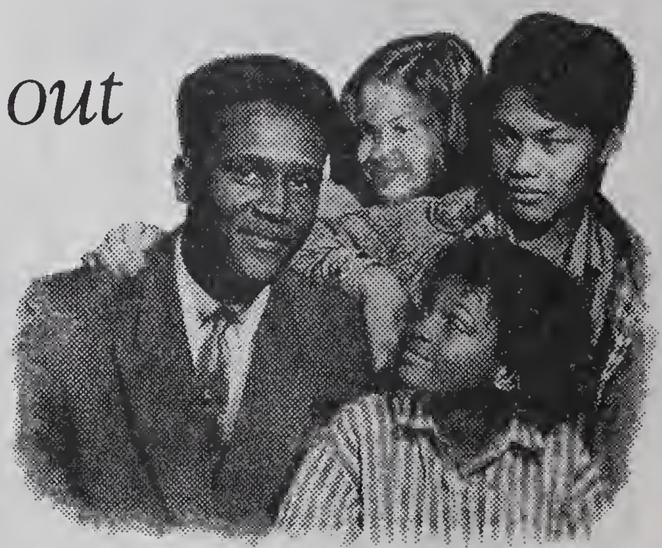
Bill Nave saved these kids from drowning, but he's not a lifeguard.



Verleeta Wooten found several new stars, but she's not an astronomer.

And Ivan Neal put out a lot of fires, but he's not a firefighter.



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WILL MIAMI SUBS TAKE A BITE OUT OF LATE NIGHT TIME-OUT / PAGE 12

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SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

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RAPE ON CAMPUS

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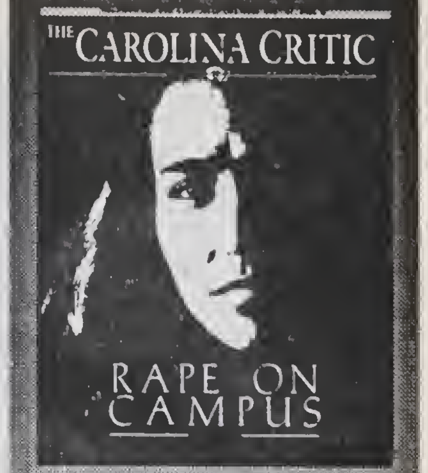

THE CRITIC COVER

In light of numerous recent assaults on campus, September 21-25 was declared Rape Awareness Week. This issue examines the problem of rape. Photo by Tony Deifell.

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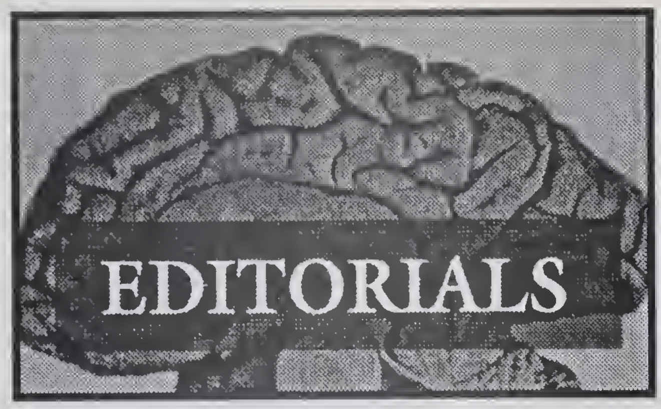

BAC rally counterproductive

The coalition for a free-standing Black Cultural Center and the Black Awareness Council (BAC) missed a golden opportunity recently, as the Spike Lee speech and BAC rally degenerated into a barrage of name-calling and finger-pointing. What was supposed to be a call-to-arms of sorts for all of the supporters of a free-standing BCC quickly transformed into a plethora of verbal assaults on anyone who has ever expressed apprehension at the concept of a free-standing center for African-American culture.

Granted, an emotional rally, with all the proselytizing effects of a church revival, is bound to offer up a series of appeals to those who sit squarely on the side of the BCC and even serve to pull them closer inside the BAC fold. That has always been the result of inspired, vocal gatherings, if not in theory then in practice. But in a situation such as that which existed at the Smith Center, when a crowd largely undecided on the BCC issue came to hear the message of Spike Lee, the BAC was faced with a delicate situation. They were effectively presented with two different options: present a message which encompasses the wide-scale support that currently exists for the BCC, or alienate the many white students who were waiting to hear what the movement was about. The speaker list virtually ensured that the latter option was chosen, much to the chagrin of the moderate majority that decorated the seating at the Smith Center.

With the Fruit of Islam on hand to complement the radicals who dominated the night's agenda, it was impossible for a large segment of the audience to leave feeling anything other than ambivalence at best and anger at worst. White students were told that they were not needed nor wanted. The speakers asserted that Caucasians represented the enemy, and in the midst of this entire tirade, you could see the polarization occurring before your very eyes. Creating heavy divisions between the races is no answer to the current dilemma. The initiation of meaningful dialogue will bring a much quicker resolution to this conflict than would aggressive, combative, and unyielding rhetoric. Let us all learn this message now, before we end up paying the price later.

S.E.L.F. promotes libraries, learning

The Student Congress recently approved the Student Endowed Library Fund for referendum. The proposal will be placed on the ballot for the spring general election. If passed, the plan would raise student fees by $2.50 a semester and 75 cent per summer school session, which would amount to over $100,000 a year. This money would then be directed to an endowment fund administered by UNC's Investment Office, with interest allocated by a committee of student government leaders to the academic affairs libraries.

In Congress, Rules and Judiciary Committee Chairman George Battle argued against the fee referendum, asserting that with student election turnouts of around ten percent, it is impossible to claim that a majority of students support any passed fee. Such a line of argumentation would block any fee referendum, when realistically such referenda provide the best student mandate available for fee increases. The referendum has hardly been a rubber stamp; in the spring 1990 elections students rejected two fee increases for less than $2.50. All Battle's line of argumentation would do is remove students from the decision-making process in terms of student fees. Our democratic system has always been run by the non-apathetic majority; by extending Battle's logic, the legitimacy of both his own Congressional seat and the entire Congress as a fee-allocating body are undermined.

A strict libertarian would argue against the concept of taxation at all, since the imposition of a tax upon society by a majority interest is oppressive and invasive upon individual liberty. Yet such ideological rigidity is not really applicable in the context of a public university funded by state tax dollars. Moreover, a student fee is not really a tax but a service charge added in to the price of a purchased good, education. Raising fees makes that good more expensive, but the consumer can always decide not to buy.

Some in Congress aired concerns that moving to assist our own library system would set a bad precedent with the General Assembly. The practical reality of our university's situation is that our level of state funding will almost surely erode as the University system expands, and without positive steps to remedy our own situation we are headed for mediocrity. For the first time, this year UNC-CH was not listed among U.S. News & World Report's top 25 national universities. Intrinsically linked to this decline is the dramatic fall of our library system:

- In 1985-86, the UNC libraries ranked tenth in book purchases; in 1990-91, they ranked forty-eighth, concurrent with a fall in expenditures of over $500,000.
- UNC library book purchases are at 55 % their 1984-85 level.
- In October, 1990, over 500 magazine and journal subscriptions were ended. Recently, 49 more were canceled.
- Over the last three years, the cost of serials has increased 41% and the price of books has gone up 29%; state funds for new library acquisitions have gone up only 4.9% over the same period.
- During a six-month spending freeze in 1990 the library bought no books; if a book isn't bought when it first appears, chances of having another opportunity to buy it are only 1in 10.

The endowment structure of the plan is very attractive. With a ten percent rate of return, of which half would be spent and half reinvested, the libraries would receive over $100,000 annually after fifteen years. Hence, the annual contribution to the library system would equal the fees collected in a relatively short period of time and afterward would exceed the collected fees. The beauty of an endowment of this type is that it just keeps on growing.

Our university's position is slipping. We must increase our suffering libraries funding to curb this trend. Since the state cannot do the job, we have to help ourselves. While the S.E.L.F. plan won't solve the libraries fiscal problems it will be able to preserve, improve, or create services deemed important by the student. It is a well-conceived long range proposal that the Congress was right to place on the ballot and that the student body should approve.

THE CRITICAL EYE

• The *Independent* of London reports that more than 10,000 Indian and Nepalese men recently flooded the Iraqi embassy in New Delhi with testimonies to their character and virility. They were responding to a newspaper ad offering them $1,000 each to marry Iraqi women whose husbands had been killed during the Persian Gulf War. But the ad was phony, placed by crooks who charged $4.00 an application. The Iraqi ambassador expressed sympathy, but said, "How can they think we have nothing better to do in Iraq than give away money and our women?"

• In Japan, however, one can now rent a family, *World Press* reports. For $1,130, those with hectic lives get three hours with a daughter, son-in-law, or whatever relation they choose. Also, business execs can rent "staffs," those unlucky in love "sweethearts," and the list goes on...

• Government regulation at its finest in the Golden State: *Reason* notes that Charles Plunkett has given hundreds of inebriated bar patrons rides home over the past three years. It seems that the California Public Utilities Commission has now ordered him to get a state permit authorizing him to carry passengers or go to jail.

• Speaking of jail, Stanley Turner Norton recently was named *American Spectator*'s "most doltish desperado" after getting arrested for auto theft in Whitehall, Arkansas. Two hours after his theft, Norton became lost and asked for directions from pedestrian Samuel Jones. "Jones was a pedestrian only because it was his car that Mr. Norton had pinched—and from the very parking lot in which their ill-starred encounter was taking place."

• Norton is a recent graduate of N.C. State University.

• While we're on the topic of messed up colleges, *Campus* recently reported on a flier spotted at Wesleyan University for Amnesty International. It read: "Help Us To End Suffrage! Join Amnesty Int." Interesting goal.

• *New Republic* reports that former Speakers of the House have numerous perks still available at the taxpayers' expense. A $67,000 "operational allowance, Capitol Hill office space, three staff members, and full franking privileges top the list. Total cost to the taxpayer: just under $1 million a year.

• It is rumored that a similar policy has been adopted by our own beloved Student Congress. Tim Moore was allegedly seen in Tulsa at the $2,000-a-head 3rd Annual "Fat Folks are People Too" Conference for Misunderstood Legislators, and Gene Davis was recently spotted driving a new Porsche and observed walking around town in a new pair of elevator shoes.

• *World Press* reports that a recent police raid destroyed $1.3 billion worth of marijuana in Swaziland. It is interesting to note that the sum was three times the kingdom's annual budget.

• *The Washington Monthly* takes a look at how conservatives are fighting to scale down the size of government. Vice President Dan Quayle's staff had convinced him to oppose continued funding for a space station, until White House Budget Director Richard Darman changed his mind, telling Quayle that if not spent on the project, the money would just go to social programs.

• Actually, it is rumored that Quayle was only convinced after being told that studies in a vacuum might be able to discover the root causes of his spelling woes.

• Public privatization: The *Washington Times* reports that the U.S. Government Printing Office frequently uses United Parcel Service (UPS) to mail government documents. It even has a pre-printed UPS label, GPO Form 3831 A. Apparently, though, they only use the private carrier when it is important to get the mail there on time.

• *Reason* tells of a new board game, Serial Killer, packaged in a body bag, in which you travel around the country collecting as many kills as possible without getting caught.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Campaign expenditures by Sen. Orrin Hatch on candy: $602

By Sen. Wyche Fowler on tickets to Miss Saigon: $18,240

Rank of the United States, among the twelve largest democracies, in voter turnout for presidential elections: 11

Chances that a defendant tried in a criminal case in Japan will be found guilty: 99 in 100

Estimated cost of a complete set of the 200 human body parts now available in artificial form: $25,000,000

Per-capita income in 1991 dollars in 1977: $12,493

Per-capita income in 1991 dollars in 1992: $15,023

Value of a one-dollar bill in 1977: $1.00

In 1992: $0.47

Dow Jones Index, June 1, 1977: 906.55

June 1, 1992: 3,413.2

Number of wisdom teeth extracted from Americans last year: 9,337,000

Sources: Harper's Oct. 92, Policy Review Summer 92, Reason July 92.

The Critic accepts letters to the editor. Keep them of reasonable length, and be certain that they are legible. Send them to:

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01 Steele Bldg. CB5100
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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion

Volume VI, No. 2

- Tipper Gore was allegedly trying to keep the game off the shelves until Al pointed out that game pieces were printed on recycled paper.

- *Reason* reports that the Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Service has banned bungee jumping in response to an accident in Michigan in which a jumper plummeted to his death.

- It seems that people on the peninsula will now have to seek their fun from safer, more relaxing pastimes, like alligator hunting.

- Who in the hell put the Department of Agriculture with the Department of Consumer Services, anyway?

- The *Wall Street Journal* reports that U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Tom Foley moved the House Document Room from Capitol Hill to the House Annex building. His wife Heather's been running the show there, and she's up to her old tricks. The Room has become the new Democratic "policy office" and was financed with $314,000 of tax money from the Speaker's "discretionary fund." And we thought Tim Moore took taxpayers' money...

- *World Press* notes that equal rights have emerged in Africa, as evidenced by the striking down of a law recently in Zambia. No longer must Zambian women break into spontaneous dance at the airport when a foreign dignitary visits the country.

- And if you think that's a major change, have you heard about what they're going to do to sorority rush?

- The *San Francisco Chronicle* recently cited an internal audit which noted that the Environmental Protection Agency maintains a fleet of luxury cars including a Lincoln Town Car and many Crown Victorias. These gas-guzzlers average only 6.3 miles to the gallon, less than 25 percent of the federal CAFE standard. The audit indicated that EPA officials deemed larger cars superior and felt that mileage "was not a consideration." Hmm...

- From *Campus*: "Class of '92 graduates o Wesleyan University were jolted into reality at their commencement ceremony. In the program was a note: 'The audience is asked to remain seated until the end of the recession.' The ceremony will soon be entering its fourth month."

APHORISMS

"You can fool too many people too much of the time."
-James Thurber

"I would say to George Bush, 'You are no Harry Truman.'"
-Margaret Truman

"A woman who takes her husband about with her everywhere is like a cat that goes on playing with a mouse long after she's killed it."
-Saki

"If the headache would only precede the intoxication, alcoholism would be a virtue."
-Samuel Butler

"The most common of all follies is to believe passionately in the palpably not true. It is the chief occupation of mankind."
-H.L. Mencken

"A liberal is a person whose interests aren't at stake at the moment."
-Willis Player

"Love is two minutes fifty-two seconds of squishing noises. It shows your mind isn't clicking right."
-Johnny Rotten

"In America sex is an obsession, in other parts of the world it is a fact."
-Marlene Dietrich

"Poets, like whores, are only hated by each other."
-William Wycherley

"Is sex dirty? Only if it's done right."
-Woody Allen

We offer opinions rarely seen elsewhere

The Carolina Critic Society, Inc., was founded in 1987 as a non-profit organization on the UNC campus. Over the years, the primary function of the Society has been the production of *The Carolina Critic*, a journal of news and opinion. The Society has also started Critics at State and Wake Forest and has from time to time sponsored speakers to come to campus.

The mission statement of *The Critic* notes that "*The Critic* promotes focused discussion on issues of public concern from the classical liberal perspective of our founding fathers, one that places great emphasis on individual rights rather than collectivist 'obligations.'... *The Critic* offers students ideas and opinions that they may rarely hear elsewhere. Its task is to dispel the notion that the established leftist line is the only 'intellectual' one, as is often claimed."

To call *The Critic* a "liberal" journal may seem odd to some on campus, but it is important to note that the term is used in its classical sense (as is still used today in Europe), not its current one. Nobel prize-winning economist Milton Friedman develops the distinction clearly in his book *Capitalism and Freedom*:

> *As it developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the intellectual movement that went under the name of liberalism emphasized freedom as the ultimate goal and the individual as the ultimate entity in the society. It supported laissez faire at home as a means of reducing the role of the state in economic affairs and thereby enlarging the role of the individual; it supported free trade abroad as a means of linking the nations of the world together peacefully and democratically. In political matters, it supported the development of representative government and of parliamentary institutions, reduction in the arbitrary power of the state, and protection of the civil freedoms of individuals... Committed to action and confident of the beneficence of power so long as it is in the hands of a government ostensibly controlled by the electorate, the twentieth-century liberal favors centralized government... Because of the corruption of the term liberalism, the views that formerly went under that name are now often labeled conservative. But this is not a satisfactory alternative. The nineteenth-century liberal was a radical, both in the etymological sense of going to the root of the matter, and in the political sense of favoring major changes in social institutions. So too must be his modern heir. We do not wish to conserve the state interventions that have interfered so greatly with our freedom, though, of course, we do wish to conserve those that have promoted it. Moreover, in practice, the term conservatism has come to cover so wide a range of views, and views so incompatible with one another, that we shall no doubt see the growth of hyphenated designations, such as libertarian-conservative and aristocratic-conservative.*

That the "government ostensibly controlled by the electorate" can still be oppressive is a concept explicated effectively by John Stuart Mill in his essay "On Liberty":

> *The "people" who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the "self-government" spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of the people, moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active part of the people—the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as a majority; the people, consequently, may desire to oppress a part of their number, and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power. The limitation, therefore, of the power of government over individuals loses none of its importance when the holders of power are regularly accountable to the community, that is, to the strongest party therein... [I]n political speculations "the tyranny of the majority" is now generally included among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard.*

The role of *The Critic*, then, is to guard against this "tyranny of the majority" and argue for the upholding of individual freedoms. Under that loose rubric, however, lies a great flexibility for difference of opinion. This journal is not one that has been (nor will it be) wholly classical liberal in approach, nor will it adhere solely to either conservative or libertarian extremes. The goal is to capture differing schools of thought, and to make them coalesce into a persuasive collection of countervailing opinion. The protection of differing individual thoughts is consistent with the classical liberal ideal and makes for a more cogent (albeit less focused) message.

Hence, *The Critic* will from time to time run pro-con pieces, and will often run individual opinion pieces that differ substantially from the ideological positions of the editors. And, in fact, the editors themselves are very divergent in thought. While I would tend much more toward the classical liberal school, Senior Editor Mark Bandy and News and Features Editor Robert Smith tend much more toward the current conservative position.

The first and most obvious feature of the sixth volume of *The Critic* is our return to a magazine format and the incorporation of a new design. For the great improvement in appearance, we are indebted to our amazing and overworked page designer, John Caserta, as well as Hinton Press in Mebane, that now does our printing. In addition, I have tried some changes in our staff structure that I hope should, at least in the long run, result in a more effectively run journal.

In closing, I encourage anyone interested in becoming involved in *The Critic* to come out to our general meetings, every Monday at 7:30 in Suite C of the Student Union. Anyone with an interest in journalism, writing, art, photography, fundraising, advertising, or anyone who's just plain opinionated or just wants to help is welcome.

Thanks,

Jim Copland

Jim Copland
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief

RAPE DEFINED **BY DONALD PHILLIPS**

Examining Rape: Dissolving the myth

FIRST-DEGREE RAPE

A. A person is guilty of rape in the first degree if the person engages in vaginal intercourse:
1. With a victim who is a child under the age of 13 years and the defendant is at least 12 years old and is at least four years older than the victim; or
2. With another person by force and against the will of the other person, and:
   - Employs or displays a dangerous or deadly weapon or an article which the other person reasonably believes to be the dangerous or deadly weapon; or
   - Inflicts serious personal injury upon the victim or another person; or
   - The person commits the offense aided and abetted by one or more other persons.

B. Any person who commits an offense defined in this section is guilty of a Class B felony

SECOND-DEGREE RAPE

A. A person is guilty of rape in the second degree if the person engages in vaginal intercourse with another person:
1. By force and against the will of the other person; or
2. Who is mentally defective, mentally incapacitated, or physically helpless, and the person performing the act knows or should reasonably know the other person is mentally defective, mentally incapacitated, or physically helpless.

B. Any person who commits the offense defined in this section is guilty of a Class D felony.

When one mentions the word rape, many thoughts and assumptions come to mind. Some thoughts and assumptions are misinterpreted, misrepresented information. Thus, there are many fallacies concerning information about rape. A clear definition of rape will address the notion of precisely what rape is. Also, it is important to be aware of the possible punishments for rapes as well as prevention of this crime.

First, the definition of rape itself, according to the Orange County Rape Crisis Center, "is forced sexual intercourse without a person's consent. It is an act of violence in which the rapist uses physical force, a weapon, threats or other coercion to make someone else have sex. Rape is not making love, nor is it two people agreeing to have sex. Rape is using sex as a way to hurt and humiliate someone else." Contrary to some beliefs, rape is not the same as sexual assault.

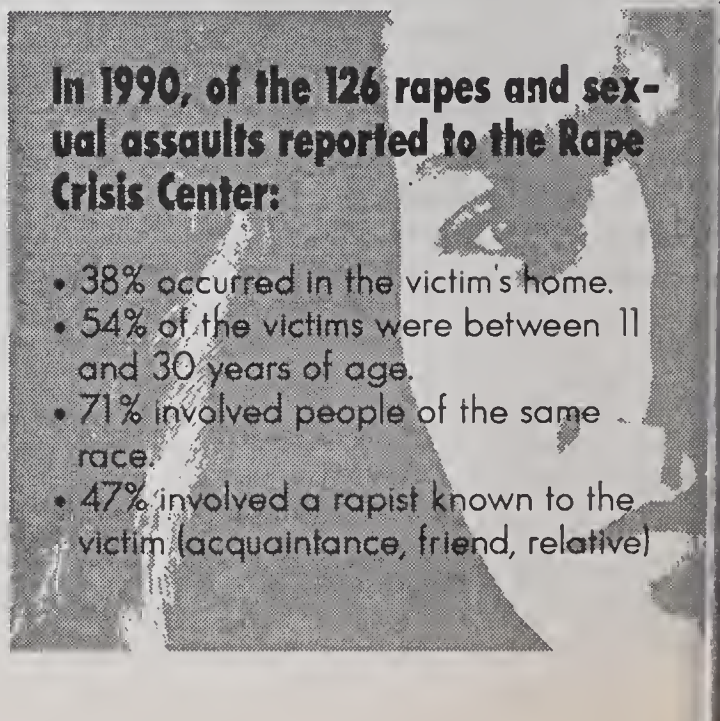
The Orange County Rape Crisis Center states that sexual assault is "any other type of forced sexual activity." This includes such acts as oral sex, fondling, and anal intercourse. Sexual assault is also non-physical activities such as verbal sexual harassment, "flashing", or obscene phone calls. Hence, there is a definite distinction between rape and sexual assault.

The Laws of North Carolina further distinguish the act of rape. According to the North Carolina General Statutes (GS: 14-27.2) "a person is guilty of rape in the first degree if the person engages in vaginal intercourse: (1) With a victim who is a child under the age of 13 years and the defendant is at least 12 years old and is at least four years older than the victim; or (2) With another person by force and against the will of the other person, and: a. Employs or displays a dangerous or deadly weapon or an article which the other person reasonably believes to be a dangerous or deadly weapon; or b. Inflicts serious personal injury upon the victim or another person; or c. The person commits the offense aided and abetted by one or more other persons." The North Carolina law continues by differentiating between first and second degree rape.

Second degree rape differs slightly from first degree rape. GS 14-27.3 states that "a person is guilty of rape in the second degree if the person engages in vaginal intercourse with another person: (1) By force and against the will of the other person; or (2) Who is mentally defective, mentally incapacitated, or physically helpless, and the person performing the act knows or should reasonably know the other person is mentally defective, mentally incapacitated, or physically helpless." Thus, the North Carolina General Statues distinguishes and interprets myth from fact regarding the definition of rape.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has a policy concerning rape. According to The Instrument of Student Judicial Governance, "knowingly engaging in sexual intercourse with or inflicting other sexual invasion upon any person without that person's consent" is an offense of the Student Code of Conduct . The Instrument of Student Judicial Governance is a body that creates and defines the Code of Student Conduct as well as "all structures and procedures for the Code's implementation and adjudication." The punishment for such an offense from the University can mean "expulsion or suspension, or lesser sanctions." According to the Student Attorney

"KNOWINGLY ENGAGING IN SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH OR INFLICTING OTHER SEXUAL INVASION UPON ANY PERSON WITHOUT THAT PERSON'S CONSENT" IS AN OFFENSE OF THE STUDENT CODE OF CONDUCT.



In 1990, of the 126 rapes and sexual assaults reported to the Rape Crisis Center:

- 38% occurred in the victim's home.
- 54% of the victims were between 11 and 30 years of age.
- 71% involved people of the same race.
- 47% involved a rapist known to the victim (acquaintance, friend, relative)

Survey of High School and College Students

	High School		College	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
He spends a lot of money on her	39%	12%	13%	8%
He is so turned on he can't stop	36%	21%	15%	9%
She has had sexual intercourse before	39%	18%	25%	7%
She is drunk	39%	18%	21%	6%
She lets him touch her above the waist	39%	28%	36%	12%
She is going to have sex but changes her mind	54%	31%	40%	22%
They have dated for a long time	43%	32%	42%	17%
She has led him on	54%	26%	42%	28%
She gets him sexually excited	51%	42%	45%	25%

▲

Date and Acquaintance Sexual Assault: *Percent of high school and college students saying it is acceptable for a male to hold a female down and physically force her to engage in intercourse under the listed conditions. High school data are taken from Giarusso et al. (1979); college student data are from Mahoney's research with college students (1979-80).*

eneral's Office, the decision to have a case ried in the student court as opposed to criminal ourt rests with the accuser. The accuser can lecide to have the case tried in either the student court, the criminal court, both, or not at all.

The penalties for rape in North Carolina can e quite severe. Any person who commits the ffense of first degree rape is guilty of a Class B elony, which according to GS: 14-1.1 "shall be unishable by life imprisonment." A person who ommits second degree rape is guilty of a Class D elony and "shall be punishable by imprisonment p to 40 years, or a fine or both." Thus, committing a rape can have heavy consequences in the vent of a conviction.

Rape is a very serious problem. According to the range County Rape risis Center, one of he many myths of ape is that it is a minor crime that is nfrequent and not prevalent in certain parts of society. Based on the U.S. Justice Department's Uniform Crime Reports 1990, there is a forcible rape every five minutes in the United States. Rape is a frequent crime and is in all parts of society. According to the U.S. Department of Justice (Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1990) there were 130,260 rapes in the United States in 1990. f this number, 76,030 were committed by nontrangers. This statistic disputes the notion that ape occurs only by strangers who, "lurk behind a ush at night." No doubt strangers do rape and ome are the stereotypical lurking strangers, but nost rapes are committed by people who know their victims.

Although rape is a serious crime threat, it is on the decline. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, rapes dropped 3.8% from 1989 to 1990. Even though the figure is small, it is still a decline. Much of this decline can be attributed to education and protection awareness. The Orange County Rape Crisis Center lists many things a person can do to protect themselves. Some of these are simple precautions such as locking doors and windows and not walking alone. Also helpful is being assertive. Do not appear easily intimidated or vulnerable in demeanor. Most importantly, always be aware and alert of your surroundings. Trust your intuition and your instincts. These are the most important aspects of prevention. The Center also suggests "if someone does threaten you or endanger you, get angry and take action." These actions include yelling, running and creating a scene, fighting, or reasoning or outwitting your assailant. Above all try to remain calm and level headed. This is your best defense. Remember that alcohol and/or drugs can inhibit your physical as well as your mental abilities. Be careful!

Rape has been, is, and will continue to be a prevalent crime in our society. Rape is a problem for all of us, men and women. Without a shift in societal attitudes, the problem will persist. Until that time, prevention and education are essential.

On-Campus Resources

Office of the Dean of Students	966-4041
Student Psychological Services	966-3658
University Counseling Center	962-2175
Student Health/GYN Clinic	966-3650
Student Attorney General	966-4084
University Police	962-6565
Rape Action Project	966-4041
S.A.F.E. Escort	962-SAFE

Community Resources

Orange County Rape Crisis Center (24 hour hotline)	967-7273
UNC Hospitals/Emergency	966-4721
Emergency (Police/Ambulance)	911

THERE WERE 130,260 RAPES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1990. OF THIS NUMBER, 76,030 WERE COMMITTED BY A NON-STRANGER.

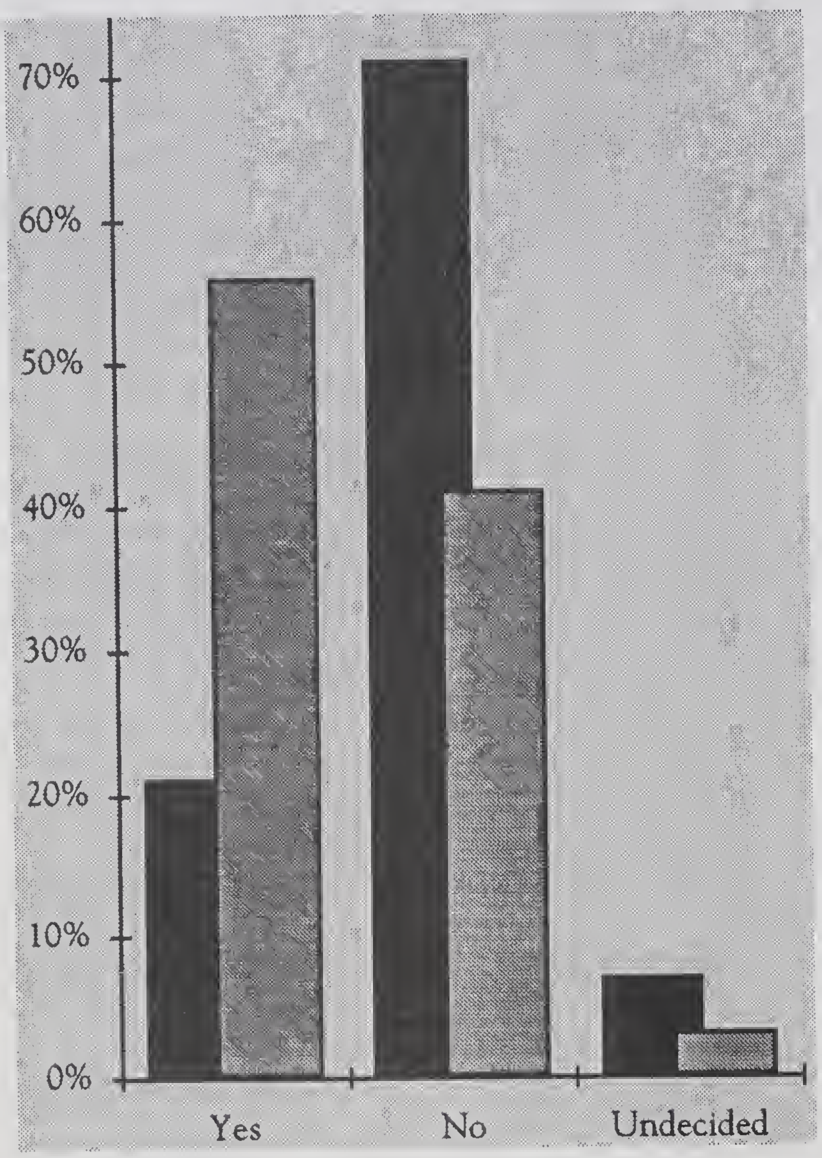
RAPE HISTORY **BY ROBERT SMITH**

Recent sexual assaults barrage campus

CRITIC POLL
LOCKUP

24 HOUR LOCKUP

In response to the recent assaults on campus, the University Housing Administration has locked all dorms on campus indefinitely. The final decision on whether to keep them locked is still unsure. 80 on-campus students were randomly phoned and asked: *Do you support the 24 hour lock-up policy?*



MEN

■	Yes	21%
■	No	71%
■	Undecided	7%

WOMEN

▨	Yes	56%
▨	No	41%
▨	Undecided	3%

Recently, students at UNC have come under attack by a barrage of assaults. Many of these assaults have been sexual in nature and several have been forcible rapes. These rapes and sexual assaults have had a tremendous impact on the university and student life. The implementation of the twenty-four hour lockup for dorms serves to remind us just how serious the problem of sexual assault and rape has become.

In August, an escaped convict, Hildred Manuel Lyles, raped a woman in Granville Towers. The suspect was apprehended the next day and returned to federal marshals.

The Granville Towers incident is only one of the terrible crimes that has accompanied students back to Chapel Hill. According to *The Daily Tar Heel*, from August 1991 through July 1992 there were 6 reported rapes and 44 assaults. These numbers have skyrocketed over the last few years, but numbers do not tell the entire story.

Shortly after the arrest of Lyles, two other assaults took place near South Campus. Both assaults took place on the pathway between Kenan Stadium and Morrison Dormitory. One of the attacks occurred shortly after noon, in broad daylight. These assaults prompted the twenty-four hour lockup to be extended, even though both occurred outside.

Students living on campus are not the only ones to fear assault. According to *The Daily Tar Heel*, four attempted assaults and break-ins were reported over the summer in Mill Creek apartments.

Another woman was raped on Airport road several weeks ago while walking home.

Rumors always abound about incidents that occur at fraternity houses concerning assaults. Two weeks ago *The DTH* reported two assaults that occurred at the ATO house. These assaults were the
results of several fights and were
not sexual in nature. That same
weekend, another woman wa
approached by a man who insiste
on escorting her home. Accordin
to *The DTH*, when she refused, th
man took her mace and sprayed i
into her eyes before fleeing th
scene.

While women are at the greates
risk of sexual assaults, men can b
targets also. *The DTH* reporte
September 16 that a man driving
car asked another young man fo
directions. When the young ma
neared the car, the assailant pulle
him into the car at knifepoint an
drove to another area where th
sexual assault took place.

Women, however, are at th
greatest risk of being raped and sex
ually assaulted. These crimes ove
whelmingly take place agains
women, especially those who wal
alone after dark. Even after th
string of assaults and rapes, I se
women walking alone on and o
campus practically every time I
out.

The danger is very real, all to
real for the victims of these terrib
crimes. While safety is never com
pletely assured, walking in groups
always a good idea. A can of ma
and lessons in self defence ha
also prevented rapes and sexu
assaults.

University officials could al
improve the situation with mo
campus patrols and police. Mo
student officers would be helpf
but more professional office
patrolling all areas of campus cou
only have positive effects.

Finally, as students we have
responsibility to our fellow studen
to help someone who is being vi
timized. Responsible citizens a
the greatest deterrent to crim
Volunteer to walk a friend hom
inform campus security of sus
cious strangers, and above
report any rape, sexual assault,
any other crime to police imme
ately.

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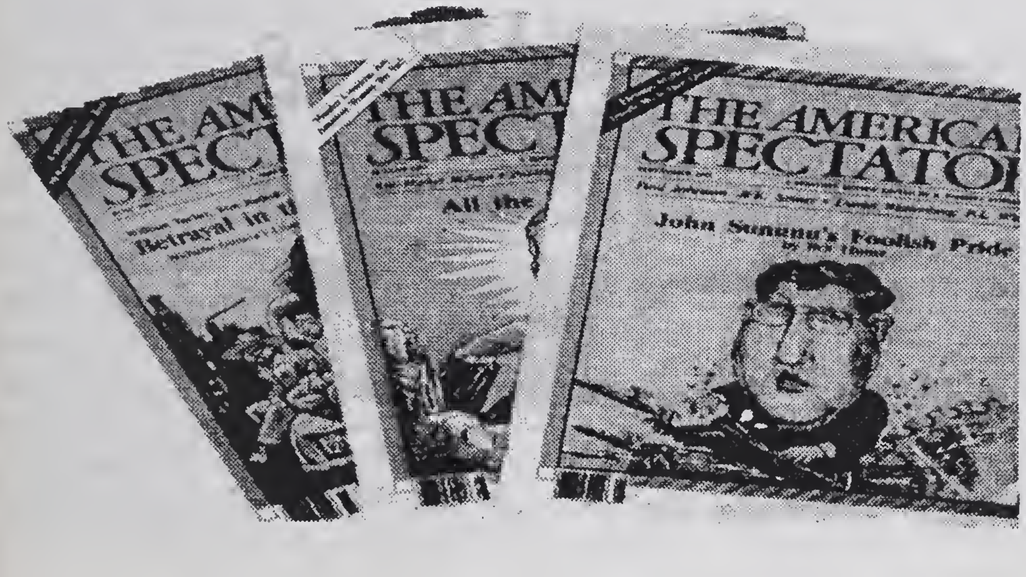

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CAROLINA CRITIC 9/23/92

FINE DINING **BY MARK BANDY**

A Review of Dining In The *Southern* Part of Heaven at 2 o'clock In The Morning

THE COMPETITION FOR YOUR LATE-NIGHT DOLLAR HAS INCREASED WITH THE ARRIVAL OF MIAMI SUBS, WHICH WHILE NOT OPEN ALL NIGHT IS OPEN TIL THREE

It's two o'clock in the morning, and Molly's and Spanky's are closing up for the evening. You can't remember much before five minutes ago, but one thing that you do know is that you are STARVING. The last thing you ate was over seven hours ago, and the thought of food becomes a driving force despite the fact that you have an 8 o'clock. So the question now becomes where to go. It has to be within walking distance, and it has to be open. This narrows the choices considerably. Until recently, it left only one option, Time-Out. And so every Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, hordes of students eager for a chicken, egg, and cheese biscuit would cram into this Chapel Hill landmark for a quick bite and a shouting match with former employee, Billy. But recently the competition for your late-night dollar has increased, with the arrival of Miami Subs, which while not open all night is open til three to catch the bar crowd. And so, we here at the Critic thought we should take this opportunity to provide our loyal readers with an in-depth analysis of their late night dining options.

This entire article was conceived one late night at some friends' party, when my thoughts turned from the adult beverages we were consuming to my own hunger pangs. I mentioned that I was hungry and the rest of the group agreed, and then I mentioned that we might try Miami Subs. As soon as the words were out of my mouth, I knew that I had made a major mistake. Everyone looked at me in shock as if I had just blasphemed the Almighty. My friend was quick to inform me that no loyal and true blue Carolina student would even think of crossing that threshold under our current status. There was only one option and that was Time-Out. Going to that new-fangled, neon excuse for a late night bite was un-American if not at least UnChapel Hillian. So I acquiesced to the majority rule and we went to Time-Out, but the whole situation left me somewhat perplexed. I had been to Time-Out several times, but I didn't know what was the cause of my friends' deep-seated resentment against Miami Subs. So I decided to take a closer look.

As anybody who has ever been to Time-Out after midnight and who can remember can tell you, the correct entree at this time for male and female guests alike is the aforementioned chicken, egg, and cheese biscuit and a large sweet tea, if your body can hold any more liquid. The biscuit is self-explanatory and slightly greasy but somehow just right (at least at the moment of consumption, it may not taste so well later). The price is also just right—cheap—although price is of little importance at this point as long as you have enough, and even if you don't you can probably bum some change off somebody else.

As for ambiance, Time-Out also satisfies, and like you'd care anyway. It's usually packed, and you almost always run into someone, which makes the whole thing almost a natural extension of the bar scene. And who could mention Time-Out without mentioning the infamous Billy. For the uninitiated who have been living with wolves, Billy is a jack of all trades. He cooks, takes orders, and even does political endorsements, which carry tremendous weight. Time-Out has that special feeling that says it's ours. Sort of like our own version of Happy Days' Arnold's or Boston's Cheers, a place where you can get away and everybody knows your name, although Billy called most people the same thing. One last piece of advice for those of you who aren't quite full after your chicken, egg, and cheese: try a bucket o' bones. I think they're

Time-Out Chicken and Biscuits. No line right now, but it's a hot spot late at night.

▼

An example of Miami Subs' modern chairs, tables, and an example of their famous murals. A real plus is their closed-captioned television.

I THINK PART OF THE RESENTMENT TOWARD MIAMI SUBS IS A GENERAL RESENTMENT TOWARD THE CHANGES ON FRANKLIN STREET... BUT GIVEN TIME, MIAMI SUBS WILL BECOME MORE ACCEPTED

only fifty cents, and you can gnaw quite a bit of meat off those suckers.

As for the new guy in town, I have to admit I was a bit skeptical at first. For one, I was horrified that they would built something that tacky (to use a strictly Southern phrase) on Franklin Street. I mean it was neon with pink flamingos everywhere. Somehow I did end up going there for the first time and was somewhat surprised. I remember going in and seeing this huge menu, and there were just way too many things on it for me to concentrate. It's not like Time-Out where you know exactly what you want. They have everything from their namesake subs to burgers, gyros, and chicken sandwiches. They've also got salads, fries, yogurt, and if you're still in the market for a beer, they have domestics for about a buck fifty. And if you're out to impress your date there's the usual eighty dollar bottle of Dom Perignon.

On my first visit to Miami Subs, I ordered a chicken sandwich. I only had five dollars on me, but I was only getting a sandwich and a drink. I was shocked when the woman asked for five and a quarter. I didn't have any change but the cashier came through for me and spotted me the 25 cents. The chicken sandwich was delicious, and I have to admit everything I have had there since, sober or otherwise, was very good. The only thing not really good is the french fries, they are way too greasy. The one major gripe about the place that I've heard most often are those god-forsaken murals, they look like something Jacques Cousteau painted while on major acid. These things are down right scary after one too many malt beverages. I mean those birds are enough to give you the willies and then there's the mermaid and manatee motif in the back....but I digress.

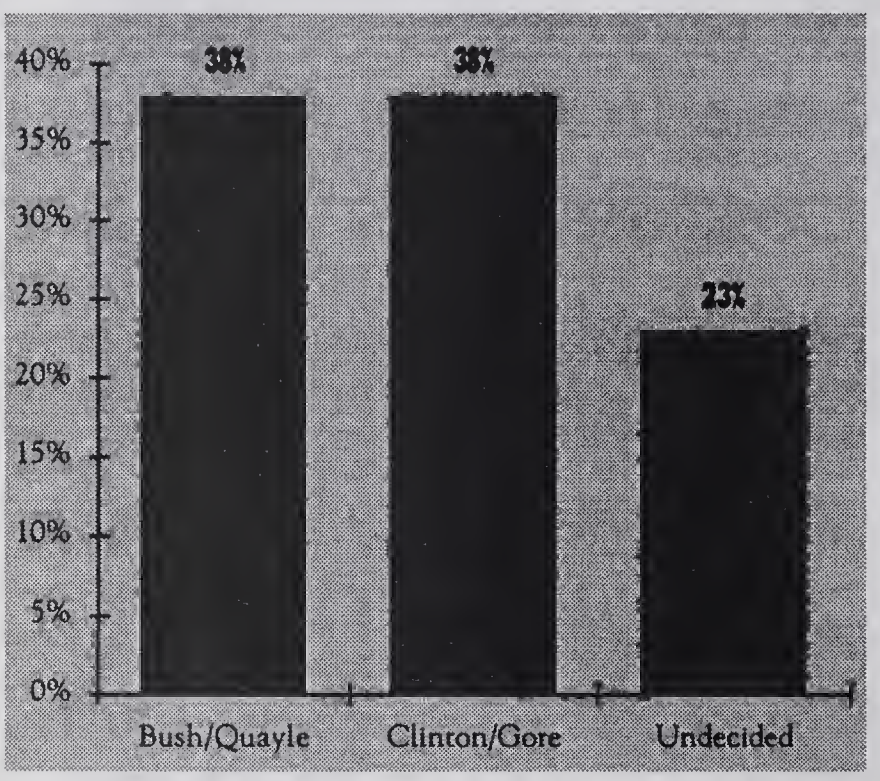
So what is the verdict? In Time-Out we have old familiar, a place you can stumble in at any hour and order a basic staple, versus Miami Subs, a place with very good food at slightly higher prices with a real image problem. I think part of the resentment toward Miami Subs is a general resentment toward the changes on Franklin Street, which has gone from a small town main street with soda shops and restaurants into a sort of pseudo-mall with the Gap and fast-food chains. But given time, Miami Subs will become accepted. As for Time-Out, I don't think it needs to worry. It will always have its die hard fans and remains the only 24-hour option on Franklin Street. While we all miss Billy and mourn the loss of Top of the Hill, it's always nice to know that some things never change.

The Miami Subs counter. You place an order, and sit down, then they'll call your number on the loudspeaker.

Campus poll has Bush, Clinton running neck and neck

Bush/Quayle	38%
Clinton/Gore	38%
Undecided	23%

With the country's enthusiasm leaning heavily toward Clinton, on the UNC campus the presidential race seems far from over. With many of the large states falling to Clinton, North Carolina can go either way. National polls have consistently left North Carolina undecided. In our poll, a random sample of 80 on-campus students were asked by phone: Whom do you plan to vote for in the upcoming Presidential Election?



7/6/92 RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
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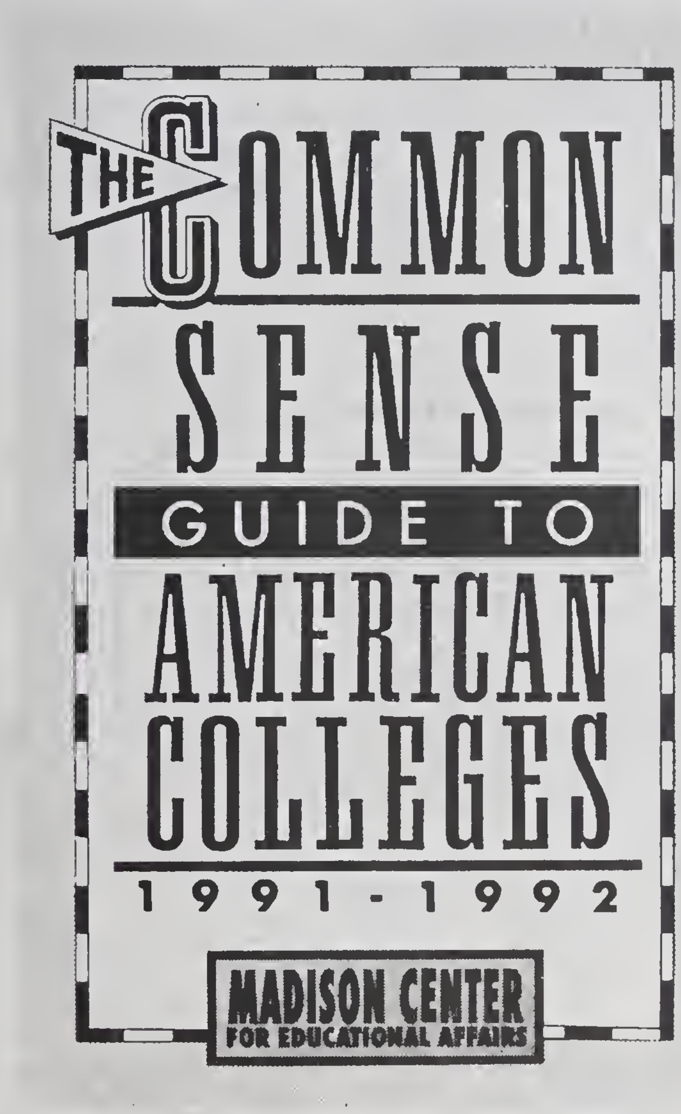

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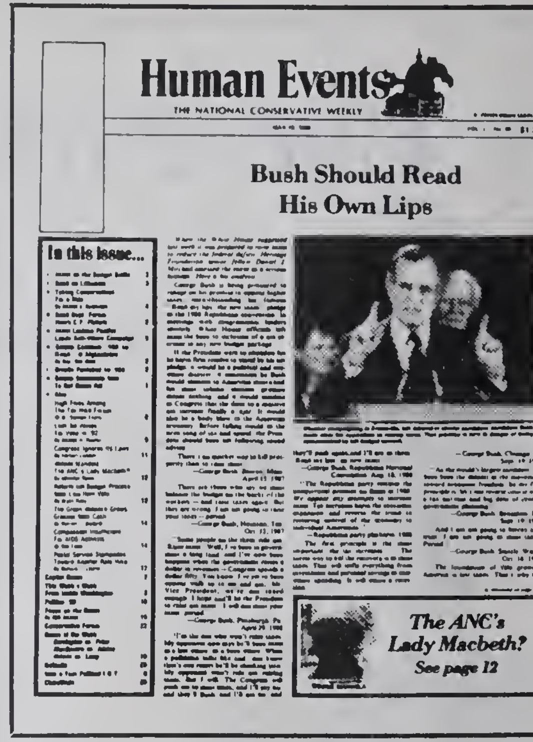

Human Events

THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY

Bush Should Read His Own Lips

In this issue...

The ANC's Lady Macbeth? See page 12

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HE CAROLINA CRITIC

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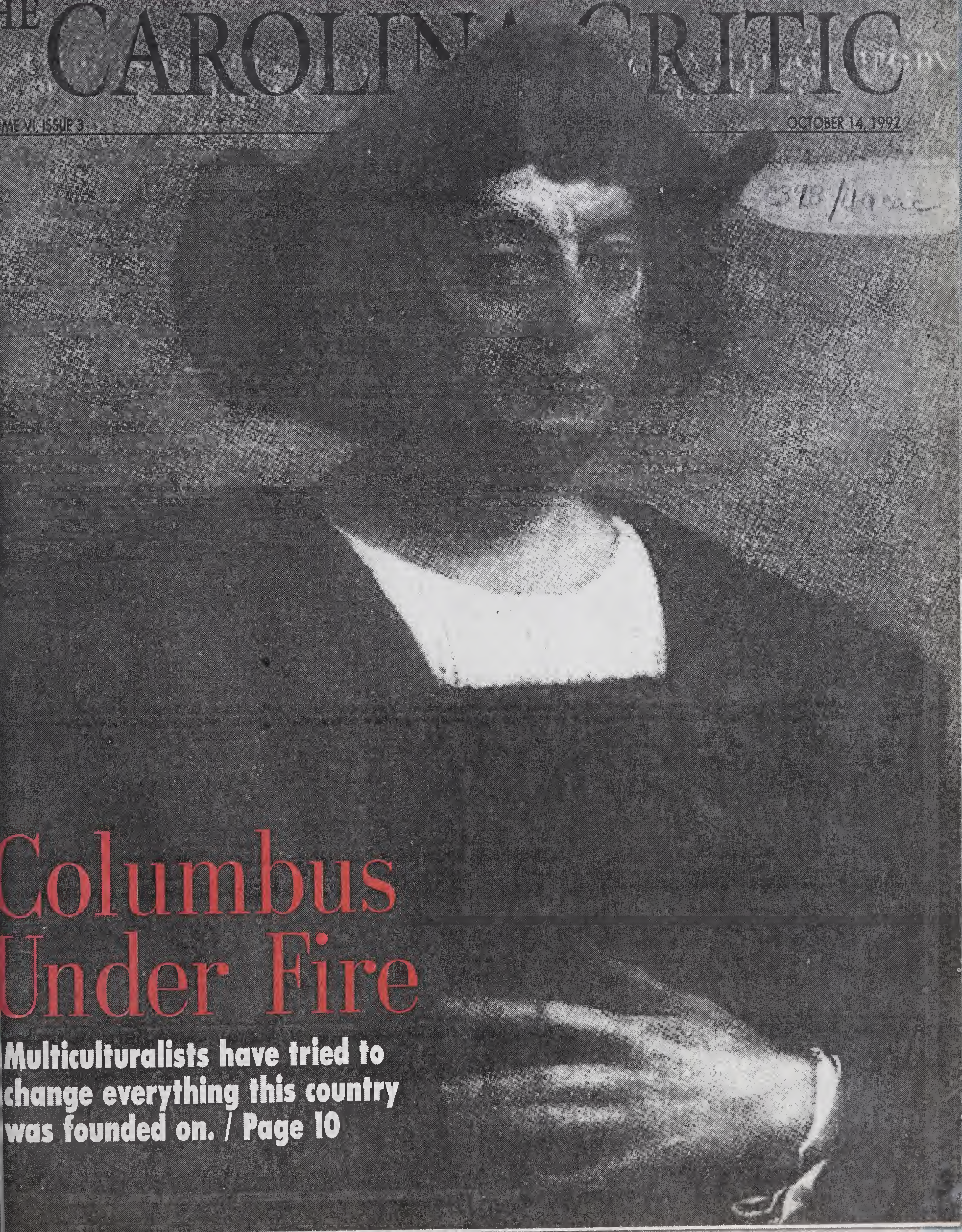

Columbus Under Fire

Multiculturalists have tried to change everything this country was founded on. / Page 10

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TUESDAY - Members FREE pool
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WEDNESDAY - 'Jäger' Night
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FRIDAY
$2.25 House Vodka Drinks

SATURDAY
$2.25 Bloody's & Screwdrivers

SUNDAY
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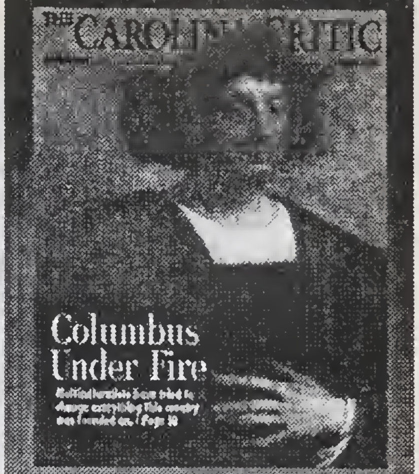
THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VI, NO. 3 OCTOBER 14, 1992



THE CRITIC COVER

Multiculturalism is out of control. Columbus was no saint, but he did what no other man successfully did 500 years ago—he stumbled onto an unknown savage land that would soon be civilized.

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WASHINGTON POST article examines our bloated university enterprise. Waste, lax standards, and mediocre teaching underlie the decline.

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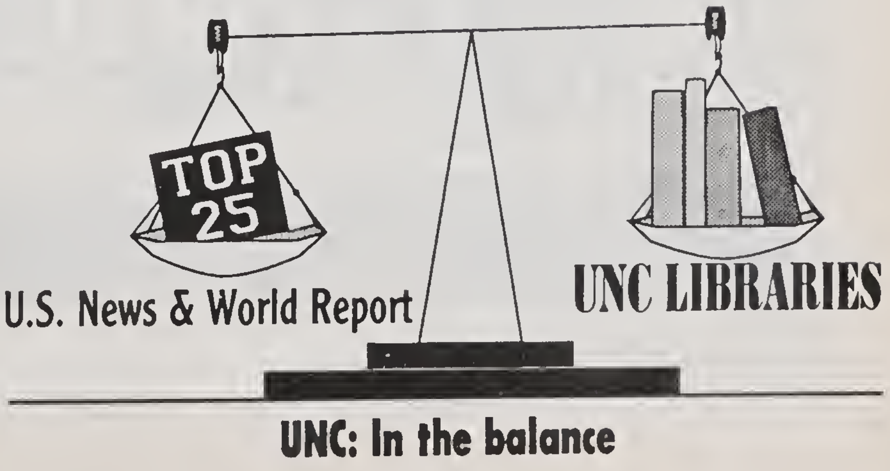

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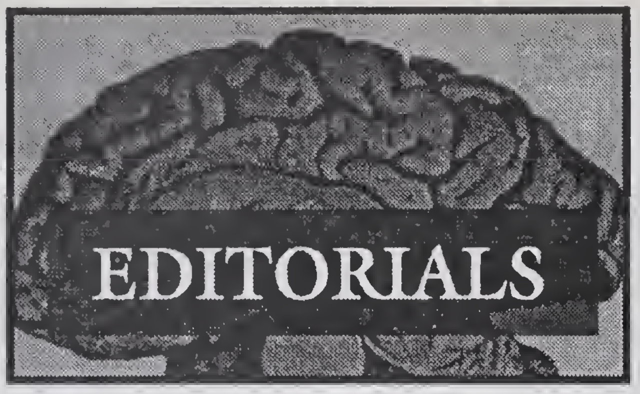


The Intimidating Code of Political Correctness

Editor's note: This letter appeared in The Wall Street Journal *on October 9.*

Re your Sept. 29 editorial "They Call It 'Diversity'": The majority of students at the University of North Carolina agree with you. Last spring, I was the only candidate for student body president who openly opposed a Black Cultural Center. Afterward, I found this was the main reason my campaign was successful.

The current debate is not over whether to have a Black Cultural Center — it is over a "free-standing" building, a euphemism for a separate building. The proponents also support having a separate building for each of the other cultural groups on campus. It is sad to realize that separate buildings are the logical extension of a movement that focuses obsessively on the differences of particular groups, an obsession affecting the classrooms of today's universities.

This issue has fostered a repressive climate around campus an in various "multicultural" classes. Rather than encouraging the open exchange of ideas, students are intimidated into following the "politically correct" view for fear of being labeled racist, sexist, homophobic, etc.

However, many students are speaking out against these counterproductive trends, and I will continue to represent them as long as I am here in Chapel Hill.

—John Moody, Student Body President

Liability Reform Essential

Personal accountability, social responsibility, civil liability: what do these ominous-sounding terms have to do with college students? Especially in regards to alcohol consumption, they are increasingly becoming an issue of concern.

A few weeks ago the North Carolina Supreme Court took on the role of social policy mediator by reviewing *Hart v. Ivey*, a case concerning both underage drinking and the responsibility of hosts and guests. The essence of the case is as follows: friends throw a keg party, and a guest leaves the party intoxicated, attempts to drive home, and causes an accident. Who is to blame?

According to the Supreme Court's recent common law ruling, if negligence can be proven, the host is responsible for the actions of the guest when alcohol is involved. Negligence is defined by the Court as being "the failure to exercise that degree of care which a reasonable and prudent person would exercise under the circumstances."

The real issue at stake here is personal accountability. Should one be forced to take responsibility for one's own actions? Apparently not, according to the North Carolina Supreme Court.

The cost on society of Americans' "sue-happy" mentality is evident through positions taken in the national political arena. Bill Clinton's massive health care reform proposal is driven by the escalation of health care costs, which he claims impedes our economic growth and is unfair. That the rapid rise in health care costs is largely linked to malpractice insurance rates is indisputable. George Bush's tort reform proposals tackle this issue directly and seek to end the ease with which suits can be realized.

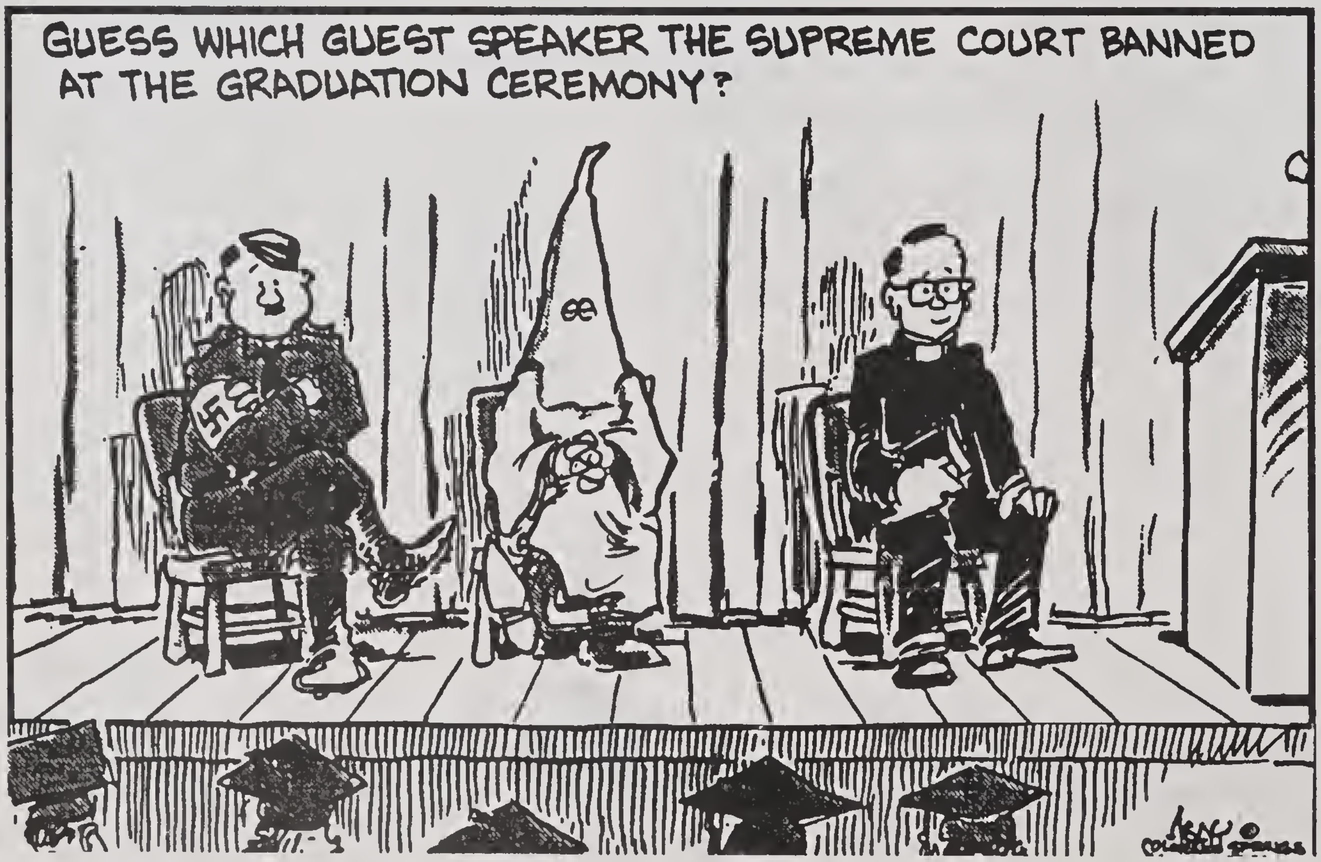
But while the public tends largely to blame lawyers, those in the legal profession are merely supplying the demand for a service the general public wants. And our society places considerable time and energy blaming those not directly responsible for accidents.

We have made the possibility of a civil suit a constant threat. Even alcohol is no excuse. Its impairing effects are no great surprise to the majority of the population, and an individual has the responsibility to take one of two choices in advance when at a social event: not to drink, or not to operate a motor vehicle if drinking.

Some people totally lose the capacity for rational thought when drinking, but they should be aware of that tendency by now and at the very least have a friend look after them, or not drink at all. There should be no legal responsibility upon the host when the guest willfully and consciously decides to drink and drive.

The real effect decisions such as *Hart v. Ivey* is that parties in which the host serves alcohol will disappear. Those of us who have been at Carolina for a while have seen these effects already. The one-time huge, all-campus keg parties are no more, and Inter-Fraternity Council restrictions have become increasingly tighter. While it is easy to blame the IFC, everyone knows that there is not a mounting temperance movement within the fraternities. The real reason for these changes comes from legal liability and stems from pressure mounted from national fraternity organizations.

The erosion of reasonable standards of behavior in society is largely attributable to the denial of any personal responsibility for any individual upon his or her situation. We must become a society in which people can act as they choose as long as they do not harm others by their actions and in which individuals accept the negative reprecussions of their own choices


GUESS WHICH GUEST SPEAKER THE SUPREME COURT BANNED AT THE GRADUATION CEREMONY?

Repeal Out-of-State Admissions Quota

As *U.S. News and World Report* released its annual survey of America's top colleges a few weeks ago, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill was not listed among the top 25 colleges and universities for the first time since the report began. Slipping financial resources relative to other institutions have undoubtedly driven the fall. But if you look at the extensive list of parameters that determine the rankings, you would see another striking fact: the average Scholastic Aptitude Test scores of UNC students fall embarassingly below the average scores at other top-notch schools.

Because our institution is a state university, we will never match the SAT performance of smaller private colleges (21 of the top 25 universities are private). We are funded by North Carolina taxpayers, so we are not, cannot, and should not ever become a Princeton or Yale. Yet our average SAT scores are consistently below those of Virginia, UCLA, Michigan, Berkeley, and other top public universities. Because UNC operates on a state-mandated quota system in which 82 % of each class must be made up of North Carolina residents, and institutions such as UVA admit enough out-of-state students to comprise about one-third of each entering class, our scores will always be lower.

One of the ways in which the academic integrity of UNC can be maintained without sacrificing our status as a state institution which exists for the primary purpose of educating North Carolina residents is by repealing the strict quota and establishing admissions standards that merely favor the residents of this state. This plan would be much like the one that already exists at other top state universities and would in no way compromise UNC's purpose of educating our state's finest students. UNC would still be made up largely of in-state residents despite the absence of a quota, but more out-of-state students could be admitted.

This summer, UNC system lobbyist Jay Robinson contended that without high caliber out-of-state students UNC would lose its competitiveness. State Representative Frank Rhodes (R-Forsyth) called Robinson's assertions "ludicrous." Rhodes responded, "I don't see that we need the prestige. They're going to come here because of the low tuition, anyway... They say we need more out-of-state students to bring more culture to this system. I'd say a real naughty word for that one, starting with bull."

While most officials would not, as Rhodes, push for a homogeneous, mediocre, but cheap institution, few seem aware of the real returns UNC-CH brings to the state aside from educating its students. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill spends more dollars in services that are directly returned to the state than any other public university in the nation.

In March of 1991, the Economic Future Study Commission, a task force created by Governor Martin, Speaker of the House Blue, and President Pro-Tem of the Senate Barnes, realeased a study entitled, *Fiscal Realities for the 90's*. According to the study, "It is difficult to exaggerate the role played by the State's public universities over the past half century in the enrichment of economic, cultural and political life of the State." The study notes the short- and long-term gains brought by major research universities, in light of research dollars and other returns. The point is, that even as state tax dollars subsidize out-of-state students, they bring real economic returns to the state.

With the emergence of our university system, our state can now support four-year university education to meet in-state demand, as well as maintain a flagship institution. But when strict admission quotas are in place, one must wonder if North Carolina is unwisely losing the quality of its top institution in lieu of an out-dated and damaging state mandate. UNC will always be here first and foremost for in-state residents, but it should also strive to maintain its academic excellence. This process can begin with the removal of the quota.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Number of Federal Regulatory Employees in 1980: 121,708

In 1988: 104,360

In 1992: 124,994

Percentage of Births to Unmarried Women in the United States in 1989: 27.1

In Sweden: 51.8

In Japan: 1.0

Amount of candy corn produced in the United States each year, expressed in ears: 2,250,000

Overall spending on health in 1991 dollars in 1977: $367 billion

In 1992: $809 billion

Spending on Medicare and Medicaid in 1991 dollars in 1977: $86 billion

In 1992: $240.4 billion

Number of the 28 millionaires in the U.S. Senate who are Democrats: 21

Percentage of Americans in their 20s who say that corruption is an "important factor in getting ahead": 37

Sources: *National Review Sept. 14, Oct. 5; Harper's Oct. 92; Policy Review Summer 92*

The *Critic* accepts letters to the editor. Keep them of reasonable length, and be certain that they are legible.

SEND THEM TO:

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion

Volume VI, No. 3

- Dennis Wicker, the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, recently proposed a program that would cost the North Carolina taxpayers $9.6 billion dollars. Hours later, he stated that he had made a mistake, and that the program would actually cost $96 *million* dollars. And we wonder why we're in trouble.

- *National Review* notes some strange Canadian numerical results. As the mean standard of living increased 34 percent from 1973 to 1983, and income distribution did not change, the poverty rate increased from 23.3 to 25.9 percent, based upon the Canadian Council on Social Development. As a Fraser Institute study indicates, the reasons for the increase are not what one might expect. The poverty rate is measured in Canada such that anyone who has an income less than half the national average is "poor." Thus, if the standard of living of the "impoverished" were to double, more people could still fall into poverty if all people's income tripled. Such skewed "relative" results tend to trivialize a serious problem. Christopher Sarlo estimates that while 3.5 to 5 million Canadians are classified as "poor," only one million are poor "when measured against an absolute standard of need." Who benefits from "more" people in poverty? Why, government bureaucrats, of course.

- According to *Heterodoxy*, in 1991 the University of Massachusetts at Amherst dropped a provision from its Affirmative Action and Nondiscrimination Policy that had excluded from protection "persons whose sexual orientation includes minor children as the sex object." Pedophilia—now protected and politically correct?!

- In the impeachment proceedings concerning Student Congress Speaker Jennifer Lloyd, member of the prosecution Phillip Charles-Pierre was quoted as saying, "At least former Speaker Tim Moore had the respect of the Congress." Say what?

- One of the stranger statements made in the proceedings comes not from Master of the Malapropism Charles-Pierre but from the infamous Kevin Hunter. Says Hunter concerning Lloyd's alleged "falsification" of a task force report: "it would impede the credibility of the former Speaker." Now, where is his credibility going?

- Without question, the most ludicrous speech of the proceedings also came from Hunter, when he gave a glowing presentation on the testimony of the impeccably esteemed and impartial Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Malcolm Turner, "one of the most respected individuals on the campus." Turner was Hunter's roommate last year.

- When former Congress Finance Chair Daryl Grissom approached Hunter about the charges, the eavesdropper stated, "I don't have to talk to you. You're not a Student Government Official." Lucky Grissom.

- The quote from Mr. Hunter that still resounds, however, comes from last year's budget hearings. During consideration of the budget of the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association, hunter moved his chair to be positioned away from the "queers." Then, in a 1 hour, 17 minute filibuster speech, Hunter stated, "I don't ask for student fees to fund my sexual preference."

- Hunter is reportedly president of Autoerotics Users United.

- And if Congress couldn't get more hypocritical, Finance Committee members recently tried to deny funding for CARE, an AIDS Awareness Group. Members asserted that there was an AIDS Hotline and claimed that AIDS information and education were already prevalent. A month earlier, the same members had fought vigorously for John Harris, a speaker on AIDS sponsored by the Campus Crusade for Christ, to come to campus for $645.

- "Liberty will not be fooled. There can be no coexistence between democracy and the totalitarian state system. There can be no coexistence between market economy and powers who control everything and everyone... The experience of the past decades has taught us communism has no human face. Freedom and communism are incompatible."

  - Boris Yeltsin, before the U.S. Congress

• According to the *Associated Press*, Texas District Court Judge recently ruled in favor of Fabian Vaksman, a 37-year-old history graduate student at the University of Houston, who claimed that he was expelled due to his ideas rather than his academic performance. Vaksman, a Russian immigrant, had "vigorously asserted" his anti-Marxist views.

• *National Review* points out that long-time Representative Stephen Solarz made a huge misstep this year. His safe seat gone by way of redistricting, Solarz decided to run in the new "Hispanic" district rather than challenge popular Rep. Ted Weiss, who would have now been Solarz's opponent. After Weiss died one day before the primary, Democratic leaders asked constituents to vote for him anyway (to keep out psychotherapy cult winner Arthur Block). So while Solarz was losing to Nydia Velasquez, deceased Weiss took home 88% of the vote.

• According to *Heterodoxy*, at the first meeting of the Teachers for a Democratic Culture last spring, Eleanor Gilpatrick urged that for all disputed policy issues for the university, "We should bring to the discussion as high a level of political correctness as possible."

• More oddities from the Chapel Hill Town Council: Council member Rimer, in all seriousness, asked if he could participate in Town Council meetings by phone. This could set an interesting precedent. Let's suppose that we give the vacant town council seat (left open by Roosevelt Wilkerson's resignation) to a student... who's studying *abroad*. One question: do the taxpayers foot the long-distance bill?

• The following is off the State of New York real estate license test: "Your examination application slip will be marked either PASSED or FAILED and returned to you by mail. Numerical scores will not be given to prevent possible discriminatory employment practices based on achievement levels." To hire based on achievement sure would be a bad thing.

• Let's look for a minute at the rhetoric of the coalition for a free-standing Black Cultural Center. The members of the coalition refuse to sit on, talk to, or participate in the discussion engaged by the working group of Provost Richard McCormick. BCC director Margo Crawford and coalition leaders assert that the group usurps the power of the Black Cultural Center Advisory Board, given sole authority over the planning of the Black Cultural Center in 1989 by the Board of Trustees. Coalition members say that they will not join the working group unless the Chancellor openly supports a free-standing Black Cultural Center. Last week, the Chancellor openly supports a free-standing Black Cultural Center. Coalition members refuse to acknowledge the working group and contend that the BCC should be planned by the BCC Advisory Board. A model of progress at our university.

• For those who would complain about the tactics embraced by left-wing student activists here at the Hill, complain no more. Instead look to our newest Atlantic Coast Conference rival, Florida State. According to *Heterodoxy*, a militant faction of the Black Student Union there called the Loyal Order of the 99 dresses in combat boots, military berets, and camouflaged fatigues. In May, the Loyal Order's Minister of Education came into a student government meeting with a baseball bat and demanded a doubling of the Black Student Association budget to $60,000. He said: "Bleed green dollars now or red blood later. We can have a riot at this university too." No university official condemned the behavior.

• Astute political analysis from our own *Daily Tar Heel*: a recent article profiled a study which predicted that blacks are more likely to vote Democratic in the upcoming election.

• And speaking of the *DTH*, where do you get off defending the mikeman in an editorial? Is that space filler or what?

• Interesting notes from the debates: We have George Bush, onetime pro-abortion critic of Reagan's "voodoo economics" jumping on Clinton for waffling, and Bush, the President whose administration has increased domestic spending in percentage terms more than Lyndon Johnson's jumping on Clinton's tax and spend proposals. On the other side, Clinton proposes to raise $150 billion with a $14 billion tax on the very rich while giving a $100 billion middle class tax cut and cutting the deficit in half in five years. Hmmm...

• As for the Clinton "plan," the National Center for Policy Analysis, a nonpartisan group, estimates that the plan will depress Gross Domestic Product by $173 billion by 1996 and cost 747,000 jobs.

APHORISMS

"A man should never put on his best trousers when he goes out to battle for freedom and truth."
-Henrik Ibsen

"Democracy is a whim and a fetish."
-William R. Inge

"One man with courage makes a majority."
-Andrew Jackson

"Many a man has fallen in love with a girl in a light so dim he would not have chosen a suit by it."
-Maurice Chevalier

"I, I am not a Marxist."
-Karl Marx

"A newswriter is a man without virtue, who writes lies at home for his own profit."
-Samuel Johnson

"When I hear the word 'Culture' I slip back the safety catch of my revolver."
-Hanns Johst

"Christ died for our sins. Dare we make his martyrdom meaningless by not committing them?"
-Jules Feiffer

"Money is like a sixth sense—and you can't make use of the other five without it."
-W. Somerset Maugham

"Democracy without education is hypocrisy without limitation."
-Iskander Mirza

"We use ideas merely to justify our evil, and speech merely to conceal our ideas."
-Voltaire

"Idealism is fine, but as it approaches reality the cost becomes prohibitive."
-William F. Buckley, Jr.

ENVIRONMENT **BY GREG KONIG**

Blood and Gore

How Al Gore is warming the globe with hot air.

ELECTION 92

OF COURSE, SPENDING BILLIONS AND REGULATING THE HELL OUT OF EVERYTHING IN SIGHT IS NO NEW HOBBY FOR GORE

The highly controversial global warming theory has been thrust to the center of Al Gore's politically correct environmental prerogatives. To literally scare us all into voting for him, he's made this theory "the central organizing principle" in his quest to save us all from ourselves, based upon the gross misunderstanding that greenhouse gases will have any significant impact worth correcting. "Al's Cause" has consistently ignored prudent policy options and scientific evidence in favor of tax-and-spend/regulation policies he (and other Democrats) think could solve any problem. The real question is whether there's actually a problem.

In his Earth in the Balance, Gore begins with some generally accepted facts concerning CO_2 in the atmosphere and its annual growth rate. He then adds his own prediction of future CO_2 production rates, and the corresponding temperature increases, which are fictitious at best. His exponential growth projection of CO_2 for the next 40 years, assuming it is dependent upon growth of population, industry, etc., would require fuel consumption to multiply 5 to 6 times over today's level. In addition, world output would have to quadruple. (Even these figures rest on the assumption that the technologically-spurred declining CO_2 production per dollar of GNP trend will stop—which it won't).

Gore, of course, overlooks such considerations and concludes that the world will end in 2032. To be logical and sensible wouldn't help his cause.

Most scientists don't believe the hype, even though Gore says 98% of 'atmospheric scientists'—whoever they are—believe the warming process has begun. A Gallup poll finds that 53% of global climate researchers do not believe in global warming, 30% don't know, and only 17% believe that global warming has begun. A Greenpeace poll found similar results with a poll of climatologists; only 13% believing the risk is "probable." So why did Al lie? Because there's no empirical basis for drastic action and the extinction of economic growth?

The greenhouse effect does exist. It has for billions of years. When a scientist says that these gases are warming the earth, it is with the same confidence that he would utter (gasp) that the earth is round. Without water vapor and greenhouse gases, the earth would be frozen and barren. The issue is whether the increases in the greenhouse gases caused by humans will have any significant impact on the environment. Scientists don't have any evidence to stir our concern into a hysterical panic. Rather, facts suggest a "wait and see" policy.

To illustrate this point, L.L. Van Zandt from Purdue University proposes the following argument: Assuming that the earth's atmosphere weighs 6 million billion tons, in 1950, CO_2 made up 4% of the atmosphere (2,400 billion tons). Today, CO_2 accounts for 6% of the atmosphere (3,600 billion tons). Current production of CO_2 however, is 200 billion tons by non-human activity, and 6 billion tons by human activity.

Comparing human production with atmospheric levels shows that if every man-made molecule stayed in the atmosphere, it would take 200 years to match the 1950-to-present increase. But, in reality, there is a 12 year recycling period for CO_2 molecules. Human activity carried out indefinitely cannot account for more than 6% of observed changes in CO_2 levels. Similarly, every human-produced CO_2 molecule for the past 200 years could not account for the changes since 1950. "Even killing everybody could only have a tiny effect on global warming."

Scientists with no vested interest laugh heartily at the naively generalized, simpleton arguments perpetuated by environmentalists world-wide. The environmentalists' graphs make it immediately evident that CO_2 levels and temperature increases correlate poorly. The strongest temperature increase of the past century occurred before the major rise in greenhouse gas concentration. In fact, during the major rise in greenhouse gases from 1940-1975, the average temperature declined. And following an increase in temperature from 1975-1980, there has been no more increase, despite record gas production (confirmed by microwave satellite data).

The NOAA released studies showing no overall warming in this century. Importantly, this overall stability of temperature is due to a relative rise in nocturnal temperature in the past 60 years, coupled with a decline in the daytime average. The implications are terrible: longer growing seasons, fewer frosts, and an

Gore claims 98% of 'atmospheric scientists'—whoever they are—believe the warming process has begun. The poll at right represents a recent Gallup poll finding 53% of global climate researchers do not believe in global warming, 30% don't know, and only 17% believe that global warming has begun. ▶

crease in soil evaporation.

A George Marshall Institute study ints out that the sun is the accepted ntrolling factor in most climate ange, and solar radiance correlates most exactly with the temperature cord, whereas gas concentration does t. These scientists, taking account of climate records and data, conclude at a doubling of greenhouse gases ould produce a maximum 0.5° C crease in temperature, all other variles held constant. This finding rectly contradicts most evidence ered by "The Cause." Without any entific data to base their theories on, ey have looked to ecological model- g to substantiate their weak argunts. Unfortunately, these aren't very entific either.

Models frequently predict a temperure increase of 1.5° to 4.5° C, but ey are not sophisticated enough to lude important longer-scale and er-scale ecological processes. The ult? They predict a strong warming polar regions and tropical atmoseres, faster warming over land than , and in the northern rather than southern hemisphere. The models ow a correlation between gas conntration and temperature change and ow steady increased warming. What's ong with this picture? Each conclun is overwhelmingly incorrect. ese "scientific" models can't even ess" what has already happened. Go re.

Yale economist William Nordhaus es, "...those who argue for strong asures to slow greenhouse warming e reached their conclusion without discernible analysis of the costs and efits". A report by the Brookings titute shows that even the most stic measures to limit CO_2 producı could only delay the natural course greenhouse gases by 5 to 10 years, would cost in the range of one tril- dollars. But Al just doesn't get it.

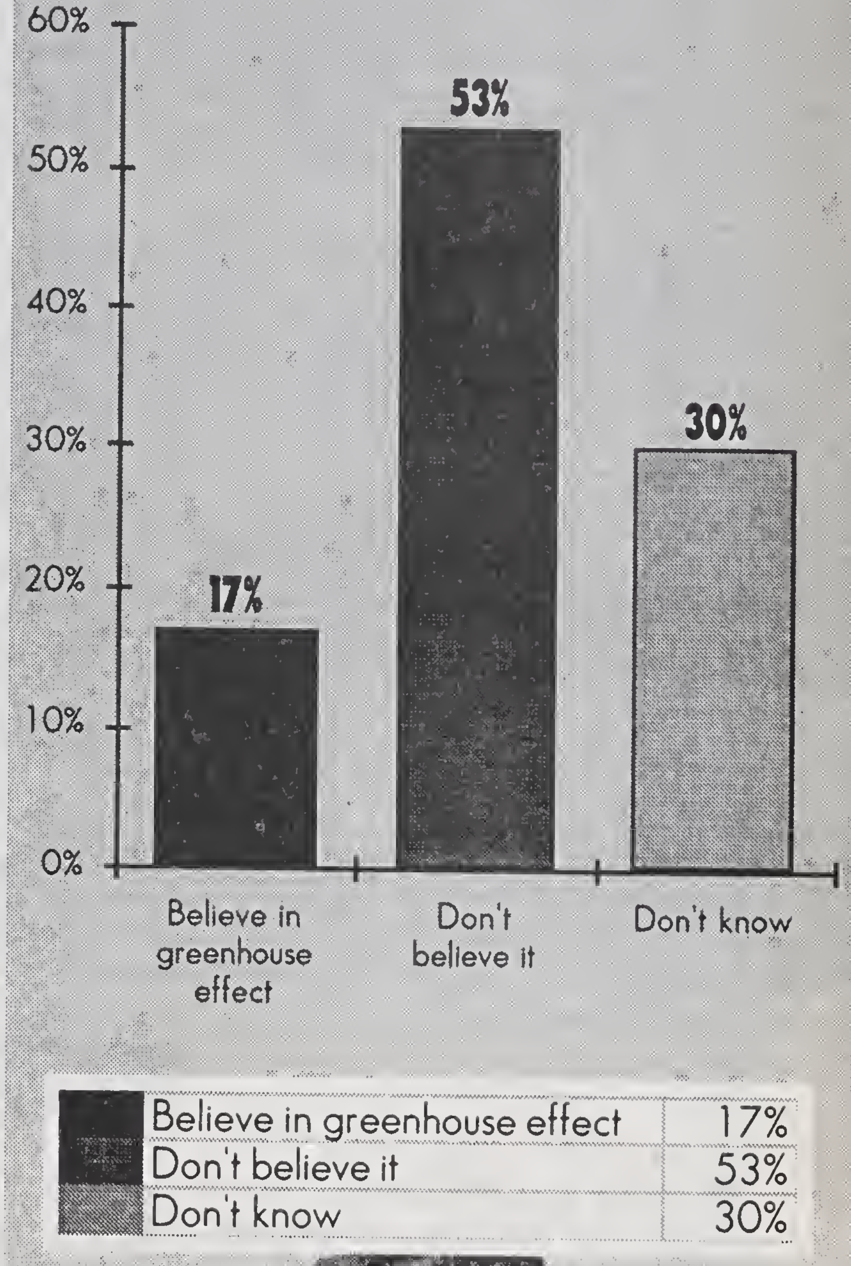
Gore insists on the extreme course of actions, shackling business and stifling growth, for no apparent reason. He calls global warming "the most serious threat we have ever faced" and wants to entirely shut off debate. In Time, he says, "That we face an ecological crisis without any precedent in historical terms is no longer a matter of any dispute worthy of any recognition." How absurd. He insists we must "change the very foundation of our civilization," and, similarly, yearns for a "wrenching transformation of society." Al scares me.

His proposed solutions beg the question. In his book he cites a CO_2 tax on page 349 and a higher tax on fossil fuels on page173 as "logical" first steps, and he outlines what he likes to call "A Global Marshall Plan" with his ballpark estimate of 100 million dollars. It is puzzling that he alludes to an economic rebuilding plan to refer to his own—one that virtually guarantees no chance for economic recovery or growth.

Malcolm Forbes summarizes, "Gore naively buys into apocalyptic environmentalism, the kind that believes 'saving' the earth requires powerful, Soviet-style bureaucratic controls. It's Marxism with a green face."

Of course, spending billions and regulating the hell out of everything in sight is no new hobby for Gore. His record proves his painfully futile, wasteful philosophy. Gore's past environmental apocalypses included biotechnology, the Love Canal and the Superfund waste regulations, running out of food and non-renewable resources, erosion on farms, the 'ozone hole', etc. None of these have proven detrimental to the environment; yet, at the time, Al was throwing away billions and pushing for harmful, often counter-productive regulations. Now Al's trying to do the same thing, only on a much larger scale. That is very scary, indeed.

SCIENTISTS' VIEW ON THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT



Courtesy of the DTH

Here's Big Al himself, wrong on the issues, scaring the public.

Multiculturalism Attacking Columb

From *The Log of Christopher Columbus*

SAVING COLOMBUS **BY ROBERT SMITH**

Lately, it has become increasingly popular for the ever-growing, intolerant revisionists, multiculturalists, and politically correct factions on college campuses to look down upon and ridicule the Western ideals out of which this country was founded.

One man who has become the oppressor of choice is Christopher Columbus. This being the 500 year anniversary since Columbus *discovered* America, and since Columbus Day was October 12, I feel now is an appropriate time to defend the man who discovered America, and in the process speak out about some of the alienation and intolerance being exhibited by a growing number of leftists across collegiate America today.

Writes Christie Davies, a British sociology professor, in a recent *Chronicles* article:

"The news that politically correct groups in the Untied States are greeting the 500th anniversary of Columbus' dicovery of America by denouncing the great explorer as an imperialist exploiter has been greeted by incredulity and derision in Europe. After all, had he not discovered America, there would be no tax-fed intelligencia of preogressive Americans to denounce him...At the very most the year 1992 of the Christian calendar of Europe might have seen mild protests in Oaxaca about the ritual cutting out of hearts in the Aztec capital."

Indeed, it seems ludicrous for we as Americans to condemn the man who made possible our own nation. Even if the protest is viewed as being a response to the annihilation of an indigenous people, not a personal attack upon the explorer himself, with such an outlook we inevitably extend our logic to reach the conclusion that our own culture is somehow "bad," a concept foreign to moral relativists and multicultural proponents. Hence, the very argument against Columbus Day dissolves in the face of this unresolvable contradiction.

To contend that we should not celebrate Columbus Day on the grounds that it symbolizes the European conquest of the Americas is as weak as saying that we should not celebrate Independence Day because of historial oppression of women and blacks within our nation. Of course there are good and bad in every nation and every culture, just as in every person. Yet just as every individual must have some sense of self-esteem, every culture must have some sense of self-pride to endure. Harsh critics of Columbus Day are guilt-ridden haters of American culture who want to rend it.

We cannot blame Columbus for t
destruction of Native Americans any mo
than we can point the finger at Christ f
"Christian" wars. Throughout the histo
of the world, cultures have come and gor
conquered and been conquered. To co
demn the Europeans is to condemn t
Chinese, the Mongolians, the Arabs, a
any who have taken other cultures, inclu
ing warring Native American tribes. Wi
most Native American deaths due
imported disease, such as small pox, it
wholly wrong to cast blame, any more th
to condemn the Chinese for the Mediev
European Black Death or the Africans f
the worldwide AIDS epidemic today.

Davies asserts, "The campaign again
Columbus is but the latest manifestation
the long held anti-Catholic and ant
Spanish bigotry that lurks througho
American history." Davies ties in t
assault on Columbus to the Monroe do
trine, Spanish-American War, Big Sti
and Good Neighbor Policies.

To ascribe a modern sense of right a
wrong to a distant historical framewo
seems misguided and wrong.

I strongly believe in individual freedo
Above all else, our founding fathers inten
ed for the individual to be the single mo
important aspect of American society. T

individual's right to pursue economic prosperity, the individual's right to choose where they wanted to live, the individual's right to do basically what they wanted and with whom they wanted, and the right of the individual to think how they wanted were paramount.

It took many years for all Americans to achieve these basic but very important rights and freedoms. Today, many multiculturalists on the college campus are trying, through thought policing, to set us on the fast track for the dark ages again.

The word multiculturalism would seem to imply a harmonious movement in which members advocate unity and equality. Unquestionably, knowledge of, understanding about, and tolerance for different cultures is positive. But the fact of the matter is that "multiculturalists" are trying there damnedest to indoctrinate college students with their own victimization mentality—anyone who is descendant of that power structure Christopher Columbus or George Washington represent cannot be happy and must brood over the terrible oppression we supposedly embody.

The belief that the primary function of your college experience is to explore where you come from and your role as oppressed or oppressor and how to deal with these factors within the university community is absolutely ridiculous and wrong.

In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, Heather MacDonald examined the misplaced emphasis on multicultural concepts in modern uiniversities. She notes:

"Within days of their arrival on campus 'new students' learn the paramount role of gender, race, ethnicity, class and sexual orientation in determining their own and others' identity. Most important, they are provided with the most critical tool of their college career: the ability to recognize their own victimization."

Ms. MacDonald goes further in her criticism of multiculturalism and its role in the orientation process by saying, "Orientations present a picture of college life in which bias lurks around every corner."

The Journal article goes on to explain how at universities such as Columbia, incoming Freshmen (which, by the way, are no longer Freshmen but 'new students') are carefully examined by the multicultural educator. If you are not deemed sufficiently victimized by the *educator*, you may acknowledge yourself as an "oppressor."

In some instances, on nearby campuses, multiculturalism has reached a new level of absurdity. At beloved Duke, gender is now an option. If you feel as if you are being oppressed as a woman at Duke, you can just say, "What the hell, I'll be a man." As Duke President H. Keith H. Brodie said in an interview, "gender is a 'preference' that should be respected."

This total lack of common sense and understanding of the world off campus would be hysterical were it not for the danger it presents. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of these mindless diatribes is that the university community actually takes such things seriously. University officials and multiculturalists must be completely deaf (not to mention totally out of touch) if they cannot hear the laughter of mainstream America.

One of the major arguments for teaching multiculturalism is the hope for a better understanding of one another in order to live together in a more unified and peaceful coexistence.

This argument has no legs to stand on.

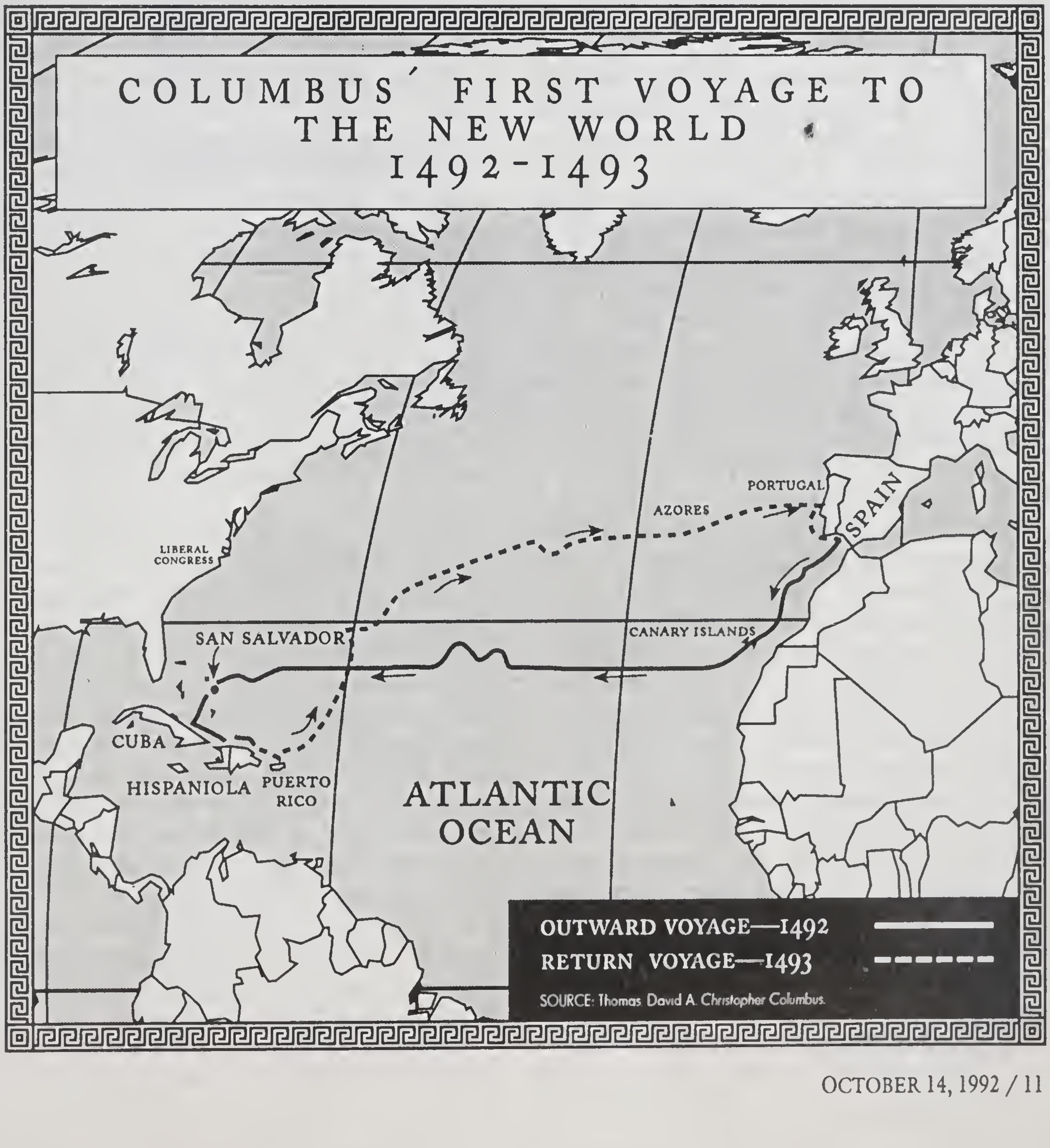
As Ms. MacDonald points out:

> "How [will] the obsessive emphasis on 'difference' and victimization lead to a more unified and harmonious culture? Students who have been taught from day one to identify themselves and their peers with one or another oppressed or oppressing group are already replicating those group divisions in their intellectual and social lives."

Ms. MacDonald sums up her argument by describing the growing expenditures and bureaucracy involved in financing this multiculturalist fiasco. Since the state has annually cut our budget here at UNC (as have many other states with universities to fund) resources are becoming more and more difficult to come by.

Once again, UNC fell in the national ranking as one of the premier institutions of higher learning, to an unprecedented low of 28th. With these statistics staring us as well as other universities in the face, it is time for universities to rise to the occasion and set this multicultural fascism behind us and concentrate on education.

I hope you had a Happy Columbus Day.



SOURCE: Thomas David A. Christopher Columbus.

LIBRARY WOES **BY DONALD PHILLIPS**

UNC OUT OF TOP 25 COLLEGE RANKINGS

UNC's Slip: An examination of our low ranking and recent library woes

1	Harvard University
2	Princeton University
3	Yale University
4	Stanford University
5	California Institute of Technology
6	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
7	Dartmouth College (NH)
8	Duke University (NC)
9	University of Chicago
10	Columbia University (NY)
11	Cornell University (NY)
12	Rice University (TX)
13	Northwestern University (IL)
14	University of Pennsylvania
15	Johns Hopkins University (MD)
16	University of California at Berkeley
17	Georgetown University (DC)
18	Brown University (RI)
19	Carnegie Mellon University (PA)
20	Washington University
21	Emory University (GA)
22	University of Virginia
23	University of California at Los Angeles
24	University of Michigan
25	Vanderbilt University (TN)

After reading or hearing about the *U.S. News and World Report* (September 28,1992) issue concerning the 1993 college guide of "America's Best Colleges", one may feel hurt and/or surprised to learn that the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill did not make the rank of top 25 national universities. Instead, UNC-CH landed in quartile one (the highest) of the "Best of the Rest" along with 25 other national universities. Upon learning this, many people quickly pointed out that the reason UNC-CH did not make *U.S. News and World Report's* "top 25" was because of the decline in its library system. The purpose of this investigation is help explain why UNC-CH did not make the "top 25," as well as to provide information concerning the current library situation.

According to U.S. News , the schools:

> "were ranked within each category by combining statistics gathered from the colleges with the results of U.S. News's exclusive survey of academic reputations among 2,527 responding college presidents, deans and admissions directors."

The overall score was determined by five categories. The academic reputation category score was determined by the combination of the remaining four categories. The first category was the selectivity of the student body. "Selectivity was determined by the acceptance rate among applicants to the 1991 entering class; the 'yield,' or the percentage of those accepted who actually enrolled; the enrollees' high-school class standings, and either the average or midpoint combined scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test or the composite American College Testing Assessment." This category counted 25 percent. UNC-CH had a lower student acceptance rate than 11 of the "top 25" and all but one of the quartile one "Best of the Rest."

The second category rated was student satisfaction. "Student satisfaction was based on the average percentage of students in the 1983 to 1986 freshman classes who graduated within five years of the year they enrolled. This category counted seven percent.

The third category was the faculty-resources ranking. This "was derived from the 1991 ratio of full-time-equivalent students to full-time-equivalent faculty," the percentage of faculty with doctorates or other top degrees; "the percentage of faculty with part-time status, and the average 1991 salary, with benefits, for tenured full-time professors." However, "this year's calculations eliminated law and medical school faculty to make faculty-student ratios more accurately reflect the undergraduate experience." This action had an impact on UNC-CH since we have outstanding law and medical schools that were not represented. The faculty-resource ranking counted 25 percent.

The fourth category was the strength of the financial resources of the school. This category "was determined by the total 19
expenditures for its educational progr
(the sum spent on instruction; student s
vices; academic support, which inclu
libraries and computing services, a
administration) divided by its total fu
time-equivalent enrollment plus all ot
spending in 1991." This category coun
only 18 percent of the total 100. Out of
top 51 schools ("top 25" and the 26 quar
one "Best of the Rest"), 33 are private wh
a mere 18 are public. There are only f
public universities included in the "top 2
Since UNC-CH is a public university, m
of its funding comes from the state. T
well established private institutions listed
the "top 25" are heavily endowed and m
or may not face the same financial restr
tions and/or rigors of a state controlled, s
ported and regulated university.

The fifth category, academic reputati
is derived from the combination of th
four categories. The academic reputat
rank counted for 25 percent with a hig
rank being better. UNC-CH had an aca
mic reputation rank above four of "top
schools and tied three more. Thus, UN
CH still has a high reputation regardless
is excluded from the "top 25." The art
did not state the UNC-CH scores in each
the four categories that determine the ac
emic reputation; only the academic repu
tion rank was given.

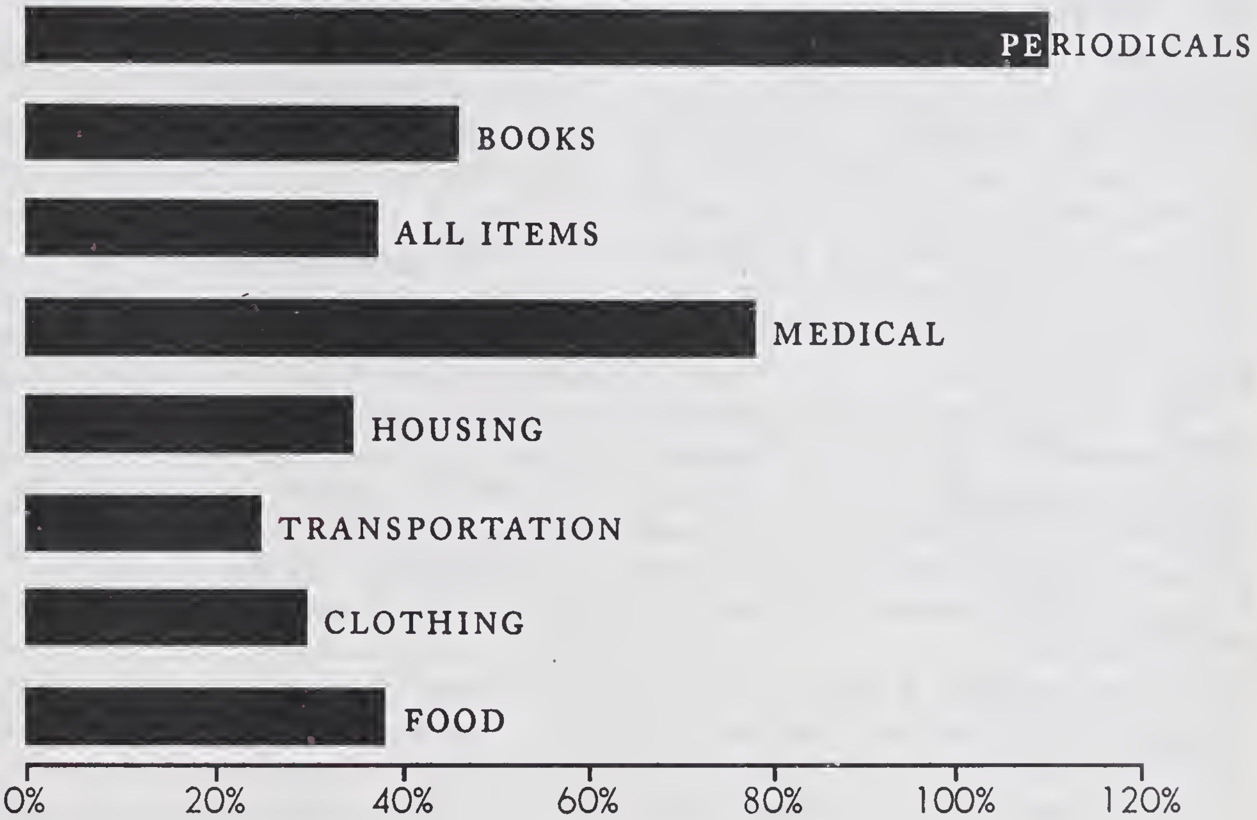
Therefore, other areas contributed
UNC-CH's drop, not merely a decline
the library system. This is not to say, h

PERIODICALS DRAIN LIBRARY BUDGET

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF PRICES BETWEEN 1984-1991

Food	36.80%
Clothing	28.70%
Transportation	23.80%
Housing	33.60%
Medical	77.00%
All items	36.20%
Books	44.70%
Periodicals	108.70%

The cost of subscribing to periodicals has risen the most in the last seven years. Resource sharing and electronic access help a little, but inevitably libraries must cancel subscriptions to many periodicals.



ever, that the UNC-CH library system is not hurting. Although the library standing counts for little of the overall grade in the *U.S. News* report, the situation on the UNC-CH campus should not be overlooked. The system is having to face some tough problems and is having to make some tough decisions.

According to *The Charlotte Observer* (Tuesday, September 8, 1992), Pam Kelly states that "since 1985, state budget cuts and soaring book and journal prices have crippled the ability of the state's largest public library to gather the knowledge that distinguishes a great collection." Kelly goes on to state that this "concerns UNC officials, because a university's perceived quality is linked closely with its library's quality. Generally, the nation's top research libraries belong to the nation's most highly rated universities."

According to Jack Shipman, University Bibliographer and Head of Collection Development, The University of North Carolina is not the only system suffering library woes; "generally the universities' libraries are suffering." Pam Kelly states that "in recent years, inflation and the dollar's devaluation against foreign currencies have drastically pushed up the price of books and academic journals, many published abroad." Shipman states that "a great deal of the materials purchased come from overseas to begin with." This calculates to 41 percent of books and 32 percent of serials. Thus, "because the dollar drops, we pay more."

Hence, the major problem facing the UNC libraries is the increase in cost. However, the main contributor to the increase in cost is periodicals, not books. According to Library Issues (September 1992), "the average price of a periodical subscription, as reported in Library Journal, rose at an unrelenting rate of 11.7 percent from $93.45 in 1990 to $104.36 in 1991." To add to this figure, Library Issues states that the consumer price index shows an increase of 108.7 percent in periodical prices from 1984 to 1991. The second closest category was medical prices, which have risen 77 percent.

Prices for periodicals are not cheap, especially if a university purchases the needed amount to remain competitive. Library Issues states that the average price for a chemistry or physics subscription is $472.84.

"Subscription prices for 1992 increased an average of 12.2 percent, and prices for 1993 are expected to increase from 10-12 percent. Due primarily to the weak, declining dollar, the price increases for some foreign periodicals could exceed 30 percent in 1993." According to the Academic Affairs Library, serial costs at UNC-CH increased 61.9 percent from fiscal years 1987/88 to 1992/93. The prices continue to rise.

According to Jack Shipman:

> "around 1985-86 we had a good quality value for the dollar research collection that matched the level of research and teaching on this campus. We had a library that matched the excellent nationally recognized faculty and students. The problem is the costs have risen geometrically the last six years while the budgets have remained relatively the same. As a result, we had to cut over 1800 serial subscriptions and reduce book acquisitions by one-half. We are losing fewer and fewer resources at a time when we want to be on the cutting edge."

As Pam Kelly states, "this cut is nearly 10 percent of the paid subscriptions to journals and other publications." When the UNC-CH library loses these subscriptions, permanent holes are left in the collection thus, lowering effectiveness and ranking. Kelly also states that ,"The Association of Research Libraries ranked UNC 15th in size among 107 research libraries during the 1985-86 school year." But this ranking fell to 22nd in 1990-91, the most recent figures available. Thus, budgets have not kept up with the staggering costs of periodicals. As a result, according to Kelly, "UNC has shifted money from its book budget to pay the rising cost of journals and other serial publications."

Many ask what can be done to control the rising cost of periodicals which are hurting the library. Jack Shipman and Dr. Joe Hewitt, Associate University Librarian for Technical Services, agree on possible solutions to this problem. They establish short-term as well as long-term goals. Short-term goals include: improved budgets to match

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

LIBERTARIANS **BY CRAIG HENDRIX**

A Viable Alternative in North Carolina

ELECTION 92
LIBERTARIAN PARTY

Imagine a political party that could trace its ideology to a single moral principle and base all policy decisions on such a foundation. This party could avoid the problem faced by Democrats and Republicans today of having blurry, inconsistent and often overlapping ideas of what a government of the people should look like. This party would emphasize its principles over the pursuit of building career politicians, a trap which the traditional parties have not been able to escape. This party would provide an alternative to all Americans (regardless of class, race, gender, religion or sexual orientation) so that one did not have to choose between "the lesser of two evils," or as Rush Limbaugh put it, "the evils of two lessers."

Well, O! Glory day! Such a party does exist. It answers to the name "Libertarian" and has been steadily growing since its organization in 1971. In 1990, it claimed five million votes nationwide and this year it has put over 750 candidates on ballots in all fifty states.

However, the most attractive aspect of the party is not its success but its political philosophy. It puts forth one belief—that the moral principle of self-ownership, as an intrinsic feature of a rational creature, is paramount. From this premise, the party supports individual liberty and personal responsibility, limited government and free enterprise. Furthermore, because the party is so partial to liberty and choice, it expects its electors to have some disagreements about particular issues—it's all part of the marketplace of ideas.

The party has a philosophical claim to ideas expressed by early Americans. (e.g., "That which governs least, governs best," Thomas Jefferson and Henry David Thoreau. And, "you are not to inquire how your trade may be increased, nor how you are to become a great and powerful people, but how your liberties can be secured; for liberty ought to be the direct end of your Government," Patrick Henry.) The party also derives large portions of its ideology from twentieth century thinkers such as Ludwig von Mises, Milton Friedman, F.A. Hayek and Robert Nozick.

THE PARTY HAS A PHILOSOPHICAL CLAIM TO IDEAS EXPRESSED BY EARLY AMERICANS. (E.G., "THAT WHICH GOVERNS LEAST, GOVERNS BEST"

It sounds like a great idea, but how does it look in action? The organization of the Libertarian Party stresses the importance of local office over national office. For example, although the Libertarian Party of North Carolina (LPNC) fully supports Andre Marrou and Nancy Lord in their pursuit of the White House, it is focusing most of its efforts on state elections, primarily on its gubernatorial candidate, Scott McLaughlin. Briefly, McLaughlin, 33, is an ex-GOP-er from High Point who hopes to be North Carolina's first "non-Jim" governor since 1972.

The platform put forth by McLaughlin demonstrates how Libertarianism can be applied to specific issues. First, he favors the abolition of the sales tax on food and medicine, another area in which North Carolina leads the nation. He believes this lost revenue of $271 million could be compensated for through the attrition of state jobs which turnover at a rate of 7% annually. By implementing a hiring freeze and by combining present offices as they become vacant, he feels he could downsize the government by 28%.

McLaughlin also proposes a tax sponsorship program, essentially a tax credit for private education. North Carolina presently spends $3, 038 annually per pupil on public education. McLaughlin seeks a $2,200 annual tax credit for students who wish to attend a private school. For each student who participates, the state would save $838. McLaughlin realizes that $2,200 is insufficient to cover tuition at every private school, so he is asking companies to sponsor students who could not account for the difference.

Furthermore, he encourages private schools to act as brokers for companies in order to obtain the necessary funds for interested students. On another educational issue, McLaughlin supports local school board control of curriculums that now originate in Raleigh.

Other concerns include a state lottery, obtaining the right for citizens to carry concealed weapons (with a permit and sufficient background checks), and the decriminalization of marijuana.

From the basis of their political philosophy to their stance on specific issues, the Libertarian Party appeals to many voters; many more than the 2-3% who usually vote Libertarian. One reason for the lack of support is that many feel a vote for the Libertarian candidate will not contribute to the election of our nation's leaders, who are almost always members of the other two parties. But in order for the Libertarian Party to grow, it must have a base of faithful supporters who vote Libertarian out of conviction and not as a protest.

State Chairman Lynn Fogwell explains that the Libertarian Party of North Carolina has made large gains in the last few years. For example, in North Carolina one may now register as a Libertarian, instead of as a Democrat or a Republican. Another gain is the addition of the Libertarian Party Presidential candidates to the ballot, which ensures voters of three visible options.

In order for the party to maintain these privileges, however, it must receive at least ten percent of the vote in either the Presidential or Gubernatorial race in North Carolina. Fogwell believes that McLaughlin has the best chance of reaching this goal. He feels McLaughlin could easily receive ten percent if the party had better funding. Therefore, if you find the Libertarian ideal of government attractive, you should make an effort to cast your vote likewise to maintain ballot access in the future.

Libertarian Ideals

- Tax credit for private education
- A government which governs least, governs best.
- Abolition of sales tax on food and medicine.
- Legalization of marijuana
- State Lottery

The libertarian party needs 10% of the vote in this election to maintain its recently acquired privileges.

Review & Outlook: Even Columbus

They all laughed at Christopher Columbus when he said the world was round, but ho, ho, ho, who's got the last laugh now? No one, only guilt is politically correct.

The PC forces haven't tried to rewrite George and Ira Gershwin's song, but just about everything else Columbian has been pulled into the culture war. Columbus Day serves as a protest peg for the twin towers of permanently disaffected: the muticultural movement and the radical environmentalists.

So we read University of Colorado Prof. Glenn Morris's view that Columbus was "a murderer, he was a slave trader, he was a rapist, he was the architect of a policy of genocide that continues today in this hemisphere." We get a book on Columbus by University of Hawaii Prof. David Stannard entitled "American Holocaust." The once-respected Smithsonian Institution—in danger of becoming the Woodstock Nostalgia Society—produces an exhibition that is multiculturally correct down to its tiniest sensitivity. The national Council of Churches declares that "invasion, genocide, slavery and 'ecocide'" were the products of Columbus's voyage.

This level of vitriol doesn't have much to do with events of 500 years ago, but everything to do with left-wing politics today. The heaviest salvo in the Columbus war came from Kirkpatrick Sale, who charges that Columbus was the first polluter of a pristine land in his book "The Conquest of Paradis: Christopher Colubus and the Columbian Legacy." For Mr. Sale and other bashers, Columbus committed America's original sin; his crimes prove that what's come since is rotten to the core.

KIRKPATRICK SALE...CHARGES THAT COLUMBUS WAS THE FIRST POLLUTER OF A PRISTINE LAND.

FOR MR. SALE...COLUMBUS COMMITTED AMERICAS'S ORIGINAL SIN; HIS CRIMES PROVE THAT WHAT'S COME SINCE IS ROTTEN TO THE CORE.

Mr. Sale, a 1960s-style ecologist, recently gave his views on Western civilization in an interview with the Washington Post: "I regard it as a desperately sick and inwardly miserable society that doesn't realize that it is suffering from the terminal disease I would call affluenza. ... [I]t is founded on a set of ideas that are fundamentally pernicious, and they have to do with rationalism and humanism and materialism and science and progress. These are to my mind just pernicious concepts." Mr. Sale's alternative society? "Imagine if it had singing, dancing, lauging and sex as its regular components."

While the U.S. has been lacerating itself, Spain—still a serious country—has been commemorating both Columbus and expulsion of the Jews, which also took place in 1492. King Juan Carlos gave a dignified speech in which he recognized the 500-year old atrocity against the Jew, but Spaniards haven't torn themselves apart or taken these episodes as proof that they are currently depraved.

Some sections of America, by constrast, are suffering from a crisis of cultural confidence.

Though environmento-candidate Albert Gore is not as blunt as Mr. Sale, when he writes in his book, "Earth in the Balance," that our "dysfunctional society" needs a radical overhaul, he is saying much the same thing.

Some scholar should get cracking on a book on the mining and manufacture of guilt in American society. Such a book would have to include a chapter on the way guilt was transformed from something that one inflicted upon one-self into something that one assigned to other people. The definition of the adversary culture is a group that enjoys the benefits of, say, the European immigration to America, while declaring itself apart because of its correct thoughts.

Another chapter would have to deal with relentless revisionism. The writer Andrew Ferguson once wrote an essay entitled "Everything You Know Is Wrong" in which he described the movement that has flourished since the 1960s to prove that every supposedly great man was depraved. Perhaps some people think they are chipping at Western civilization by knocking its icons; perhaps they just like to feel smarter than their parents.

In fact, little new about Columbus has surfaced in the past half-century. For example, the Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1911 takes note of Columbus's founding of the slave trade, and goes on to arrive at a balanced judgment of his legacy.

The good news today is that most people have put the politics on hold and taken a measured view of the man. A compelling statement comes from the avant-garde American composer Philip Glass, whose opera "The Voyager" opens tonight at the Metropolitan Opera, with a libretto by David Henry Hwang. "Christopher Columbus was a dynamic, fascinating man," Mr. Glass writes in his preface. "in most cases he was a man of his time—no better probably no worse. But remarkable for the force and dedication he brought to his dreams. And this, above all, is what sets him apart and makes him compelling for us today...."

If your Columus Day celebrations go right, maybe you'll experience Mr. Sale's society of "singing, dancing, laughing and sex." But don't overdo it, because tomorrow is a workday, and another day of discovery.

This article was originally printed on The Wall Street Journal's *editorial page on October 12, 1992.*º

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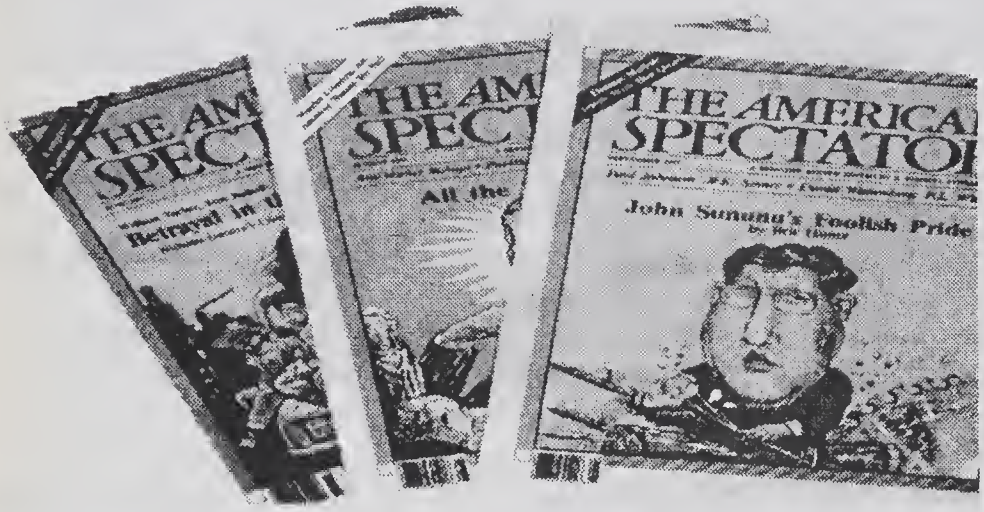

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CAROLINA CRITIC 10/14/92

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

Libraries hurting financially

increases in inflation of books and periodicals, cooperation with other libraries such as Duke and North Carolina State to coordinate library materials and holdings, and subscription only to those periodicals which are used and/or needed, as a way to cut back cost.

The budget should match the inflation rate for information costs, not that for food or clothes. This financing will allow the UNC library system to keep up with the rising costs while not depleting the moneys designated for other areas. According to Jack Shipman, as far as coordination and cooperation with other universities, UNC-CH, Duke, and NCSU "have probably the longest history of cooperation among any of the American Research Libraries." The two reasons for this cooperation are the geographical proximity of Duke and N.C. State as well as a compatibility of curriculum, where a whole range of different materials compliment each other.

Yet the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill must work hard to keep a good standing collection. Shipman states that "we need to make sure this collection is a viable resource, matching the needs of the students and faculty as best we can by determining what we need and use."

Long-term goals are more complex and necessarily concern the main problem of the high cost of periodicals: the publisher. Shipman and Hewitt have two possibilities of a long-term goal of reducing periodical expenses. The first goal is to have some of the publishing done by non-profit presses such as a university press or a scholarly society. This would help eliminate some of the costs of going to a publisher, yet would still allow the work to be published.

The second goal is to have publishing done electronically. Electronic publishing would mean material to be published would be on network terminals rather than on paper. These articles would still contain pre-evaluated material. Copyrights, prices, accesses, and controls are many of the problems facing electronic publishing. As a result of complications today, increased non-profit publishing and electronic publishing are possibilities only for the future.

No doubt the library system at UNC-CH is under financial strain, as are many other institutions. However, UNC-CH faces a greater challenge, due to budget constraints not necessarily faced by private schools. For instance, UNC-CH has to pay taxes on its new acquisitions whereas Duke does not because it is a private, non-profit organization. These differences such as this combine to form many reasons why the libraries have declined.

The decline in the UNC-CH libraries, however, are not the only reason or even the main reason for the drop from U.S. News and World Report's "top 25" universities. Like the many factors that cause the decline of the library, there are many factors which contributed to this drop. But do not be alarmed; the rankings are imprecise at best and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is still a top university.

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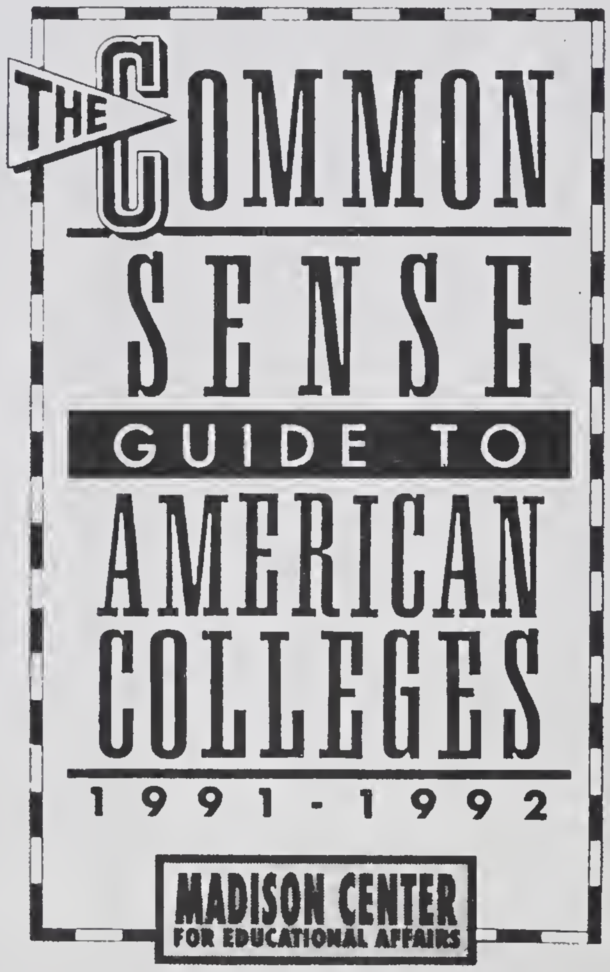

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COP OPPRESSION **BY ROLAND HARTWIG**

CHAPEL HILL

College Town or Police State?

STUDENTS ARE NO LONGER FREE TO MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS— OTHERS MAKE THEIR DECISIONS FOR THEM.

Thoughts of Chapel Hill have traditionally brought back refreshing memories of those happy carefree days, when time rolled along at its own leisurely pace, and one could find unlimited sources of pleasure and fun without worry or fear. Chapel Hill was a college town that thrived on its college students and the students lived for the town. And while it still seems this way on those crisp, sunny, autumn days as one gently wanders through the arboretum, there is a distinctly noticeable force roaming through this playground of our livelihood.

This semester lays claim to more acts of aggression on and off campus than in past years. Considering these recent events, it seems reasonable to increase security measures and patrol the area more frequently. Nevertheless, it is imperative to question the nature of placing patrols in such direct contact with students and the university. It is disturbing that two fully armed officers sit down next to me in the Cutting Board. It is disturbing to go to a football game and see squadrons of heavily armed officers sit in the end zone, and see cops line the field, and line the aisles and the entrances, and control every intersection, and even sit in the middle of your block. Why must police officers, historically symbols of governmental restriction and limitation smother a university, traditionally designated as the hot bed of controversial ideas and the foundation for the development of freedom of expression. It is admirable that officers patrol the campus for our safety, but it is the development of a police state that dictates the need to look for trouble. And it is no longer just police officers making their rounds! What is this new idea of student patrols with walkie talkies, uniforms, and big attitudes, other than an extension of Big Brother's right hand. Our very peers are now defecting to the other side and taking on the role of Big Brother. Mini-cops patrol the halls of the dorms, waiting to report on your private lives and overhear your conversations.

Campus police and Chapel Hill police should protect students not capitalize on them. They should serve students in the same capacity as other residents of the community, and yet it really does not seem as if students are respected as community members. Rather, police would have students seen as the menace to the community. While it is important to recognize that police officers only do the job assigned to them, and while they do not make the laws, one must question the nature of the higher authority that sets the guidelines as to the implementation of law enforcement. Let us bust fraternity parties for noise violations because students are having fun and might be drinking. Let us write this young person a citation for carrying an open can of beer across campus. Let us fine this one for taking a whiz in a shaded corner of the arboretum. And here's a guy trying to buy beer on a fake ID, we can make three hundred bucks and get community service from him.

I support the decision of a police officer to pull me over at 2:30 am when I swerve out of my lane. This is a service to the community-the prevention of drunk driving. When on the other hand, I am cited for swimming in my own apartment's swimming pool at one in the morning, by an undercover cop who tells me he has a .358 Magnum, I feel that the police officer was abusing his power and capitalizing on good natured students. When campus officers lock the Union doors just as you arrive, and refuse to let you enter the Union to watch a movie you paid to see, and then just watch you knock on the glass door and blow you off as an idiot, one must question whether they are your friends or you are their menace.

The police are not the only ones tightening their grip on the community. The University is also suppressing the freedoms of students-one step at a time. The fraternity system is being squeezed to death by the University. The campus festivals and all campus dorm functions have been eliminated. If it is fun for the students, then the University will find a way to kill it. The carefree days of the past are no longer here. The mass student protests, the unity against government, and the hatred for conformity are no longer present. I suppose that people change as the times change, and I can't say that the last decade has been for the better. Students are no longer free to make their own decisions— others make their decisions for them. People are no longer responsible for themselves— others are responsible for them. My bartender is responsible for me. My host is responsible for me. My university is responsible for me. But why? Am I not in control of my own life? I see police at every corner and I wonder whether my actions are really my own. Big Brother is watching you.

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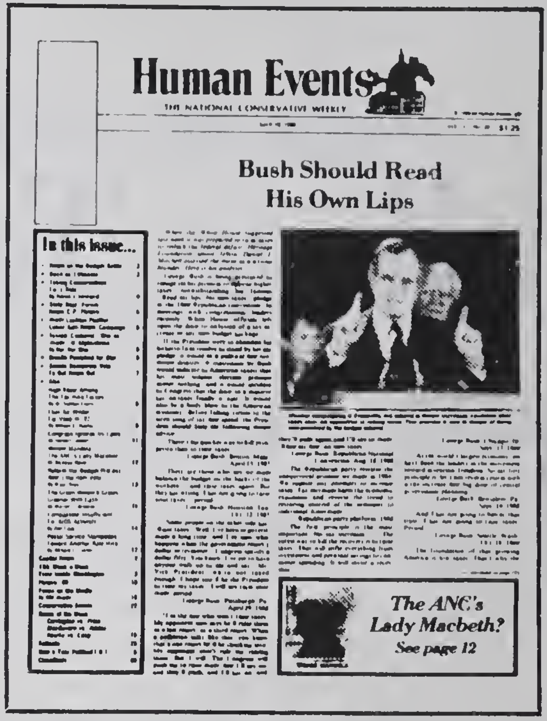
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Bush Should Read His Own Lips

In this issue...

The ANC's Lady Macbeth? See page 12

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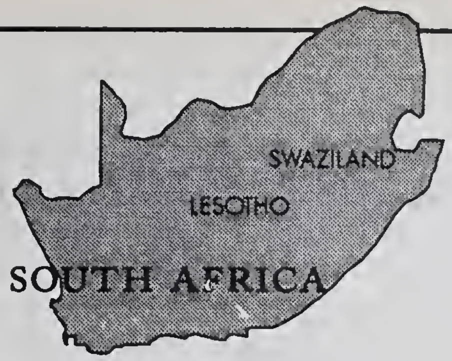

SOUTH AFRICA **BY JENNIFER DURHAM**

Who Is the Real Leader?

The question of whom to support in South African politics poses a problem for the United States. Tribal and political conflicts in the country contain many intricacies incomprehensible to those of us who live in "The Melting Pot." As evidenced by past and present sanctions against the government of South Africa, the United States is a country trying to influence South African policy. But its policy-makers and analysts should think carefully before endorsing the most popular alternative to the current white government.

The classifications "black" and "white" are oversimplifications when describing South Africa's ethnic composition. Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans diversify the white population, and the black population consists of various tribes often hostile toward one another. Escalating tribal violence and dissension within white ranks seriously threaten any move toward democracy the country might make. It therefore remains essential that South Africa choose its future leaders with extreme care.

A major source of friction relevant to the South African political arena involves an ongoing and increasingly hostile conflict between supporters of the African National Congress and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Xhosa form the core of the ANC's constituency; Inkatha derives the bulk of its support from the Zulu people.

The conflict in question, however, does not simply mirror ethnic division. The African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party represent South Africa's most powerful and second-most powerful black political movements, respectively. Like their ethnic compositions, their political philosophies are radically different.

The African National Congress maintains close links with the South African Communist Party. Although the organization does not officially espouse communism, many of its policy goals reflect extreme leftist ideology. The ANC favors, for example, placing a good portion of the private sector under state control and redistribution of wealth, which includes confiscating land and collectivizing agriculture. The ANC's discredited far-left economic policies can only further damage the already-delicate republic and add to the country's woes.

The ANC hopes to achieve its goals through four 'pillars' of resistance: international isolation of the South African government (ie., sanctions and boycotts), armed struggle, underground organization of ANC cells, and mass resistance. In other words, for the ANC, the ends justify the means. South Africa can ill afford insurrectionists the ANC might place in key positions of a government it controlled.

Nelson Mandela himself tells us the direction in which the ANC would steer South Africa. In a speech just over two years ago at a rally in Angola, Mandela told a crowd:

> "...But there is one thing where [Cuba] stands head and shoulders above most of the countries of the world: it is its love of human rights and of freedom..."

If Cuba is Mandela's model vision of human rights, South Africa had best avoid electing him president.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, on the other hand, espouses an ideology more likely to strengthen a reformed republic. Inkatha's economic goals include a market-based economy, redistribution of wealth resulting from deregulation, land ownership, government intervention only to the extent that it does not interfere significantly with market forces, restricting the size of government, and increased international investment. A society that adopts Buthelezi's economic plan stands a far better chance of survival than one that falls under the ANC's plan.

Inkatha also prefers nonviolent change to armed conflict and mass resistance. The party prefers negotiation to armed resistance, favors multi-party democracy and has demonstrated more willingness negotiate with the current government than has the ANC. Inkatha's current unfair treatment of ANC supporters raises some questions on its potential fairness were it to gain key posts in the government, but Buthelezi's proposed economic goals clearly establish his party as a superior alternative to ANC rule.

Why, then, does the press continuously present Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress as the heroes of South Africa? Why the failure to advocate Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party as a viable alternative to the ANC's socialistic tendencies?

Like many idealistic Third World movements, the ANC somehow inched its way into the "politically correct" arena. Nelson Mandela represents the antithesis of the dreaded white government, and, Buthelezi, the moderate alternative, never gained credibility.

South Africa won't travel down an easy road to democracy. Even if the current government introduces radical reforms that allow greater black participation, tribal and political conflicts will seriously inhibit chances for successful transition. A new government's delicate position would necessitate that it divorce itself from extreme economic policies that have failed time and again and ally itself with the sound economic policies advocated by Buthelezi's party.

Inkatha's slim chance of success should not deter Western support for the movement that best represents its interests and its ideology. While our more conservative recent presidents, especially President Reagan, have demonstrated reluctance to embrace the ANC, the press has not. The average newspaper reader thinks Nelson Mandela and the radical ANC are "the good guys" and probably doesn't recognize the name "Mangosuthu Buthelezi."

If we cannot support the Inkatha Freedom Party, we should at least avoid affiliation with the African National Congress. South Africa under ANC rule would subject the country's citizens to more hardship and fewer freedoms. Both the ANC and Inkatha oppose apartheid. Both parties are guilty of violence that could threaten the credibility and effectiveness of a new government. But Buthelezi, with his market-oriented economic goals, clearly establishes himself as a better alternative than the ANC with its socialistic plan.

The Low State of Higher Education

ROBERT J SAMUELSON

FROM WASHINGTON POST

You should treat the loud cries now coming from colleges and universities that the last bastion of excellence in American education is being gutted by state budget cuts and mounting costs. Whatever else it is, higher education is not a bastion of excellence. It is shot through with waste, lax academic standards and mediocre teaching and scholarship.

True, the economic pressures—from the Ivy League to state systems—are intense. Last year nearly two-thirds of schools had to make midyear spending cuts to stay within their budgets. It is also true (as university presidents and deans argue) that relieving those pressures merely by raising tuitions and cutting courses will make matters worse. Students will pay more and get less. The university presidents and deans want to be spared from further government budget cuts. Their case is weak.

Higher education is a bloated enterprise. Too many professors do too little teaching to too many ill-prepared students. Costs can be cut and quality improved without reducing the number of graduates. Many colleges and universities should shrink. Some should go out of business. Consider:

HIGHER EDUCATION IS A BLOATED ENTERPRISE. TOO MANY PROFESSORS DO TOO LITTLE TEACHING TO TOO MANY ILL-PREPARED STUDENTS.

Except for elite schools, academic standards are low. About 70 percent of freshmen at four-year colleges and universities attend their first-choice schools. Roughly 20 percent go to their second choices. Most schools have eagerly boosted enrollments to maximize revenues (tuition and state subsidies).

Dropout rates are high. Half or more of freshmen don't get degrees. A recent study of PhD programs at 10 major universities (including Harvard, Stanford and Yale) also found high drop-out rates for doctoral candidates.

The attrition among undergraduates is particularly surprising because college standards have apparently fallen. One study of seven top schools (including Amherst, Duke and University of Michigan) found widespread grade inflation. In 1963, half of the students in introductory philosophy courses got a B- or worse. By 1986, only 21 percent did. If elite schools have relaxed standards, the practice is almost surely widespread.

Faculty teaching loads have fallen steadily since the 1960s. In major universities, senior faculty members often do less than two hours a day of teaching. Professors are "socialized to publish, teach graduate students and spend as little time teaching [undergraduates] as possible," concludes James Fairweather of Penn State University in a new study. Faculty pay consistently rises as undergraduate teaching loads drop.

Universities have encouraged an almost mindless explosion of graduate degrees. Since 1960, the number of masters' degrees awarded annually has risen more than fourfold to37,000. Between 1965 and 1989, the annual number of MBAs (masters in business administration) jumped from 7,600 to 73,100.

Our system has strengths. It boasts many top-notch schools and allows almost anyone to go to college. But mediocrity is pervasive. We push as many freshmen as possible through the door, regardless of qualifications. Because bachelors' degrees are so common, we create more graduate degrees of dubious worth. Does anyone believe the MBA explosion has improved management?

You won't hear much about this from college deans or university presidents. The created this mess and are its biggest beneficiaries. Large enrollments support large faculties. More graduate students liberate tenured faculty from undergraduate teaching to concentrate on writing and research: the source of status. Richard Huber, a former college dean, writes knowingly in a new book ("How professors Play the Cat Guarding the Cream: Why We're Paying More and Getting Less in Higher Education"):

"Presidents, deans and trustees...call for more recognition of good teaching with prizes and salary incentives. The reality is closer to the experience of Harvard University's distinguished paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould: 'To be perfectly honest, though lip service is given to teaching, I have never seriously heard teaching considered in any meeting for promotion.... Writing is the currency of prestige and promotion.'"

About four-fifths of all students attend state-subsidized systems, from community colleges to prestige universities. How governors and state legislatures deal with their budget pressures will be decisive. Private schools will, for better or worse, be influenced by state actions. The states need to do three things.

First, create genuine entrance requirements. Today's low standards tell high school students: You don't have to work hard to go to college. States should change the message by raising tuitions sharply and coupling the increase with generous scholarships based on merit and income. To get scholarships, students would have to pass meaningful entrance exams. Ideally, the scholarships should be available for use at in-state schools. All schools would then compete for students on the basis of academic quality and costs. Today's system of general tuition subsidies provides aid to well-to-do families that don't need it or unqualified students who don't deserve it.

MEDIOCRITY IS PERVASIVE [IN SCHOOLS]. WE PUSH AS MANY FRESHMEN AS POSSIBLE THROUGH THE DOOR, REGARDLESS OF QUALIFICATIONS.

Next, states should raise faculty teaching loads, mainly at four-year schools. (Teaching loads at community colleges are already high.) This could cut costs and reemphasize the primacy of teaching at most schools. What we need are teachers who know their fields and can communicate enthusiasm to students. Not all professors can be path-breaking scholars. The excessive emphasis on scholarship generates many unread books and mediocre articles in academic journals. "You can't do more of one [research] without less of the other [teaching]," says Fairweather. "People are working hard—it's just where they're working."

Finally, states should reduce or eliminate the least useful graduate programs. Journalism (now dubbed " communications"), business and education are prime candidates. A lot of what they teach can—and should—be learned on the job. If colleges and universities did a better job of teaching undergraduates, there would be less need for graduate degrees.

Our colleges and universities need to provide a better education to deserving students. This may mean smaller enrollments, but given today's attrition rates, the number of graduates need not drop. Higher education could become a bastion of excellence if we only try.

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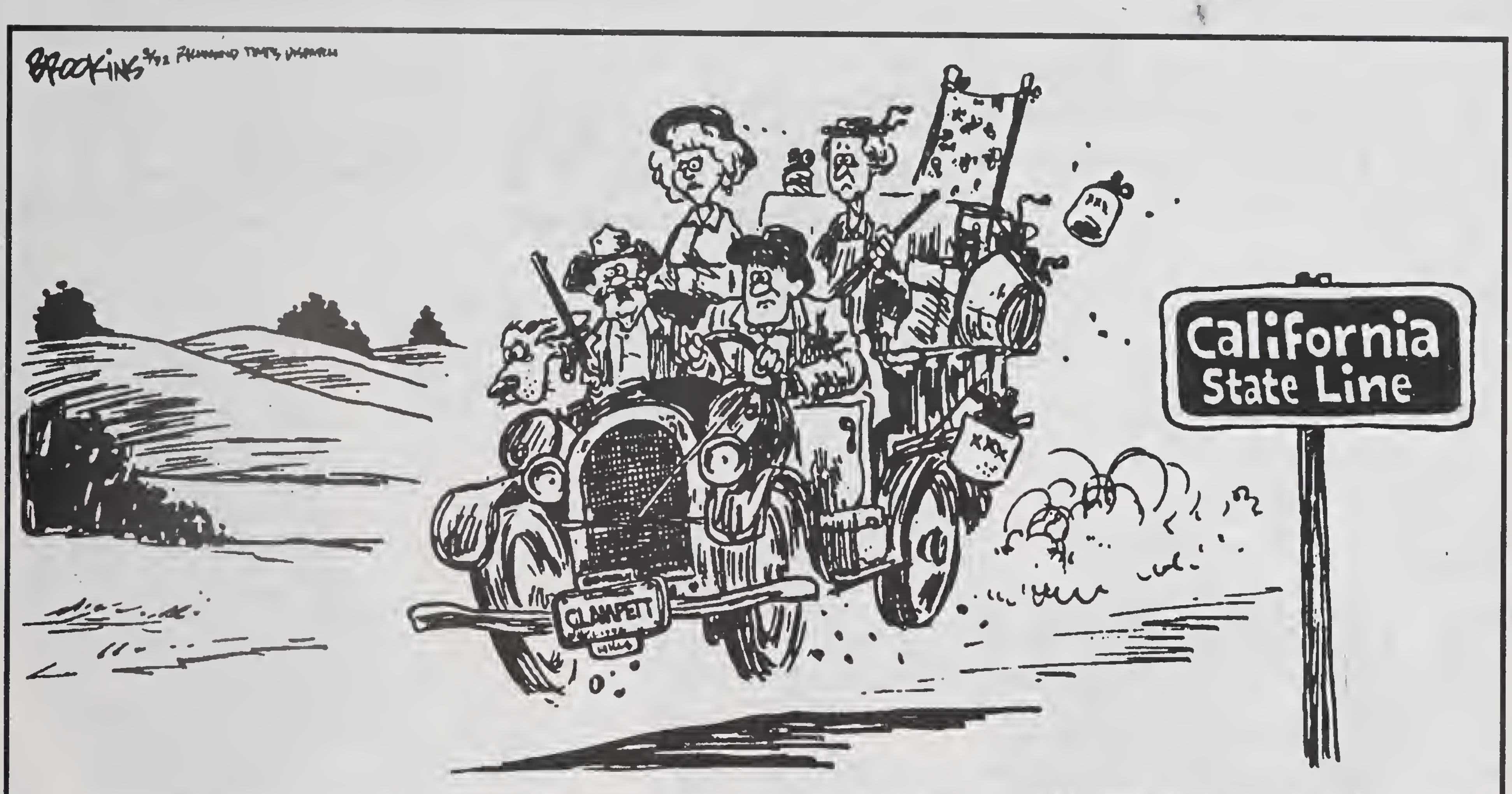

"I'VE HAD IT WITH THE CRIME, GANG WARS, RIOTS, EARTHQUAKES, BRUSH FIRES, MUDSLIDES, HIGH TAXES, AND STATE BUDGET CRISES -- STEP ON IT, JETHRO... WE'RE GOIN' BACK HOME !! ....."

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VI, ISSUE 4

DECEMBER 9, 1992

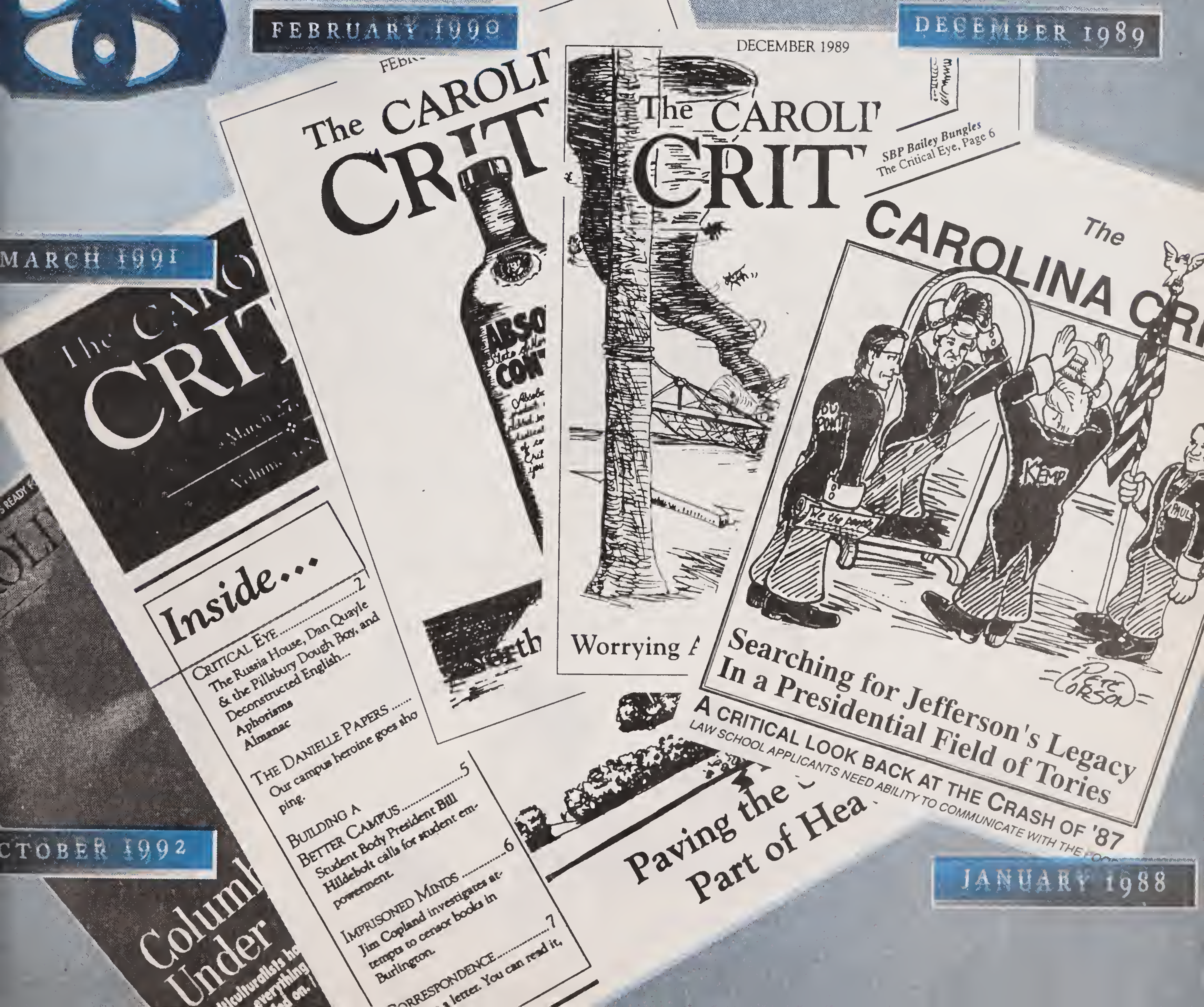
FIVE YEARS OF THE CRITIC

ecial fifth anniversary issue with selected articles from the past five years

- The Homeless
- Federal Funding of disasters
- Jesse Helms and Ed Meese
- Minimum Wage
- Drugs
- Women in the Military
- Censorship

Anniversary coverage begins on page 12

Looking Back into the Past



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In a Presidential Field of Tories

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LAW SCHOOL APPLICANTS NEED ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE

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OCTOBER 1992

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Explore Public Policy this Summer

If you see a place for a free society in solving today's social and economic problems, come and spend your summer with the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation. The Foundation's Summer Fellow Program will accept up to 30 undergraduates for its 10 week program beginning June 12 and ending August 21.

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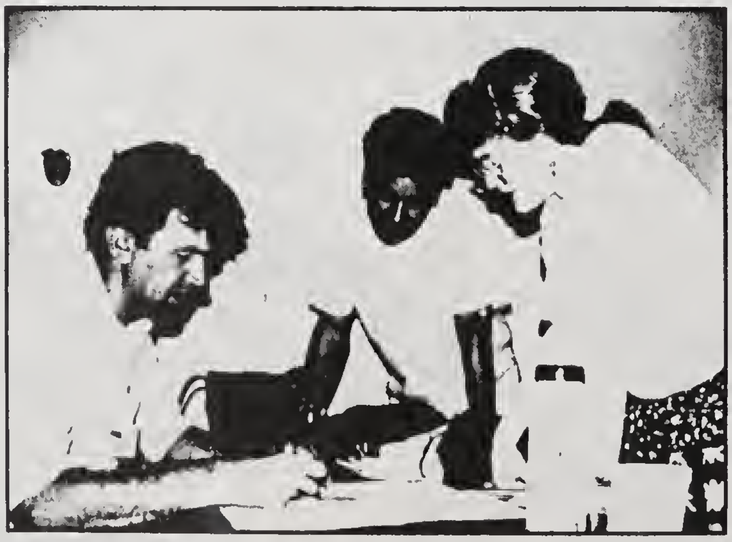

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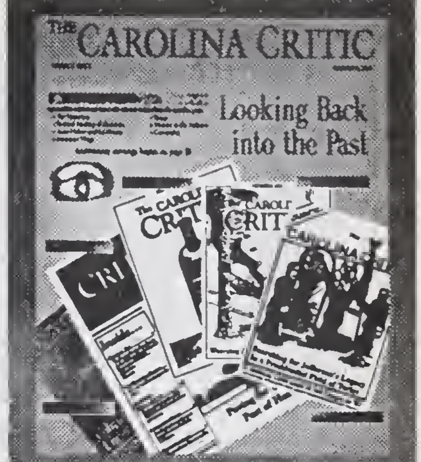
VOLUME VI, NO. 4 DECEMBER 9, 1992



THE CRITIC COVER

It has been five years since the first Critic was distributed on campus. This issue commemorates our fifth year by republishing some of our exemplary articles.

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ROBERT SMITH gets the opportunity to speak with the provost about budget cuts, his job at Rutgers, and even the BCC.

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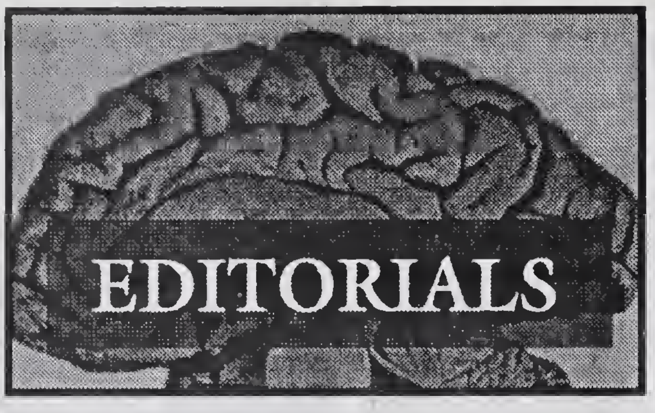


Judicial reform needed

The time has come for the state of North Carolina to stop electing our judges. Currently, every judicial spot in the state is on the ballot: District Court, Superior Court, Court of Appeals, and Supreme Court. Voters make vastly uninformed decisions in filling the bench.

For Superior Court, over 30 judges statewide are on the ballot. Almost no one knows more than a few. Even Court of Appeals and Supreme Court candidates are generally unknown.

Judges are bound from disclosing their opinions on issues that would disparage their impartiality on the bench. Hence, any substantive campaigning is prohibited.

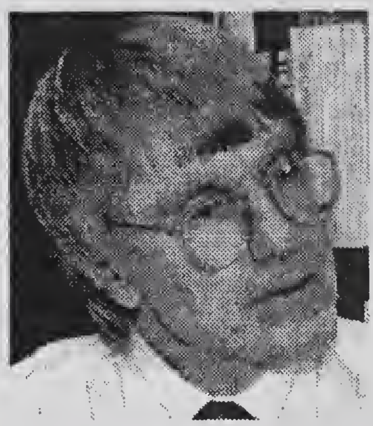
Chief Justice Jim Exum has been a harsh critic of the current system, and a Review Commission in 1989 recommended reform. The Commission called for an appointment system with a review committee to reaffirm any appointment after four years and review jurists every eight years. The committee would by appointed by the North Carolina Bar, Governor, General Assembly, and Supreme Court Chief Justice.

Critics of the reform note that the appointment process would also be highly politicized. Indeed, at the national level, judicial confirmations are often heated partisan battles, and appointments are made with considerable ideological bias. With the reform, it would be who you know as much as what you know.

But the present system has the potential for problems that border on the absurd. In Texas, politicized judiciary campaigns have spent over one million dollars of Political Action Committee and corporate money, leading to widespread corruption of the courts.

North Carolina historically has elected its judges because of fear of the government (an understandable concept). With a one-party state, the elections served as a de facto appointment system. But today, with a two-party state, the elections must go. We cannot preserve a system of blindly choosing our a judiciary. Elections do nothing for the people except make their courts potentially less able and more corrupt.

UNC needs to reexamine tenure policy


Paul Ferguson

The recent controversy surrounding tenure at the University opens up the larger question of the University's mission. The John Locke Foundation issued a report this summer that was highly critical of the University and, in particular, noted the heavy emphasis given to research over teaching. The question arises: does the University over-emphasize its research function over its teaching obligation? Does the University bring in enough dollars through research to compensate, or is the high emphasis on research dollar driven? And should the University look to place a renewed emphasis on teaching at the expense of research?

Last spring, in the Critic's final issue, we featured as the cover story, "Publish or Perish." Robert Smith and Roland Hartwig looked at the tenure case of Geology professor Michael Follo and the tenure process in general. The Follo case has resurfaced this fall and gained widespread publicity. Follo, a 1991 winner of an Undergraduate Teaching Award, was denied tenure because of an insignificant amount of research.

Two other cases this fall have escalated student concern. Kevin Stewart, another popular award-winning Geology professor, has also been denied tenure. And Paul Ferguson, a Speech Communications professor who has won the 1992 Students' Undergraduate Teaching Award and twice been chosen the favorite professor by the Senior Class, was also denied tenure, despite having received the most grant money of any professor in the Speech Department, including tenured professors.

Students led by Valerie Halman and Martin Strobel have collected over 3700 signatures in support of Ferguson. They intend to suggest changes in the tenure policy of the University. Samuel Poole, the chairman of the University of North Carolina System Board of Governors, called for a review of tenure policy at each of the 16 universities in the UNC system.

The Ferguson case is particularly interesting because of the significant research he has done. Ferguson, who teaches dramatic presentation, has done most of his research in creative dramatic interpretation, as opposed to "scholarly" work.

More than anything, though, the Ferguson case seems to highlight the personalization and politicalization of the tenure process. Four separate times, the Speech Communications Advisory Committee has heard the case for Ferguson. They first recommended no tenure and no promotion. After Dean Stephen Birdsall refused to accept the recommendation, they twice voted to offer tenure without promotion, with Birdsall rejecting both of those recommendations as well. Finally, they recommended no tenure and no promotion again, which Birdsall accepted.

Former Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences Sam Williamson once said that tenure decisions should be made based 51% on research and 49% on teaching. We feel that even such a breakdown is wrong, and it seems that the University places far more emphasis on research than such numbers indicate. Published reports on how professors spend their time have shown that on average they spend 30-40 hours weekly on research and 6 hours weekly on teaching.

Proponents of the status quo assert that we should not "settle" for good teachers who do not meet the research standard; we must look for professors who are both good teachers and good researchers. Such an ideal is not often met, however. Experience indicates that the research standard is always essential to the granting of tenure—we've all had tenured professors that we would say weren't up to par. But superb teachers like Ferguson, Stewart, and Follo are repeatedly denied tenure because their research falls short of departmental standards.

A basketball team which played all seven-footers would fare quite poorly, as would one that only started six-footers. Only by tapping specialized talents does the team win. Similarly, faculty need not always excel at both teaching and research.

Defenders of the present system say that over time, a professor who does not research will be teaching outdated knowledge. But professors do not have to churn out papers to keep abreast of current trends. And how would one's knowledge of dramatic presentation in Speech Communication become outdated, anyway? Scholastic research is certainly essential to science or economics, but in Ferguson's field creative research and presentations seem much more significant.

We need to rethink the mission of the university. Research is a necessary component of what we do, but our first priority should be to educate our undergraduates. That's what our tax dollars are sent here to do.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Number of Communist countries in 1977: 22; in 1992: 5

Percentage of households with microwave ovens in 1977: 6.7%; in 1990: 83.7

Proportion of federal income taxes paid by the poorest 40 percent
1977: 9.2% of taxes
1989: 7.9% of taxes

Largest Union
1977: Teamsters
1992: National Education Association

Percentage of overall work force unionized
1977: 26.2 %
1991: 16.1%

Average salary of Congressaman in 1991 dollars:
1977: $95,145
1992: $125,615

Chances that a visit to a psychiatrist will end with a drug perscription: 1 in 2

Percentage of American vegetarians who say they eat red meat once a week: 10

Number of members of the Young Black Teenagers, a rap group, who are black: 0

Percentage of college students who say that their political opinions are similiar to those of their parents': 44

Percentage who say their political opinions are "very different" from their parents': 25

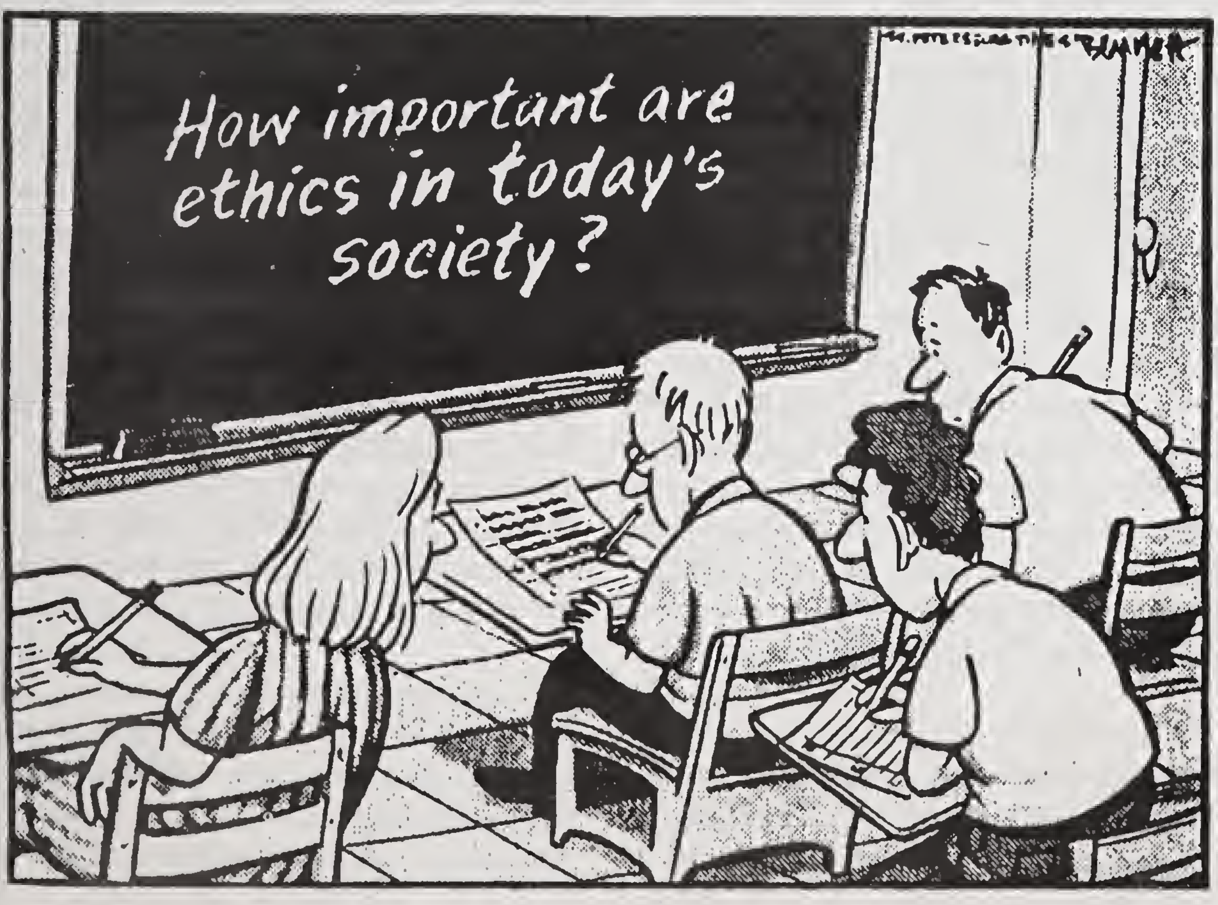
Chances that an attempt to ban or restrict access to school materials or books last year was successful: 2 in 5

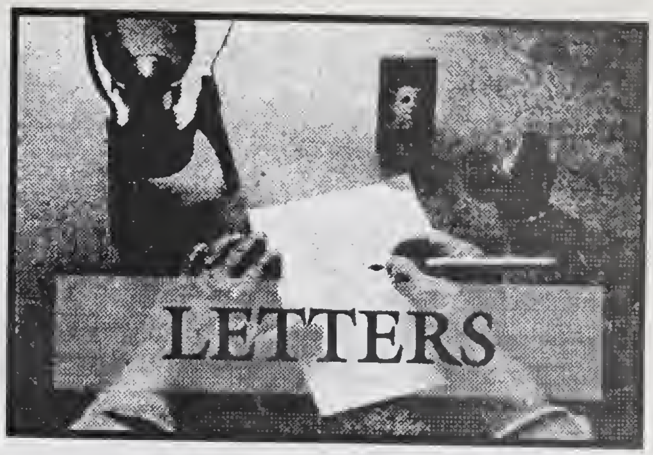
Price paid by at an auction in October for a 1942 Christmas card signed by Adolph Hitler: $3,025

Number of Japanese tour groups scheduled to visit the new Mall of America in Bloomington, Minnesota this year: 50

Number of the world's 187 countries that do not have Most Favored Nation Trading status with the United States: 12

Percentage of first year college students who say they favor drug testing in the workplace: 81


How important are ethics in today's society?



LETTERS

Effort is rewarded by marketplace

To the Editor:

Accolades are due Mr. Smith for his insight and courage in his article, "Multiculturalism Attacking Columbus" (October 14,1992).

Both the media and most Americans in the last half century have turned their focus to the supposed cornucopia of problems prevalent in the country (of which their are indeed many actual problems). This turning of focus has been a switch from the previously prevalent view of this country as the land of opportunity.

Opportunity inherently implies that there are vast amounts of change possible - from am individual level through the national level. Opportunity is strongly linked to our constitutionalized individualism. No where else is a single person's effort so generously rewarded by the marketplace and by the political arena. I am daily amazed and grateful to be here.

As the child of immigrant parents and a resident of Washington, D.C. for the last 14 years, I am not blind to the problems in America. But, I am distinctly aware of the volatility of the political process, due in part to the newness of this nation. It is this volatility that is often cited as the cause of many of our problems, but this volatility and our individualism are the path for America's continued opportunity and success.

Rita Jankovich, C.P.A.
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Accounting

Letters to the editor are accepted. The letter must be signed, with your year and major listed. Length is not a problem. Please send your letter to:

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion

Volume VI, No. 4

THE CRITICAL EYE

• And here's one that we just couldn't pass up. Remember that "October Surprise" in which Reagan's 1980 campaign had supposedly sabotaged Carter's skillful release of the Iranian hostages? Well, no dice. According to *National Review*, the House Committee that was investigating the story has discovered no credence to the story due to suspect sources and "demonstrably false" accounts. But the real kicker—the whole charade cost American taxpayers $4 million.

• But that's not the best of it. *National Review* continues that Gary Sick (no, really, that's his name), who is the NSC staffer who "gave credence to the original rumors in a New York Times article" is being made a movie offer by that master conspiracy theorist, second only to ol' Ross, Ollie Stone. Besides being wooed by Hollywood, Mr. Sick (somehow it's so appropriate) is also being tempted with an appointment at a major university. And we thought academia was above such things.

• Virginia Military Institute is on the defensive again as the courts attempt to force the school to go coed. According to *National Review*, the court praised the merits of the Institute but insisted that the state could not support an all-male institution unless women had a similiar single-sex opportunity within the state. The fact that only a dozen or so women seem interested in such a program is irrelevent. Also note that the Justice Department spent years searching for an injured party and even now she has never been produced in public. Kind of makes you wonder about the whole diversity for diversity's sake thing, doesn't it?

• Well, Madonna has proved that even pornography can break into the American mainstream if given backing from a major publisher and hyped as a "coffee table book" (although I honestly don't think that I would visit someone who had one of these on there coffee table). No, America hasn't lost its mor fiber; pedofilia, sadomasochism and bestiality are perfect cocktail tidbits. Excu me—has anyone heard of Rome's bread and circuses?

• And then there's the pop guru of the left, little Miss Baldy herself, ripping up picture of the Pope on national televisio because he is somehow responsible for a the ills of the modern world. O.K., now repeat after me, "Sinead, crack is bad. I shouldn't smoke crack... especially befor going on national television."

• According to *National Review*, the ne talking Barbie has infuriated the NOW crowd because in the new dolls speech repetoire, she says, "Math class is tough. And they said Dan Quayle was crazy for attacking a fictional TV character, who

• According to *Reason*, North Korea is trying to attract new tourists and is offer ing honeymoon vacations, which inclu visits to a maternity hospital and an irrigation dam. See! Not only does comm nism rob you of your personal freedom, also warps your sense of a vacation.

• Also according to *Reason*, Texas Republicans countered Clinton's bus to through their state by hiring an Elvis impersonator to trail him throughout th state. At Clinton rallies, the faux King would set up his own gatherings where sang and served bologna sandwiches. They did this to prove that Clinton didn't have sole claim to the King. Afterall, Elvis served in the army, kept Priscilla at home, and while he may nev have inhaled, he did his fair share of ille gal substances.

• In another feature in the current *Reason* entitled "Fat Cats to Pussycats: Rating the political conventions," Thomas Hazlett rated the best and wors in a number of different areas. The Bes Tippers, for example, were by far the Republicans, which proves that while Democrats may talk the talk when it comes right down to it, the Republicans are really the party of the common man

• To go one further, the Democrats wer noted as having the best corporate spon sors at their convention. While the Party uses corporate America like a national punching bag, they aren't afrai to cozy up to them in the afterhours.

After all, it's just politics isn't it?

• Continuing along the same vein, the est banner of this year's convention sea- on was spotted at the Democratic con- ention. It read, "Gay & Lesbian Animal Rights Caucus." I knew that here were lots of special interests groups ut isn't this one a little much. Besides ow would you know if an animal were ay or lesbian? And why would you want o know?

• And, finally, the Republicans won for est Logistics at a convention. It seems hat Democrats have a natural affinity for ureacracry (not surprisingly) and were ncapable of avoiding long lines, lengthy egistering processes and your typical mount of B.S. regulation. Just imagine, olks, this was at a convention of 20,000. ow they're in control of the whole ountry. OH BOY!

It seems colleges and universities hroughout the country are struggling ith the multiculturalism question, but tanford is having an especially hard go f it this year. According to *Heterodoxy*, heir leaders seem to be dropping like ies. First, the president of the move- ent stepped down as a result of multiple oney scandals, then the multicultural ducator (whatever the hell that means) und another job, and, finally, the leader f the Black Community Center was rrested for secretly videotaping women uring photography sessions in his apart- ent. But, really, they had such good tentions.

Time Magazine cover, Nov. 16, 1992. ictured: a teary eyed, president-elect linton. Headline: *Mandate for change.* o folks, I'm sorry, 43% of the voting pulace does not constitute a mandate. 's not a mandate for you to do anything t thank your lucky stars that election y weather was particularly nice.

Sign o' the times: In the latest, updat- edition of Bartlett's "Familiar uotations", Shakespeare's quote, ramed in the prodigy of nature." was sted by the immortal words of, "Me nt cookie!" by the Cookie Monster mself. Take it like you will.

From *National Review*, "Vote for inton in '92, and the media will give u full credit for repudiating not only sh, but Ronald Reagan too. A real gain."

• Also from the *National Review*, "Jim Boren, presidential nominee of the Apathy Party, by far the largest voter group, promised if elected not to steal for the first two years, by far the best political promise this year,"

• An astute observation by the *National Review*, " Francis Ford Coppola's new film, "Dracula" is being described as a phantasmagoric spectacle of hordes of vampires having nonstop sex. Sounds like a preview of the next four years in Washington."

• And finally a note of explanation from NR. "The reason for George Bush's Election loss, according to a Haitian Catholic priest, is that Mr. Bush has been under a voodoo curse ever since he refused to reinstall former president Jean Bertrand Aristide. We suspect there really was a curse - but it kicked in when the President abandoned voodoo economics.

• *The Wall Street Journal* recently reported that Washington, D.C., leads the nation in condom sales. President-elect Clinton should feel right at home.

• A recent letter to the editor in *Time* magazine:

> "We in Arkansas can tell the nation's voters that they have elected a boy to do a man's job."
>
> —Lee Dumas, Heber Springs, Ark.

• And our own Student Congress is at it again, too. They want to tax all students for a new Carolina Course Review (When the free market fails, tax more? Get a clue—if students wouldn't buy it, they don't want it. Why tax them to make them buy what they wouldn't spend their own 50-cents on before?).

• And Congress wants to mandate a graduate student Vice-President of the Student Body who would happen to be the same person as the Graduate and Professional Students Federation President. One VP elected, and the other appointed? Who succeeds to the presidency? The undergrad? Isn't one of the VP's therefore necessarily higher than the other? And can't a graduate student be appointed tot he position, anyway? Can we say token?

• *Newsweek* quotes Bill Clinton as saying, having finished a mediocre 5-K race: "I won my age and body-fat division."

APHORISMS

"Even a fool can govern if nothing happens."

-German Proverb

"When one is in office one has no idea how damnable things can feel to the ordinary rank and file of the public."

-Sir Winston Churchill

"It is better for a man to go wrong in freedom than to go right in chains."

-Thomas Henry Huxley

"Liberty is the way, and the only way, of perfectability. Without liberty heavy industry can be perfected, but not justice or truth."

-Albert Camus

"Justice is what we get when the decision is in our favor."

-John W. Raper

"The struggle for knowledge has a pleasure in it like that of wrestling with a fine woman."

-Lord Halifax

"The human intellect owes its superiority over that of the lower animals in great measure to the stimulus when alcohol has given to imagination."

-Samuel Butler

"Love which is all-inclusive seems to repel us."

-Henry Miller

"Politicians, like prostitutes, are held in contempt, but what man does not run to them when he requires their services?"

-Brendan Francis

"It takes a lot of experience for a girl to kiss like a beginner."

-Anonymous

YUGOSLAVIA BY WADE WHITE

Maps and Legends:
The Crisis in Yugoslavia

Thousands of people have been killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Several thousand more probably will be soon. The various sides haven't been satisfied with simple warfare and have been engaging in massacres, torture, rape, and various other atrocities. Constant reports have convinced many Americans that we need to do something to end it all.

President-elect Bill Clinton has been more cautious than some. But though he has never actually said that he would send American soldiers to the region, he has left the option open.

This has been the response to war in just one of the six former Yugoslav Republics. With the increasing possibility that war might spread to others, and drag in most of the neighboring countries as well, armed intervention may seem a more necessary response.

If that happens it would help if everyone understood why exactly this war is happening. Unfortunately, the whole situation is so complicated that it has been easier to simplify it into easier, more recognizable forms.

The most common of these has been to divide the various ethnic factions into simple good guys and bad guys. This isn't entirely inaccurate, and it makes the major problem of intervention (who do we shoot) easier, but it isn't accurate enough to base a successful policy on.

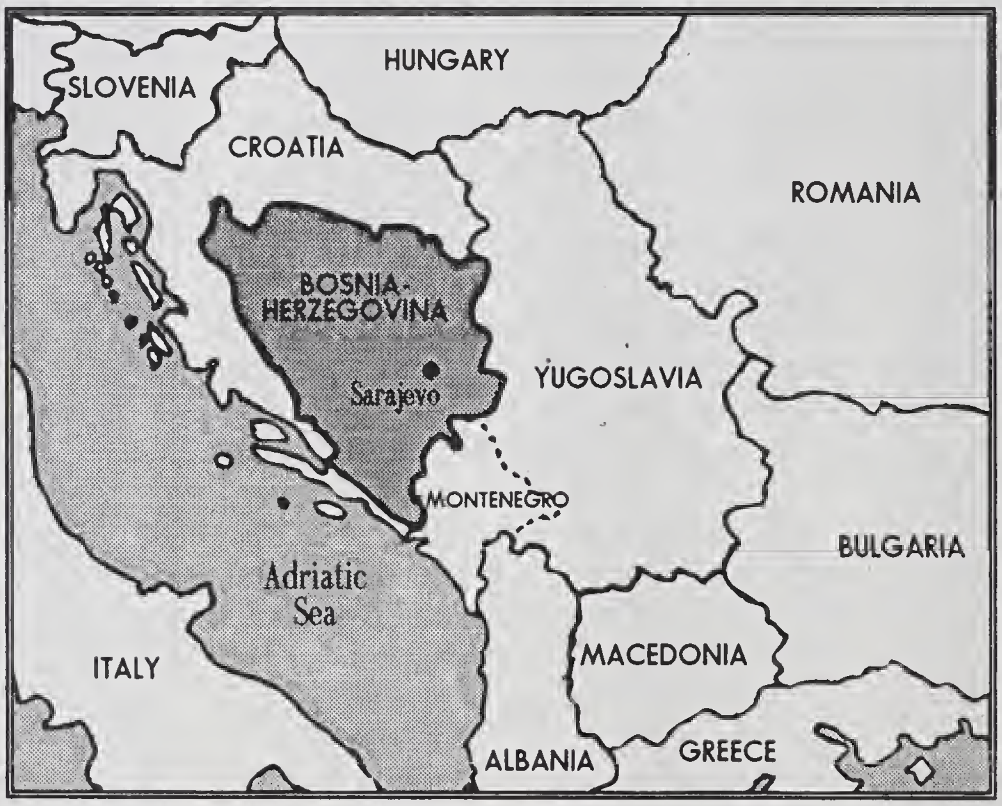
The other response—to blame all sides—is useful only if we want to avoid involvement altogether. However, although no side has acted completely humanely, some have been more unpleasant than others.

The reason this situation is so complicated is that the large number of ethnic groups that live in what was once Yugoslavia haven't forgotten anything that's happened to them in the past thousand years. Being dominated by various foreign powers kept them in check for most of that time, but now they're on their own.

The first step is probably to list who lives there. The republics themselves, however, are relatively recent inventions. They don't always have much to do with logic, the inhabitants' beliefs, or what is going to be left when the fighting is over.

Slovenia, in the northwest, is the smallest. Since it is inhabited almost entirely by Slovenians who have managed the past millennium without offending anyone, not much news has happened there.

Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia form the center. The majority of the inhabitants of these republics are, respectively, Croats, Slavic Moslems, and Serbs. All of these groups speak basically the same language. However, they have very different histories.



Croats had been under Austrian control until recently and have developed in a Western environment. They are also, like the Slovenes, Roman Catholic.

The Serbs, under more influence from Russia and the east, are Eastern Orthodox. Catholic and Orthodox Christians have not had a history of mutual co-operation. One reason the crusades were such a disaster for all concerned is that the Catholics were often so busy killing their Orthodox brethren that they could never get around to fighting the Moslems.

The Moslems who live in Bosnia were former Serbs and Croats, who during the five hundred years that the region was controlled by Turkey converted to Islam. Some people, Serbs and Croats especially, question whether this qualifies them to be a separate ethnic group. Since the Moslems obviously think of themselves as such, I won't press the point.

Americans have a certain stereotype of Moslems, and the Bosnian Moslems really don't fit that view. They are perhaps the most secular Moslems in the world, and are, in many respects, as Western-oriented as the Croats. However, with most of the military help they've received coming from such places as Iran and Saudi Arabia, it is not clear how that would change should they survive.

The Serbs and the Croats tend more to believe that stereotypical view. Thus, all three sides from the Crusades are present again to fight their holy war.

It doesn't help the situation that all three republics have large minorities. Serbs live in relatively large numbers in eastern Croatia. Serbs and Croats both live in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Serbia has other problems. The Hungarians who live in the north Serbian region of Voivodina probably won't pose too much of an immediate complication. They are mainly a reminder that if bad things start happening to them, Hungary might respond to protect them.

The Albanians who make up 90% of the Kosovo region will complicate things. Before the Medieval Serbian kingdom was conquered by the Turks in the 14th century, it covered much of modern Yugoslavia. This historical fact gives the Serbs the basis for their claim for a "Greater Serbia," including much of Croatia and Bosnia.

It is Kosovo, however, that the Serbs feel most strongly about. It was the center of the old Serbian Kingdom, and it was the sight of the battle that sealed the Turkish conquest. Serbs feel about it much the way Texans feel about the Alamo. The Albanians came in during the period of Turkish control. Albanians are mostly Moslem and were more or less given the region for that reason.

Now, despite the Albanian majority, Kosovo is under strict Serbian control. It is poor, the people are more or less generally oppressed, and it probably would only take a few of the atrocities we've seen in Bosnia to force the Albanian government to step in.

The Republic of Montenegro can be passed over quickly. It is mainly Serbian and is the only one of the Republics still allied with Serbia.

Ethnic groups are mixed together so incoherently in the sixth Republic, Macedonia, that Macedonia became the Italian word for fruit salad. The dominant population consists of Macedonian Slavs, who are closely related to the neighboring Bulgarians. Macedonia is also a potential part of the Greater Serbia and has a Serbian minority. It also has several Albanians, and some Greeks as well. Macedonia could be the most explosive spot now.

Yugoslavia was put together after World War I. The creation of the Yugopslavian state was desired by influential elements on all sides. Serbs have always made up the largest ethnic group in the region, and it is easy then to understand their enthusiasm. Many Croatians and others, though, idealistically thought that differences—hatred, really—could be put aside in a sort of pan-Slavic euphoria.

The plan didn't quite work. Serbian control quickly became rather irritating to the Croatians, aggravated by economic trouble. Having been, as mentioned, basically western, Croatia and Slovenia have almost always been economically ahead of Serbia. The Serbian minority in Croatia is largely the result of people seeking these better opportunities.

When the Nazis invaded during World War II, they used these sentiments to set up a Croatian puppet government, called the Ustasha. This government slaughtered thousands of Serbs, making sure that Serbs would hate Croats. With the Serbs forming the core of the anti-Nazi partisans that kept Hitler bogged down for several years, they can even now see themselves as freedom fighters confronting fascists.

The partisans were communist-led, and after world War II, it was Josef Tito, a communist leader, who gained control of the country. If there were ever an award for least objectionable Communist dictator, it would probably go to Tito.

He led a very independent policy, pro-Western in many respects, and more liberal than was usual in Communist countries. This led to a fear, justified by events in Budapest in '56 and Prague in '68, that the Soviet Union might try to regain control. Thus, he developed the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) to be one of the largest and best armed in Europe.

With respect to the various ethnic groups, Tito tried to limit Serb retaliation against Croats and to replace loyalty to ethnic groups with a Yugoslav patriotism. It didn't work, obviously, but it kept things from falling out of control until Tito's death.

The Republics then took different courses. Serbia came under the control of hardline communists, led by Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic has become, deservingly, the chief villain. When communism lost its credibility, he tried to hold on to power by adopting a nationalistic attitude. When Yugoslavia was still together, he sought to dominate it, and when it fell apart, he tried to enlarge Serbia to its ancient borders.

Croatia, and especially Slovenia, became about the first regions in Eastern Europe to move towards capitalism, and to a lesser extent, to democracy. This increased the economic advantage the two Republics already had. Slovenia, by 1990, was contributing 25% of the Federal budget despite having only 6% of the population.

This disparity, coupled with resentment over increased Serbian control, led the two Republics to seek independence in June 1991. The international community offerred the two republics no support in this attempt. Croatia had a leader, Franjo Tudjman, who was as racist as his Serbian counterpart, and the last memories of a Croatian state were those of the Ustasha fascists.

On the whole, however, the Western response was short-sighted. George Bush, who would support stability over reason and who felt the dissolution of Yugoslavia would bring about the dissolution of the Soviet Union, sent James Baker to Yugoslavia to support the concept of a united Yugoslavia.

With Europeans afraid that any new Republics would form the core of a new Central European, German-led power block, there seemed to be nothing to keep Serbia from using the JNA, mainly Serb-led by now, to keep the state together.

The first attack was against Slovenia. It was the smaller of the two seceding states and should have been the easiest conquest. But since no one hated the Slovenes, the army had to be kept in isolation and told they were fighting off a Soviet invasion. When the soldiers learned the truth, mass desertions, coupled with a surprisingly vigorous Slovene resistance, forced Milosevic to back off. Slovenia has enjoyed relative peace since and only had an economy ruined by the brief war and fifty years of communism to worry about.

The attack moved to Croatia, where everyone in the army could get enthusiastic. The Serbian rationalization—that they had to defend Serbs in the area—was a remnant of the Ustasha situation and fairly sensible, but the ruthless nature of the attacks led to a general condemnation of the Serbs. Part of this impression may have been due to the fact that the Serbs were winning. The only international response to the war had been to impose an arms embargo on the whole region, helping only the already well-armed Serbs.

Several moves by the Serb army were inexcusable. The prolonged and bloody siege of Vukovar, which saw the worst European fighting since World War II, was one. The worst, though, was the Serb siege of Dubrovnik.

Dubrovnik is an old Venetian city that was the pride of Croatia. Any tourist to pre-war Yugoslavia would almost certainly go to Dubrovnik. Serbia had no claim whatsoever on the city. There was no Serb minority to liberate. The only reason for the attack was to demoralize the enemies. Dubrovnik was devastated. The outside world began taking some notice.

Black market arms suppliers eventually began equipping the Croats to the point that they could successfully resist. The Serbs had by early 1992 gained most of the land they wanted. The twenty-third European Community-imposed cease fire was accepted. (The European Community had hoped to show that it could solve problems on its own. Meaningless cease-fires, disagreements between the various countries, and the lack of force to back anything up, proved that it couldn't).

Slovenia and Croatia were given international recognition, and the same was offered to the other Republics. The Moslem-led government of Bosnia accepted. The Bosnians felt independence was the only way to keep from being divided by Serbia and Croatia.

It didn't work. Serbia invaded even more effectively than in Croatia. The arms embargo left Bosnia more or less defenseless, and Serbs have now gained control of some 70% of the Republic.

The need for some help from some ally led the Bosnians to work with Croatia. Thus, they couldn't create an uproar when Croatia began annexing Croatian regions of Bosnia.

To be fair, the Croatians didn't show the same brutality that the Serbs did, but ethnic cleansing was practiced in their areas also.

Ethnic cleansing was the necessary result of Serbs, Croats, and Moslems living together for so long in peace. The ethnic

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

CONSERVATISM **BY CULLEY CARSON**

Conservatives—Where Do We Go From Here?

In the wake of the debacle on November third, conservatives emerge pock-marked and seemingly defeated. The American Conser-vative movement was betrayed by a tepid campaign that never really left the ground. The Republican party proved impotent in its efforts to articulate the ideology that has propelled it to victory for the last three presidential elections. The President seemed as if he had one leg nailed to the floor by the moderate wing of the party. Consequently, he was unable to unleash the effervescent brand of conservatism that has defined the party for so long. However, it is possible that the President himself had reservations about advocating this historically successful ideology.

Whatever the reasons for our defeat this year, we must not focus on the problems of the past but on the fight for the future. We have reached a historic juncture in American history. Our nation is losing its fight against those who seek to roll back the moral and ethical principles that embody the framework of this great nation. We have at the helm a man whose ideology is at the root of much of what ails our nascent republic.

It is this ideology that has for so long perpetuated the problems of class and race through condescending social programs that have taught generations of Americans that government holds all the answers to their problems. Additionally, this government provides just enough sustenance to keep these people's heads above water, while simultaneously smashing any ideas of self-determination. The poor in this country under liberal thought have been enslaved by a flawed welfare system that allows no room for hope and nothing to leave for their children. It is only through projects such as HOPE, which enables people in low income tenants in public housing to purchase their homes, that the hopeless are given a stake in their community through home ownership. This project and others, such as enterprise zones, will empower these people with the economic might that will enable them to one day break from the share-cropper mentality that they are currently faced with under Democratic leadership.

Consequently, the American people under liberal doctrine have become junkies for these social drugs. The liberal members of Congress continue to supply fresh needles so that these people can have another quick fix. Thus, millions of Americans this year propelled a man into office who is ideologically on the same plane as the majority Democratic Congress that has concocted many of these addictive programs. It is this same ideology that has marked the failure of two ideologues similar to Mr. Clinton—Jimmy Carter and Lyndon Johnson.

The Governor of Arkansas successfully masked himself and his sidekick senator as a "new generation of Democrats." If they consider the policies that our majority liberal congress has enacted year after year as new, then I guess they are a new breed. However, I suspect that the only thing new is that they have finally fooled a portion of the American public into thinking that they are not cut from the same cloth as such openly liberal success stories as George McGovern and Walter Mondale. By promising the moon to a public that has been convinced by the media and the Clinton campaign that we are in a desperate state, they have successfully deceived their supporters into believing that they hold the secret ingredient to reviving our pathetic country.

Through the Governor's ability to argue both sides of the issues depending on his audience and the media's daily glorification of his inept policies, he was able to honestly earn the title of "Slick Willie." As the Governor slides into the Oval Office, I only hope that the six out of ten Americans that did not cast their ballot for him will not have to suffer egregiously from now until 1996, when we return Mr. Clinton back to the great state of Arkansas. This return is inevitable as we reflect upon the last governor from a poor, southern state to assume the office of the presidency.

Additionally, I hope that Mr. Clinton will not do as he did in Arkansas and promote a close friend, Gennifer Flowers, to a position in his administration, over a more qualified black woman named Charlotte Perry. However, judging by the amount of promises that the governor made in his campaign, I suspect that special interest groups—such as the Sierra Club, Queer Nation, and the trial lawyers from around the country—will take Ms. Flowers' place, while the rest of America is overlooked, so that Mr. Clinton can pay back all the groups that he pandered to in his campaign

At this point, however, everything—including the Governor's stances in the White House—is speculative. Our job a conservatives is to begin to lay the groundwork for the ideological revolution that will ensue at the conclusion of another Liberal presidency. Therefore, we must not mourn as we analyze our defeat. Instead, we must determine our strategies and unite together in our fight for the soul of this country Factionalization will only result in defeat We must learn from our divisions this year and come together, organize and explode in four years to turn this country away from the bankrupt policies of the Democratic Party.

So if you are conservative and feel that life cannot continue under Slick Willie, lif your head. You too can be a part of this historical movement, a movement that in four years will truly "clean house"—both houses and the White House—of the liberal vermin that have turned a moral, proud country into a fiscally and morally bankrupt country. The only hope that we have to pul ourselves out of the quagmire of decay that has scarred this nation is to return to our conservative roots. This turnaround wil result in a return to victims' rights, an end to affirmative action, reduced government and the establishment of an environment where our children are not constantly barraged with the secular immorality that currently permeates our nation.

So, in the interim, educate yoursel about conservatism and fight the intellectual laziness that is embodied in the liberal doctrine. We must use this respite from office to empower our people with the knowledge of our cause. It is only through this knowledge that we can fight future governors who prey on the uninformed for personal gain. I challenge you to discover the principles of conservatism if you are unfamiliar with them. These are the principles that the framers of our Constitution used as the light to lead them in their codification of this historic document. These are the principles under which we must unite to achieve victory in four years. So liberate yourself from the liberal doctrine that currently enslaves you and seek refuge under the precepts of conservatism that will revolutionize this nation in four years.

INTERVIEW **BY ROBERT SMITH**

Provost Richard McCormick

The provost recently spoke with The Critic about budget cuts, Rutgers, and the BCC

Courtesy of the DTH

CRITIC: Tell us something about your background and how you came to Carolina.

PROVOST RICHARD McCORMICK: Well, I grew up in central New Jersey and ttended public school there. I went away o college in Massachusetts, Amherst College, and I went to graduate school at Yale University, where I received a Ph.D. in American History in 1976. That same year became an assistant professor of history at Rutgers University, and remained there ntil 1992, when I arrived at Carolina.

CC: Compare UNC to Rutgers.

RM: In many respects they are similar. Both re very old universities, dating to the late 8th century. Both are state universities with all of the missions, teaching, research nd service, that characterize state universi-es. Each of them has a diverse faculty, staff nd student body, reflecting the diversity of heir respective states. Having said that, it important to note that there are many ifferences between them, reflecting their pecial histories and their special circum-tances. Carolina has enjoyed, over the ears, a very strong level of support from he people of North Carolina and the gov-rnment of North Carolina. The excellence f the university today reflects that support. hat's not to say that we do not have cur-nt budget problems, but I am optimistic at the historic support that the people of is state have shown for Carolina will con-nue.

C: Regarding the budget problems, there as been a lot of talk about our slip in nking in the *US News and World Report* rvey. What do you think has led to this cline and is there reason for concern?

M: To be honest, I don't think the decline ranking means very much. It's unfortu-te, because the top 25 is such a visible t, and there is a symbolic difference tween being on it and being off it. On the her hand, I don't think that the slippage lects anything terribly important about e university. The way in which the ranking is compiled certainly has some problems and I'm not particularly worried, per se, about our being off rather than on except for symbolic reasons. Now, whether we're on it or off, there are things we have to do to improve the quality of education this university provides, although it is already very high. It would certainly make a difference if we had more faculty members, thus enabling us to teach more courses and decrease the average enrollment per course and section, and enabling students to have more contact with faculty members. It certainly would help if we could get some new facilities built. The university needs additional classrooms, and I'm hoping that as the budget situation improves they can be provided. I would hope that we can get back on the list of the top 25. But that in itself should not be a particularly important goal. We should focus on our tasks of education, research, and transmitting new knowledge to students.

***CC: Will you explain your duties as Provost?**

RM: My title is Provost and Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs. As Vice Chancellor, I have responsibility for all the academic units in the university in Academic Affairs, which is to say not in Health Affairs. That means that the Deans of the College and the non-health related professional schools report to me, as do the Librarian and the directors of various institutes and centers. As Provost, which is the other half of my title, I have responsibilities for university-wide services such as admissions, scholarships and financial aid, registrar, institutional research, computing and the like, on which the entire university depends.

CC: Recently we observed the 199th anniversary of our school and right now there seems to be a lot of divisiveness and controversy on campus. What do you hope to see changed by this time next year?

RM: I addressed that matter in the University Day address, which I had the honor of giving. There is divisiveness on our campus and, as I suggested in the speech, I think much of it relates to a certain passion about community. There is, all across this campus, a widespread desire among faculty, students and staff to find comfort and to find a place from which they can work to achieve their goals and the university's goals within special communities that are part of the larger university community. I think the quest to establish a freestanding Black Cultural Center reflects this quest for community, just as does, in a very different vein, the desire of many students and faculty members for new interdisciplinary programs that cut across the old departmental and division lines at the university. We should welcome efforts by faculty, staff and students to find special communities in which they can carry out their branch of the university's work.

CC: What are your hopes for the BCC? You seem very supportive of it.

RM: Yes, I am. I am a strong supporter of the BCC, of its programming, and I recognize, as I think everyone does, its vital need for additional space. My own view is that the additional space ought to be in a separate building, a freestanding center, because that issue has become so controversial and assumed such symbolic importance. The Working Group on the BCC, which I chair, has endorsed a free standing BCC, explained why, and respectfully requested Chancellor Hardin to express his support for a freestanding center.*

CC: Why did you create a Working Group, when in 1989, the BCC Advisory Board was granted control by the Board of Trustees?

RM: Because in the intervening years between 1989 and now, especially during the 91-92 academic year, the question of whether the BCC should be freestanding became very controversial. A lot of well-meaning people, for understandable reasons, expressed a great deal of opposition to a free-standing center on the grounds that it would be separatist, exclusive, and not welcoming to everyone in the community. So it seemed to Chancellor Hardin and me that we needed to appoint, on a temporary basis, a group composed of respected members of the university community and friends of the university who are not, strictly speaking, members of the community itself, to deliberate on this question and

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Fifth Anniversary

FIVE YEARS OF THE CRITIC

Special Supplement

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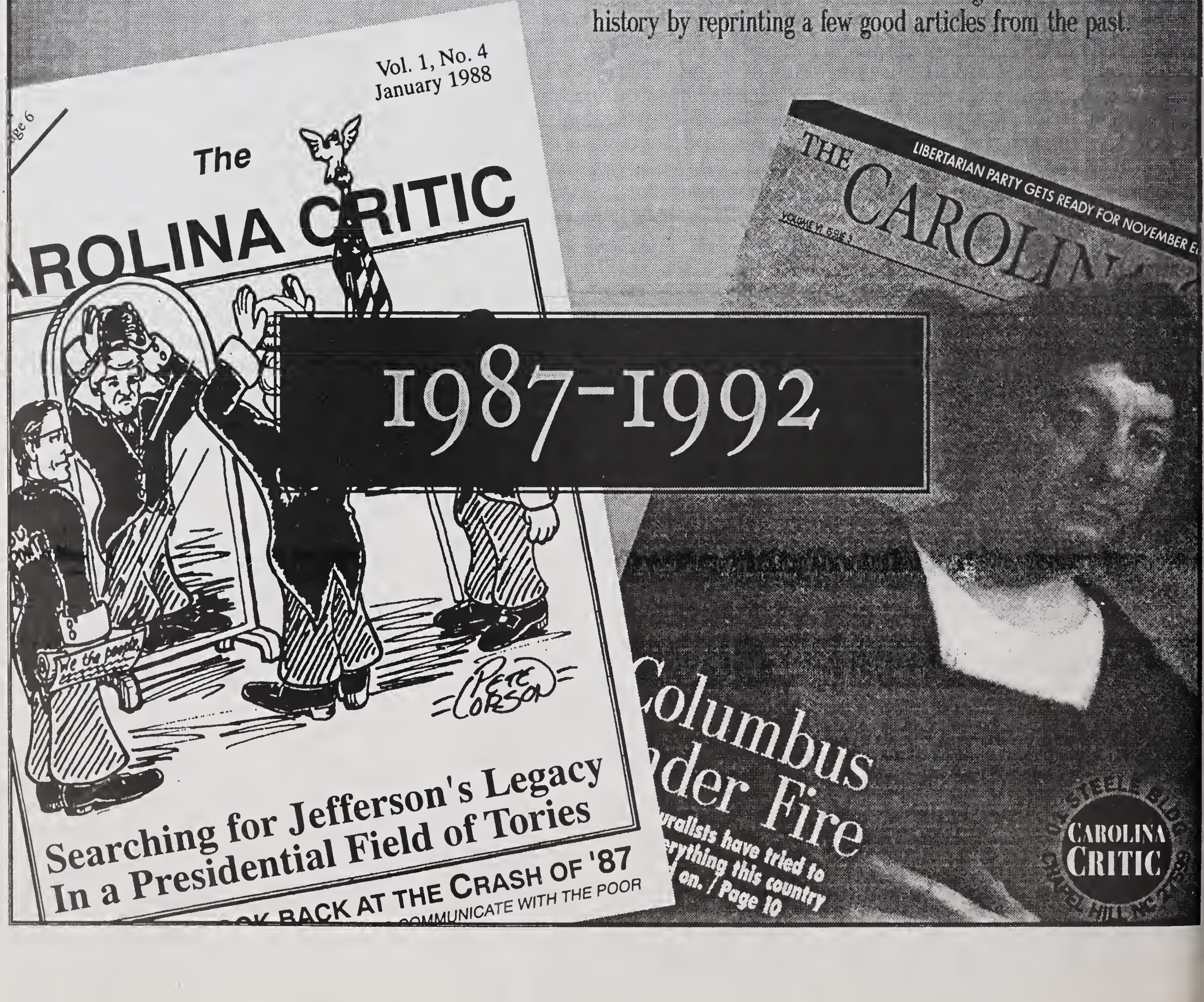
THE CAROLINA CRITIC

The Critic was founded in 1987 to fight accepted the accepted campus dialogue of the left and promote classical liberal ideals. This fall marks the fifth anniversary of the Critic's existence. We have dedicated our final issue of the semester to commemorating the Critic's history by reprinting a few good articles from the past.



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Searching for Jefferson's Legacy
In a Presidential Field of Tories

OOK BACK AT THE CRASH OF '87
COMMUNICATE WITH THE POOR

THE CAROLIN

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LIBERTARIAN PARTY GETS READY FOR NOVEMBER E

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CAROLINA
CRITIC

Elliot Fus **DECEMBER 1989** In 1989, Elliot Fus called for the U.S. to legalize drugs.

Surrender! The Time Has Come to End the War on Drugs

In the sixteenth century, authorities banned coffee in Egypt and burned existing supplies. Nevertheless, use spread rapidly. In 1736, the Gin Act ailed to halt consumption in England. Between 1875 and 1914, 27 U.S. states and cities banned opium smoking. Its use ncreased sevenfold. The FDA halted LSD production in 1962. The following decade witnessed a massive wave of usage. In 1987, egal alcohol production decreased 50 percent in the Soviet Union. Moonshining ncreased 40 percent.

A few months ago, there was an incessant barrage of news stories about President Bush's "War on Drugs." Apparently the current administration presumed that it could mprove the atrocious track record of prohibition. However, drug prohibition is again revealing its vulnerability, and now is an appropriate time to explain the ethical and practical reasons why it should be abolshed. Not only does prohibition infringe upon the inherent rights of the individual, but it increases violent crime, disease, penal osts, and government corruption.

According to the philosophy of any nation which does not advocate either slavry or theocracy, each adult owns the title o their own body. They are free to treat it n any manner they desire, so long as doing o does not directly harm any other individal. If one desires to use a foreign substance elf-destructively, one can do so. In opposiion, the prohibitionist might propose that ndividual drug use does, in fact, harm the on-using population, and that prohibition rotects these innocents. In reality, legalizaion will protect society from many of the etrimental effects of prohibition.

The prohibitionist imagines the world of galized drugs as a realm of squalor and haos, characterized by once-obedient citins now lulled into an inevitable circuit of ldiction, crime, and death. When actually omparing the two scenarios, this better ortrays our present situation. Countless ties are currently afflicted by murder and bbery committed to obtain illegal drugs. egalization would solve this crisis. If histo provides any insight, we need to look no rther than the era of the Eighteenth nendment. According to a recent Cato Institute Policy Analysis, both the rates of murder and armed assaults rose in 1920, remained high during Prohibition, and then declined for roughly a decade after 1933. Drug use does not disappear when banned. The market is simply relinquished to violent criminals. Legalization reduces violent crime by providing respectable sources for purchase. No longer would innocuous citizens be channeled into organized crime through a necessity to contact professional criminals for drugs.

Contrary to the claims of prohibitionists, legalization would not injure public health. A mass surge in addiction seems unlikely. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, people who have tried cocaine are less likely to repeat use than those who have tried alcohol or tobacco. Given this information, addictophobes should hope that experimenters try cocaine instead of Jack Daniels or Marlboros.

To further refute the idea of an addiction surge, we may simply compare prohibition and non-prohibition addiction rates. For example, in 1985, 5.5 percent of American high school seniors used marijuana daily. In the Netherlands, where small amounts are legal, the rate was 0.5 percent. Also, when speculating on addiction, we must remember economic forces. Even under legalization, people would remain subject to their employers' private regulations. Consequently, most people who do not like getting fired would not come to work constantly stoned.

Undoubtedly, health improvements would occur with legalization. AIDS would be combatted by making clean needles legally available, eliminating the need for sharing and reducing the risk of infection. With legalization, education programs could teach appropriate dosage and administration methods. Poisonings would be eliminated by eradicating the often shabby or intentionally-impure products of unregulated pushers. The synthesis of more potent and dangerous drugs would be similarly hindered. From bathtub gin to crack, prohibition has encouraged the creation of the more compact and concentrated, less controllable fix.

Finally, the farcical role of government in drug legislation must be examined. Are drug enforcers really serious about waging their "war?" Of course not. Any genuine attempt to enforce these laws would require a police state predicated upon mass invasion of privacy, and submerged in a swirling vortex of arrests, trials, lawyers, sentences, probations, and numerous other sources of complication and red tape. Considering millions of Americans have been involved with illegal drugs at least once, the placement of all these people behind their rightful bars would be a mockery. Just on a practical basis, such a detention would be impossible due to its enormous cost.

So what ridiculously arbitrary standard do we use in deciding who to put away? Who gets caught? Who is evil? Unfortunately, it seems that police tend to arrest people for entirely different reasons. Targets are often chosen on the basis of cultural or political deviance. If that standard is not bad enough, it frequently leads to suspicion by stereotype — for instance, police pulling over cars because they are driven by long-haired youths.

Legalization would definitely erase many other problems afflicting government. Police and judicial corruption would be reduced. They would have no need to accept payoffs from drug dealers in return for their cooperation. Opportunities for entrapment and illegal surveillance or seizure would be erased. Also, the government's urge to unethically manipulate the media, at least in this instance, would be withdrawn. Currently, investigators may search the home of any potential target of suppression. The media will publicize it, and the suspect is slandered whether found guilty or not. Clearly, there is evidence that authorities are inappropriately utilizing drug law as a power device.

Ultimately, the unjust restrictions and abuses of drug laws outweigh any good intentions legislators may have. Certainly, it is possible to have very negative experiences with illegal drugs. However, the attempt to stop these misfortunes by restriction only deprives the adult American citizen of his fundamental rights and creates unnecessary harm and complication.

Bob Lukefahr NOVEMBER 1989

Truth, Lies, and Fairy Tales
How the Homeless Lobby Dupes America

Last month thousands of people descended on Washington demanding that the government solve the housing crisis. According to the activists, there are literally millions of homeless people sleeping on the streets of America because they cannot find affordable housing. They seem ignored and trampled upon by the affluent society around them. The pictures of men, women, and especially children sleeping on the streets are tragic, and have spurred the nation to action. But before you join the chorus of people crying "the government ought to do something," there are a few myths that ought to be exposed:

- There are three million homeless people in America.
- Most homeless people are just "average folks" who can't make ends meet.
- The lack of affordable housing is caused by the failure of government to intervene in the housing market.
- Reagan's budget cuts at the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) created current "crisis."
- More federal housing projects will solve the homeless problem.

All of these charges have been made by the self-appointed homeless advocates, and all of them are false.

THE NUMBERS GAME

Mitch Snyder is probably the best known homeless advocate in the country. His group, the "Community for Creative Non-Violence," brought the current "crisis" to public attention when it published a report in 1980 called *Homelessness in America*. In it they claimed that there were over two million homeless people living in the United States. In 1982 Snyder increased his estimate to 3 million, and he has stuck with it ever since. Nearly all major television networks and newspapers have obligingly reported this number as though it was an incontrovertible fact. Fortunately for the people of America though, this is nothing more than the ravings of a zealous eccentric.

There have been several major studies done by reputable researchers since *Homelessness in America* was released. In 1988 the National Academy of Sciences estimated the number of homeless at around 650,000. That same year researchers at the Urban Institute found 570,000 homeless, while the General Accounting Office declared that the number was between 300,000 and 600,000. The lowest estimate comes from a study by Professor Richard Freeman, of Harvard University, who maintains that the actual number of homeless people is around 350,000. Regardless of which estimate one believes, the actual number is clearly no more than one-fifth of the Snyder estimate.

So how did Snyder come up with his estimate? In short, he made it up. According to Martin Morse Wooster of the Reason Foundation, "Snyder and [co-author Mary Ellen] Hobbes chose to prove their claim not by providing evidence but by listing dozens of horror stories about individual homeless people." Snyder's estimate was not based on, or supported by, empirical data. Instead it was research by anecdote—i.e. garbage.

Of course one might reasonably ask "who cares whether it is 300,000 or 3 million?" We would all agree that even 300,000 is far too many. Snyder himself complained that the search for accurate statistics was nothing more than the product of "Americans with little Western minds that have to quantify everything in sight." What we with our little Western minds understand however, is that in order to deal effectively with the problem we must first know its scope and its origins.

THE DIRTY LITTLE SECRET

What few people acknowledge when discussing the problem of homelessness is that most members of the homeless population have serious personal problems that prevent them from being productive members of society. The Urban Institute found that 71 percent of all homeless persons have problems such as drug addiction, alcoholism, and mental illness. The Institute also found that 42 percent of these people had two or more of these problems. Indeed, Dr. Martha Burt of the Urban Institute, claims that as many as 50 to 60 percent of the homeless "may have so many disabilities that they will never be able to take care of themselves." Clearly, more apartments will do little to help this majority.

What these people need is counseling, half-way houses, and in some cases to be institutionalized. What they certainly do not need is people like Snyder going around telling people that they are just "regular folks" that have had a bit of bad luck. They are not. The first step in dealing with the problem of homelessness must be to shift our focus from housing to treatment.

Tragically, when treatment becomes the focus, local concern for the homeless mysteriously disappears. It is one thing to march on Washington and demand action from the federal government, it is quite another to house recovering drug addicts in your neighborhood. One need look no farther than Chapel Hill to see evidence of this phenomenon. The city which prides itself on being a liberal, progressive and socially conscious community quickly rejected plans to build a home for AIDS patients, and a shelter to house the homeless. House the homeless? Yes, but not in my back yard. Any progress on the homeless problem must be preceded by a change in the attitude of local politicians and community leaders.

BLAMING REAGAN

The Reagan administration has received much of the blame for the housing "crisis." The Snyderites claim that it is largely the result of budget cuts at HUD. They assert that the HUD budget has been cut from $32 billion a year in 1980 to $7 billion in 1989. Again, this is false. While the budget *authority* has been reduced by that amount, *outlays* have been increased by 60 percent.

The distinction between budget authority and outlays is an important one. Budget authority is the amount of money an agency is authorized to spend in the future. In the case of HUD this translates into new housing units that the agency may commit to purchasing over the next several years. This portion of the budget was reduced because in the late 1970s the government committed to building over $250 billion worth of public housing units during the 1980s. As economist Warren Brookes has noted, the actual amount of money spent in direct housing assistance has risen from $5.6 billion in 1980 to $15.3 billion in 1989.

Additionally, the number of federally-subsidized housing units completed each year during the Reagan administration far surpasses those of the previous administration. Between 1977 and 1981 there were an average of 15,000 federally-subsidized housing units built each year. During the time of the alleged cutbacks, from 1982 to 1988, there were an average of 19,000 units completed annually. Of course it should be noted that the houses which became available during the Reagan years were generally not the result of Reagan's budgets. For the most part they had been funded during the Carter administration. But these statistics *do* demonstrate that the charge that budget cuts "decimated the nation's low-cost housing supply," as New York Governor Mario Cuomo claimed, is patently false.

One need only look at Snyder's own statistics to refute the charge that budget cuts caused the homeless crises. If, as he claims, there were 3 million homeless people in 1982, and again as he claims, there are 3 million today, then the famous budget cuts did not affect the size of the homeless population at all.

THE GOVERNMENT IS HERE TO HELP

This is not to say that a shortage of low-cost housing does not exist. A shortage not only exists, it is especially acute in many large cities. But if government inaction is not to blame, what is? The answer is government *action*. Action, in the form of rent control and over-restrictive zoning laws, has prevented the market from producing affordable housing.

At first glance rent control may seem like a good idea. In the highly inflationary era of the 1970s many local governments believed that their residents were being priced out of the rental market. They responded by setting maximum rental rates which, at least in theory, would insure that rental property remained affordable. Ironically, as William Tucker of the Hoover Institution has noted, "during the inflationary 1970s, rents were the slowest-rising item in the entire consumer economy." Nevertheless, rent control laws were adopted by over 200 cities.

Unfortunately, instead of helping lower income families, rent control laws have actually reduced the number of low-cost apartments. This should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the laws of economics. When rental prices are held to an artificially low level there is little incentive to build new apartments. And contrary to popular opinion, the best way to create low-cost housing is to build *luxury* apartments.

When expensive new housing is placed on the market, many of the most affluent members of society migrate to the more fashionable neighborhoods. As the affluent move out of their old neighborhoods, middle-class residents move in, leaving their former apartments vacant. This, in turn, provides housing for low income families. Thus when expensive new housing is built, low-cost housing is produced.

Another way to think of this is by examining the basic law of supply and demand. Building luxury apartments increases the total supply of housing. As supply increases, the average price falls. This overall price reduction enables the lower income families to move into neighborhoods that only a few years before were beyond their financial means.

In addition to rent control, local governments have further limited the housing supply through restrictive zoning laws. This is especially true in suburban areas, where permits to build new housing are often extremely hard to get. Again, at first glance the idea of limiting growth in the suburbs may seem like a good idea, but these laws tend to add to the problem of urban homelessness.

When suburban governments slow housing construction, the prices of all the houses in the area rise. As a result, the urban middle class is priced out of the suburban housing market. This creates what Tucker calls a "back-filtering" in which urban housing is snapped up by would-be suburbanites. Again the effect of this is to artificially increase housing prices in the cities and eliminate affordable housing.

FINDING A MARKET SOLUTION

As was already noted, most activists envision a larger government role in construction of affordable housing. What experience has taught us however, is that public housing creates many more problems than it solves. Most public housing projects are being taken over by criminals and hooligans. Anyone who has ever visited a housing project in Detroit, Los Angeles or any other major city, will confirm that they are not appealing places to live. The free-market solution to the housing crunch can prevent many of these problems.

Since the houses and apartments that are created by the market are owned by private individuals and corporations, they are less likely to become the crime-ridden, drug infested wastelands that characterize many public housing projects. Unlike their public housing counterparts, the property owners have a personal financial stake in protecting their investment. Common sense tells us that property owners will not continue to lease their investment to criminals and hooligans who will destroy it. Thus the market automatically improves the environment in low-cost housing districts.

The incentives for public housing officials are very different. They want to increase their budgets and please the politicians they work for. Both of these goals can be served by limiting the number of private properties available and building more government subsidized houses. Is it any surprise that most government housing "experts" believe the solution to the housing problem is more government intervention?

VOUCHERS TO THE RESCUE

By eliminating rent control laws and hyper-restrictive zoning regulations much of the problem will be solved. If housing and counseling for the many homeless with serious personal problems is also created, even more of the horror stories will disappear. But even with these unlikely reforms in place, some will still need assistance. The most effective system of providing this assistance is a voucher program.

According to economist Warren Brooks, the nation is already spending $8,000 a year per homeless person—not counting private charities. This is more than enough money to provide adequate housing in an unrestricted market. Unfortunately, too much of this money is being wasted on expensive bureaucracies and government housing. The solution to this problem is not more money but more efficiency. Creating a voucher system is much more efficient.

Vouchers provide money directly to the poor to be used as rent subsidies. Such a system is much more efficient, because it cuts out the government "middle-men" who design, build, and administer public housing projects. Perhaps more importantly however, a voucher system returns control to the people we are supposedly trying to help.

Since the people actually receiving the money are the most qualified to understand their family's needs, they are best able to choose housing that effectively meets those needs. A single person, for example, will probably not be concerned about which school district serves his block. He will be perfectly happy living in a nice apartment located near a lousy school. To a single mother however, finding a good school for her children may be the most important factor in choosing an apartment. These are things which only individuals can know, but they are extremely important in improving the quality of life. By allowing individuals, rather than bureaucrats, to decide where they are going to live, both the poor and the taxpayers are better served.

Homelessness *is* a national tragedy. It is one with complex causes and no single solution. Local communities must convince overzealous city planners to lighten up and allow the market to produce housing. Community leaders need to impress upon their fellow citizens that the not-in-my-backyard mentality is counterproductive, and in nobody's best interest. The federal government should stay the course and continue to shift from government owned housing to vouchers. Most importantly, the media should stop repeating the myths of homelessness like so many trained parrots. If we truly wish to solve the problem, we must first understand it.

Grant Thompson **FEBRUARY 1990**

Former Critic editor and publisher Grant Thompson was once a member of SEAC and in this essay decries the National Forest Service.

Keep the Government Away from Our Trees

According to the *Economist*, "The United States Forest Service has sometimes seemed to see its domain as one big government timber factory." Indeed, the Forest Service has completely lost touch with its mandate to manage national forests in the public interest. Today the Forest Service seems bent on decimating the remaining 5% of our forest land, despite public opposition and staggering economic costs. At current rates of cutting our forests will last another 15 to 30 years. The Forest Service admits by the year 2000 the rate of cutting will be double the replacement rate of trees.

Of course, one assumes that we are making lots of money and providing countless jobs by destroying these 200 year old trees. No assumption could be less accurate. The Forest Service subsidizes cutting to the extent that it loses 1 billion dollars each year. Not only does the Forest Service sell the trees well below their replacement cost, it pays for the construction of the roads which the loggers need to get to the trees. According to the Native Forest Council, this accounts for over 358,000 miles of road—or more than ten times more mileage than the entire US interstate highway system! The trusting reader should be getting a little perturbed by now—how can the government afford to subsidize logger's jobs at such an enormous risk to the nation.

Well, brace yourself. The Forest Service is actually exporting American jobs to Japan. Much, if not most, of this timber is exported to Asia for processing. According to the Forest Service, 3.5 American jobs are lost with each 1 million board feet of unprocessed timber exported abroad.To give you an idea of the magnitude of this figure, 12.7 billion board feet of unprocessed lumber was exported to Asia in 1987 alone. According to the Forest Service, in the last ten years, employment in Oregon's timber industry has fallen by 20% while the amount of timber cut has risen 18%

The reader may wonder about the rationale for such a policy. The fact that the Forest Service receives much of its funding based on the volume of wood it sells provides part of the explanation. Like all organizations, the Forest Service seems to care very deeply about its own continues funding. In a nutshell, the Forest Service is destroying a beautiful environment which was hundreds of years in the making, exporting American jobs, and losing enormous amounts of money while they're at it. What could possibly be worse? The fact that we are willing to sit quietly and watch it happen.

Bob Lukefahr **NOVEMBER 1989**

The loss of a core curriculum and traditional studies is as pertinent today as when Bob Lukefahr wrote this piece in November 1989.

A Lost Generation Enters the Twenty-First Century

Yet another study was released last month indicating that American college students don't know a damn thing about their heritage. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) commissioned the study to measure how well the average college senior understands basic history and literature. The results were alarming. Among the 700 students surveyed, 67 percent would have received a grade of 'D' or 'F' on the test. On a four point scale, the average GPA for the nation's college seniors would have been a 1.04 on the section designed for *high school* seniors! These students knew even less about the college-level material. In short, the NEH study demonstrated that the American education system is creating a generation of intellectual paraplegics.

It should be noted that most of the survey items were not difficult. Trying to answer questions like, "What is the Magna Carta?" and "Who wrote the *Divine Comedy*?" should *not* strain the intellect of a person who has been in school for more than fifteen years. Unfortunately, it does, and that indicates that most colleges and universities are simply not doing their job. Of course our institutions of higher learning cannot be asked to shoulder all of the blame for this sorry state of affairs. Most freshmen enter college with the albatross of a mediocre high school education hanging conspicuously around their necks. But the fact that most never manage to free themselves from this burden is the fault of the university, and it is the university which must take steps to correct the problem.

As one might expect, students have responded to the survey with that all-powerful incantation of the slothful, "so what." After all, they argue, who cares if most people don't know that Dante wrote the *Inferno*, or that Columbus discovered America in 1492? These things don't affect *their* lives. These bits of esoteric knowledge don't improve their "marketability." These people want sheepskin, not an education. They are in college so that they can earn more MONEY. And, by god, they can do that with or without the advice of Plato and the boys. Right?

The answer is both right and wrong. Yes, one can function in society without the benefit of this basic knowledge, but the university was never meant to be a trade school. By missing out on the great ideas which shaped our culture they have lost something much more important that the ability to make a living. They have been deprived of an opportunity to explore the *reason* for living.

As Saint Augustine wrote, "There is no reason to philosophize, except in order to be happy." IBM may make living possible, but understanding Dante or Shakespeare can help to make it worthwhile. And in the end, the latter is infinitely more important.

Beyond the benefits of examining one's life, an understanding of the basics is essential to the success of society as a whole. Before long, the current group of college students will be called upon to lead the nation into the next century. It is not a comforting thought. Imagine for a moment a country in which school teachers cannot distinguish between the words of the Communist Manifesto and the Constitution. Imagine a State Department populated by Foreign Service Officers who do not know when World War I was, who the United States fought in WWII, or who erected the Iron Curtain. Imagine a business community unfamiliar with the lessons of the Industrial Revolution, 1929 or *The Jungle*. Unless the current group of college seniors educates itself in the coming years, you won't have to imagine such a world—it will be all around you.

I, for one, would rest much more comfortably knowing that our future politicians have read and understand *The Federalist Papers*, Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, and *MacBeth*. Nothing is more frightening to me than the thought of a generation of ambitious young men and women pursuing their goals without having first contemplated the moral basis for freedom and individual rights, and the seductive nature of power. If this possibility does not bother you, then you are part of the problem.

Fortunately, this kind of ignorance is not invincible. The solution is as simple to understand as it is difficult to implement. What is needed is a solid core curriculum during the first two years of college. One which includes *mandatory* courses in History, Literature, Mathematics, Natural Science, and the Arts. NEH has proposed such a curriculum, requiring 50 semester hours of courses in the basics. Several universities, Columbia for example, already have similar programs. UNC demands only that its students fulfill the empty requirements of "the perspective system" before they graduate. This falls short of meeting the needs of an essentially ignorant freshmen class.

A quick glance at Carolina's perspective system reveals that one can easily complete the requirements without reading, much less understanding, the ideas which have shaped our nation and the world. As we reported in The Critic last month, there is not a single undergraduate course offered at UNC which includes Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* on its reading list. Granted this is an isolated example, but it points to the larger problem of "the ignorance conspiracy."

Students, like most people, tend to choose the path of least resistance. They refuse to complain when the curriculum is watered down to accommodate the less capable. Professors, faced either with engaging in extensive remedial instruction or lowering their standards, tend to choose the latter because it is easier than fighting the system. Often it is done in the name of making college more accessible to the less fortunate. As a result, a sort of conspiracy between the faculty and the student body has evolved in which students are allowed to remain ignorant while still receiving a degree. It is easier on everyone in the short run, and devastating to the students and society in the long run.

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Duress in Yugoslavia

groups weren't divided into neat little cantons, so people who were in the wrong place had to be moved or killed.

The Serbs got most of the blame. The Moslems really did come close to being defenseless good guys, while the Croatians, aside from being not being as ruthless, managed to attract less attention to what they did. Reports of Serbian atrocities—massacres, concentration camps, rapes, and tortures—convinced the UN to place an oil embargo on Serbia and ban Serbian plane flights.

The oil embargo has been easily broken, especially by the Romanians, while the no-fly rule has no provisions for what should be done if the Serbs ignore it and is thus ineffective. Meanwhile, the whole region is kept under an arms embargo, the insane theory being that more weapons will mean more deaths, as if a huge advantage for one side wouldn't mean the same.

With similar disasters in Cambodia, Somalia, and various other places, it has been hard to gain much enthusiasm for armed involvement. It didn't seem to involve enough national interest, and there was no way to justify intervention in one place and not in another.

I disagree. The moral imperative of stopping the killing might be enough to itself justify intervention. What's more, this conflict that will persist, and our foreign policy, and the UN especially, need to be restructured to handle the situation. Otherwise, we'll have to sit back while the whole world (other than us, Western Europe and Japan) destroys itself.

Other issues are involved. Refugees from the fighting have created such problems in Western Europe that those countries should have an interest in solving things. Any American involvement would certainly be joined by European forces.

It is the Macedonian situation that most suggests a pragmatic need for involvement. Macedonia, despite having the most democratic and generally humane government of any of the Republics, has not been recognized by the international community.

The Greeks refuse to let an independent country be named Macedonia, which is also the name of a Greek region. The feeling is evidently that such a Macedonia would then try to take Greek Macedonia. What's more, there have been some indications that Greece might have territorial designs of its own in the region.

With Greek pressure keeping the US and the EC from recognizing Macedonia, it would be easier then for Serbia to invade it when it has finished its business in Bosnia. (I don't know how likely this worst case scenario is. Enough people who seem to know what they're talking out think it's likely enough to require action, though) The possibility is that Serbia will invade. The Greeks will then join in, trying to take some parts. If Albania isn't already at war with Serbia over Kosovo, the plight of Macedonian Albanians will draw them in. Meanwhile, Bulgaria might try to step in on the part of their Macedonian cousins.

Then there's Turkey. Almost all the Islamic countries have been upset at the treatment of Moslems in Bosnia.

If the Moslems being killed next are Albanians, and one of the offending parties is Greece, (Turks hate Greeks and Greeks hate Turks) Turkey might step in and get things really complicated.

Such a general war would cause such problems for everybody, even if it doesn't draw anyone else in, that something needs to be done. Combine that with stopping the suffering in Bosnia, and the following steps seem appropriate.

The arms embargo should be lifted on all the parties except Serbia, and we should help supply the Moslems. The actions of the Serbs in Croatia suggests that if they are fighting a strong enemy, they might back down. As it is, they hold so many of the advantages that they can try to dictate any peace on their terms.

Meanwhile Croatia, which has improved its behavior to help its reputation, should be pressured into showing a certain kindness to its minorities. The best form of pressure is the promise of financial aid to help it deal with the 700 hundred thousand or so Bosnian refugees it has taken in. This aid should be strictly conditional.

Meanwhile, Romania and any other country violating the UN embargo should be put under pressure (economic again) to stop. American and European soldiers then could be sent, under the UN, to try to separate everybody in Bosnia. Then, some sort of future arrangement could be worked out. The three groups have done so much to each other that they can not successfully live together again. Dividing the country into ethnic cantons seems too much like rewarding the ethnic cleansing to be appealing. It would probably be necessary now, however, and the main point should be to see that the Moslems aren't left with those few cities they are holding onto now, and get what they deserve.

Meanwhile, troops should be sent to Kosovo and Macedonia before trouble breaks out. When the fighting ended in Croatia, it was fairly clear that Bosnia would be the next war zone. Had peace keepers been placed there before hand, much unpleasantness could have been avoided. It's doubtful that the Serbs would fight most of the world for their plans. And if they tried, it might be enough to lead to Milosevic's overthrow.

All told, this action will be expensive, and there will probably be American soldiers killed before things settle down. This risk seems necessary, though. Keeping the war from spreading to all of south-east Europe is one justification.

There are others. One reason the war has been so vicious is that Serbia had not expected any response for its actions. Without response now, other people in other countries might try the same things. By taking action here we might be able to prevent things from happening elsewhere.

Even if not, this can be a test of how we react to these situations. Unless we plan to retreat into isolation and leave the world alone, we will have to deal with these sorts of problems again.

In what little he's said about foreign policy, Bill Clinton has indicated that he'll take the necessary action. He has said he wants to move away from the cynical policies that have allowed Bush to support dictatorships in Belgrade, Beijing and elsewhere and move instead to a foreign policy promoting democracy.

And that brings us back to the moral issue. Macedonia certainly deserves peace. Croatia has committed its share of atrocities, but it is in a position where it can move in the right direction. It is democratic enough to keep a nationalist like Tudjman from gaining the same control that the nationalists have in Serbia.

Milosevic has shown himself to be every bit the monster Saddam Hussein was. He has alienated vast numbers of his people. Even the Serbian Orthodox church, which has usually followed the will of the government, has criticized him. Only force is keeping him in power.

The arguments that got the American people to support the war in Iraq, to support the war even before it became clear how few Americans would die, had little to do with oil or balance of power, but with stopping aggression. It was a moral duty to stand up to Saddam Hussein. If Bill Clinton can make that case, the American people will support a war, and if executed carefully we can perhaps change things for the better. We have to at least make the attempt now or deal with a much less pleasant world later.

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The only way to break up the ignorance conspiracy is to demand that students demonstrate a basic understanding of the core curriculum before they graduate. Even better, before students are allowed to transfer from the General College to the college of their choice, they should be required to pass a basic knowledge test. They should be asked to demonstrate that they have a grasp of the core curriculum, that they have learned to think logically, and that they know how to write in complete sentences. If such a system were developed, those students who have had a quality high school education would be able to pass the test after their first year, and begin to pursue their specialized degrees as sophomores. Those students who enter college without the benefits of a solid educational background would probably find themselves stuck in the General College for five or six semesters. But in no case would a student graduate without first gaining a basic understanding of the information we have gained during the last 6000 years of civilization.

I am well aware of the fact that such a system will not be popular with either the students or the faculty. A core curriculum is difficult to create, even more difficult to implement, and from a students' perspective almost impossible to endure. It means spending more time studying and less time at Henderson Street Bar. Nevertheless, if you believe, as I do, that it is the role of the university not only to provide its students with the opportunity for a good education, but to ensure that all its graduates have received a good education, then the core requirements are essential.

Henry Adams may or may not have been right when he warned us that the dynamo could never replace the virgin. But then again, don't we live in an age where it has? Did Dante know what he was talking about when he showed us how to go from sin to salvation? Did Bunyon? Perhaps MacBeth hit the nail on the head when he called it all nothing more than sound and fury, signifying nothing. Who knows, maybe Marx was right, socialism is inevitable. Then again Dostoyevsky could have known better when he called communism another Tower of Babel. Maybe I'm babbling. Perhaps the search for a liberal education is nothing more than a quixotic quest for a better time that never was. In any case, someone who is college educated should have the intellectual tools to decide for himself. When one is allowed to graduate without them, the University has failed.

CRITICAL DEFINITIONS

IN THE DAYS BEFORE there were Aphorisms, witty definitions filled the early pages of the Critic. The following appeared in February, 1990:

> *"During our research we discovered a number of helpful definitions in the book, Dreams Come Due, by the pseudonymous John Galt. Here's a partial list of some of the best:"*

BUDGET CUTS: a slight decrease in the rate of increase of government spending.

CIVIL SERVANT: an individual who "works" for the government and is neither civil nor servile.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY: OPEC's Washington office.

DIPLOMACY: bribery, extortion, or threats, or the ability to say "nice doggey" until you can find a big rock.

GOVERNMENT ESTIMATE: wrong.

GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT: loss.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY: causing companies to fail and then investing in them.

LIBERAL: government worshipper

MARKET FAILURE: government interference in the free market.

PEACE-KEEPING FORCE: furnishing U.S. troops for target practice.

PROPERTY TAXES: rent paid to the government for property you own.

TRANSFER PAYMENTS: wealth taken from people who work for a living and given to people who vote for a living.

VOODOO ECONOMICS: reducing government spending and taxes.

COMMON GOOD: individual bad.

MORE CRITICAL DEFINITIONS

Since more and more people are turning to the trustworthy Critic staff instead of Webster's dictionary, we feel compelled to provide you with yet another set of definitions:

COMMUNIST: One who has nothing and is eager to share it with others.
—Anonymous

BUREAUCRACY: A giant mechanism operated by pygmies.
—Balzac

DEFICIT: What you have when you haven't as much as when you had nothing.
—Leonard Levinson

LIBERAL: A person whose interests aren't at stake at the moment.
—Willis Player

ELEPHANT: A mouse built to government specifications.
—Robert Heinlein

CONGRESS: A man gets up to speak and says nothing. Nobody listens—and then everybody disagrees.
—Boris Marshalov

SENATE: Opens with a prayer and closes with an investigation.
—Will Rogers

MONEY: The root of all good.
—Minnesota Fats

Jason Jaynes **DECEMBER 1989** Always a hot topic, gun control was the focus of this 1989 piece.

Personal Disarmament

In this era of international disarmament treaties there is a common phrase: “mutual, balanced, and verifiable arms reductions.” This near-cliché expresses the reasonable attitude that if such reductions are to make sense for *both* countries involved, there must be benefits to both and it must be hard to cheat. The extreme positions that weapons are evil and all countries should forswear them, or that each country has a sovereign right to arm itself as it pleases without treaty restrictions, are rarely heard. Or at least when heard they are rarely supported; witness the British Labour party’s loss in the last election due to advocating unilateral disarmament.

IF WE OUTLAW A CLASS OF GUNS, WHAT HAPPENS TO THEM? THEY MUST ALL GO SOMEWHERE. WITHOUT FORESIGHT BY THE GOVERNMENT (PERHAPS BUYING THE GUNS BACK) GUN OWNERS WILL BE UNLOADING THEIR SOON-TO-BE-ILLEGAL GUNS AT BARGAIN PRICES

Arms control is being advocated somewhere else these days: personal weaponry, specifically firearms. Here we often hear extremist points of view, or cries that “we must do something” with the “something” left wide open.

On the side of “gun control” we have statements like “I cannot understand why the citizens don’t demand that the selling of guns be halted… every year 33,000 Americans die from gunshot wounds… There are about 130 million firearms of all kinds in the United States, and one-third of them are handguns… ” or “A gun in the home is 18 times more likely to kill a household member as an intruder… twenty years from now, we’ll see keeping guns in the home as just as foolish as lighting up a cigarette.” Guns are “only good for killing” so they have no legitimate purpose, except possibly for hunting (if that’s not shooting Bambi). Gun “control” is like pest control: the fewer the better.

On the other side, we have a National Rifle Association which is racing the ACLU to the Twilight Zone: it has defended the sale of plastic or ceramic handguns (undetectable by metal detectors), and Teflon-coated or uranium-cored *armor piercing* bullets. We hear cute slogans like “guns don’t kill people, people do” and “you’ll get my gun when you pry it from my cold dead fingers” and arguments that the U.S. Constitution gives people the right to own as many firearms as they want.

It’s all supposed to be “obvious” one way or the other.

With around 30,000 gunshot deaths a year, the “gun problem” clearly deserves serious attention. If we could somehow snap our fingers and get rid of all guns in private hands, most of these deaths would not happen. This is seen by some as ample reason to outlaw all guns, or just handguns, or the latest craze, “assault rifles.” If it will save lives, they say, let’s do it.

It is equally true that if we could snap our fingers and get rid of all cars in private hands, most of the 50,000 or so annual highway deaths would not happen; but nobody makes this kind of a proposal with a straight face. (The number of guns and cars is roughly comparable.) Neither do we hear a national outcry to ban car ownership each time some demented individual decides to hit a crowd or a school bus at 50 miles per hour; but when someone else starts shooting down people with a gun, it’s always “finally time to do something about guns.”

With cars we hear about safety improvements like seat belts and antiskid braking systems, or debates over the greater fuel economy vs. greater risks of smaller cars. We do not hear vociferous groups trying to ban cars, or at least small cars; we do not hear competing groups trying to defend car ownership as an inalienable right.

And if we wish to look at guns as a public health risk… while we have a national cholesterol education project to try to get us to cut down on fats and red meat, and campaigns to get smokers to quit, we don’t have a Cholesterol Control, Inc. lobbying to outlaw the sale of eggs and whole milk, or a horde of agitators trying to make tobacco growing illegal. Yet all these things follow from the same “if it kills lots of people, outlaw it” argument. Guns are simply not a uniquely dangerous threat.

What about the Constitutional question? The “right of the people to keep and bear arms” is often quoted — out of context. The Second Amendment says “A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.” This protects the ownership of weaponry connected with a militia, e.g. the National Guard, not just weaponry *per se*. Besides, I don’t think anyone has yet argued that the “right to keep and eat butter” is a Constitutional right, but I *hope* that CRITIC readers will see a butter ban as pure science fiction (the story “Lipidleggin’”, by F. Paul Wilson, to be precise).

None of these arguments makes the outcome “obvious.” So let’s talk about the advantages and disadvantages of gun ownership.

Is an unarmed society even practicable?

We need only look to the north to see that it is. Canada has essentially no “gun problem.” There is the usual stock of hunting rifles, but handguns are strictly regulated: they may be owned only by members of recognized gun clubs and may be outside the owners' homes only to go to and from the shooting ranges.

Imagine the opposite: a nation where everyone (at least every man) is required to undergo militia training, and to keep ready in his home a military rifle. Could such a country exist without destroying itself in an orgy of gunfire?

Sure. It's called Switzerland.

These examples illustrate the fact that it's possible to have no "gun problem" with or without guns. It's what the people want to do with their weapons, as well as what weapons are available, that determines the level of mayhem.

Suppose (most) everyone carried weapons and knew how to use them. Would this be a good place to live? If a thief demands money, the would-be victim and any bystanders could repel him easily; anyone who went nuts and tried to kill dozens of people would be quickly shot down instead. However, if people are hot-tempered, many will be killed in arguments and duels, and the careless defenders of a victim could easily hurt more people than the criminal. Again it's the people and their maturity that make the difference.

This is why we cannot achieve a gun-control nirvana merely by having Washington outlaw guns. The U.S. is not Canada and unarmed is not the same as disarmed. The unarmed don't want guns; the disarmed do, and will work hard to get them. Obviously many Americans want guns (why else do they buy them?) and a law won't necessarily change that. The United States is in the middle of an excruciatingly clear lesson on just how difficult it is to keep things — cocaine, marijuana, heroin, etc. — out of the hands of a populace forbidden to have them but still willing to pay *lots* of money to get them. This arms-control scheme is not balanced, not mutual, and probably not terribly verifiable either. It won't work unless most people don't want guns; *that* can't be legislated.

There is also the problem of side effects. If we outlaw a class of guns, what happens to them? They must all go *somewhere*. Without foresight by the government (perhaps buying the guns back) gun owners will be unloading their soon-to-be-illegal guns at bargain prices, probably transferring much of the gun supply into the hands of criminals at a profit for them and a loss for the law-abiding. Similarly, there was a move a few years ago to ban the sale of cheap, small-caliber "Saturday night special" handguns, until somebody realized that the effect of this law would be to disarm some criminals but ensure that the rest would carry larger, costlier, and far deadlier ones.

If what we really want is to reduce the number of gunshot deaths, or the number of Patrick Purdy-esque mass murder-suicides, we need to focus on that desire and figure out how best to attain it. If we are afraid of guns in the hands of the mentally incompetent, let us come up with a system that makes it hard to buy a gun if you have a history of mental problems — not assume that we are *all* incompetent. If we fear crimes of passion, let us set up waiting periods for gun purchases. To prevent accidents, require gun owners to take gun-safety courses. If we fear gun-armed criminals, pass laws with severe penalties for using guns in crime, and enforce current laws disarming many convicted criminals. If we are afraid of gun-toting vigilantes, pass laws with stiff penalties for hitting bystanders. And require those carrying guns on the streets to take shoot/don't shoot courses like those given to policemen or security guards, so they learn almost by reflex not to make mistakes. Each of these possibilities has advantages and disadvantages which must be discussed at length. But let us do so, perhaps reaching different solutions for different places, instead of reaching for the sledgehammer solution of simply outlawing the gun and hoping for the best. Let us be clever instead of smug and simplistic.

We must remember that today's surge in violence cannot be blamed on guns; they are merely the tools. The underlying desire to hurt or kill will not just go away, even if the guns do. And people are *very* good at finding ways to do what they want. (Example: go to a certain encyclopedia found in most libraries. Find there detailed formulas for making nitroglycerin, guncotton, mercury fulminate, and other explosives. Don't even ask how easy it is to make poison gases from common household products.)

Let us negotiate mutually beneficial arms-control treaties as sovereign individuals, bearing in mind practicality rather than rhetoric. Otherwise, the decisions will likely be made for us by extremists, with the only logic involved the base logic of political power.

And only the lobbyists will win.

INTERVIEW

Provost Richard McCormick

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

make a recommendation which would serve to bring the community together and end divisiveness over whether the center should be freestanding. This does not intrude upon the work of the BCC Advisory Board. That Board does have, and will continue to have, the authority it has always possessed. But given the politically charged atmosphere surrounding the freestanding question, we thought a new mechanism was required, at least temporarily, to contribute to discussing the matter and bringing the university together behind a proposal for the BCC.

CC: How has the freestanding BCC at Rutgers helped the university? Has it been divisive in any way?

RM: It has not been divisive at Rutgers. The Paul Robeson Center, which incidentally has a new building, although not a very large one. It plays a role in providing programming in the areas of African-American culture and making Af-Am culture available to the larger university community. Just as at Carolina, there are some divisions between black and white students at Rutgers, but I don't think the Paul Robeson Center has contributed to those divisions. In fairness, it must be pointed out that the university as a whole, like Carolina, has not succeeded in eradicating racial divisiveness.

CC: What happens upon approval of the BCC? What channels are followed and what steps are taken?

RM: Just as with any building, there are a number of steps that must be followed between the general need for such a building and its actual construction. The facility has to be planned, a site selected and then the facility has to be designed, in detail, by an architect. All of these steps have to be approved by committees within the university community and ultimately by the Board of Trustees and the Board of Governors. There are some important steps between here and there, not the least of which is raising the money to build the building.

CC: Compare UNC to Rutgers as far as handling budget cuts?

RM: Rutgers' budget cuts have been worse than the ones at Carolina. They have resulted in layoffs of staff members, which is something, fortunately, we haven't seen and I hope we do not see here. The budget cuts at Rutgers are likely to continue because the state's economy is in worse shape than North Carolina's. The biggest budget problem here, in my view, relates to the salaries we pay to faculty members. They are far too low, far lower than at our peer universities. Because our university faculty is both excellent and underpaid, we stand in danger of losing many of the best of them and demoralizing all the rest.

**Editor's Note: On October 15, 1992, Chancellor Paul Hardin announced his support for a freestanding BCC.*

Charlton Allen **DECEMBER 1989** In light of the tornadoes which swept through the South recently, this article against federal funding of disasters becomes especially pertinent

Tearing Down the Safety Net

Last month the world watched as a violent earthquake disrupted what should have been a time of anticipation and joy for the San Francisco Bay area. The immense tragedy not only halted the World Series, but demonstrated the vulnerability of mortals to the whims of nature. Aside from the loss of life and property, the earthquake highlighted a second tragedy — the tragedy of a lesson unlearned. In spite of numerous warnings from scientists and public officials, most San Francisco residents neglected to buy earthquake insurance. Instead they relied on the federal and state governments to provide them with a safety net. In the future, the American people must take steps to prepare for natural disasters before they occur and not depend on an ever slothful federal government to insure their losses.

Even before there was an accurate estimate of the damage, members of Congress were proposing a $10 billion relief package. It is now believed that the total cost of the quake will be considerably less than the $10 billion mark. Fortunately, common sense had a moderating effect on political expediency, and Congress finally authorized only $3.45 billion for the Bay Area. Sadly, very little of this sum will actually reach the earthquake victims. Much of it will be lost in the bureaucratic black hole. Something must be done to improve the ineffective federal relief system. The solution is simple: return many of the domestic policy roles to state and local governments and the private sector.

Why the federal government should not provide disaster relief

The phenomenon of federal government involvement in disaster relief is a relatively new one. In 1953, while total natural disaster damage was $352 million, only $3.2 million in federal aid was authorized. By 1965, when damage was $2.721 billion, federal government relief was $2.739 billion — more than the total damages. The government routinely finances this relief without considering other sources like private insurance and charities. In the past, the solution has been to authorize more than the amount needed in the hope that money will eventually trickle down to the afflicted through the many layers of governmental bureaucracy. In an era of budgetary restraints, however, this is no longer possible. It is now time for the federal government to allow private insurance companies and private citizens to take a prominent role in disaster relief.

Supporters of continued federal relief use several points in an attempt to show that the private sector is not capable of handling a major disaster. Many claim that insurance agents are unwilling to provide earthquake insurance. Insurance companies do provide earthquake insurance at reasonable rates. A study of federal relief policy by Douglas Dacy and Howard Kunreuther states that in regions of the country in Zone 3 (those with the highest potential of a disastrous quake), annual rates typically are 12.5 cents for every $100 in property value. Thus for an earthquake endorsement for a value of $100,000, the annual charge would be $125. The average annual damage cost in a Zone 3 area is 10 cents for every $100 in property; therefore there is room for private sector profitability.

Despite these facts, private insurance is grossly underutilized. In the state of California, only 5% of properties insured against fires have an earthquake endorsement on their policy. Unfortunately, there is no real incentive for homeowners in gh-risk areas to purchase this coverage. With large federal relief packages and also banks in California that do not require an earthquake endorsement to obtain a home mortgage (they do for fire insurance), the market for the endorsement is substantially smaller.

Additionally, many homeowners in high-risk areas have psychological reasons for not purchasing the endorsement. For example, after a quake there is no substantial increase in endorsement purchases. Why? Most Californians only expect one major quake in their lifetime; therefore they do not foresee a pressing need to pay the extra insurance rate. If federal relief was no longer available, a demand for an already available service vould develop and insurance companies vould attempt to meet it. Some argue that one quake could overextend an insurance agency. Yet such options as long term policies and a greater stress on earthquake insurance nationwide — large areas of the southeast and northeast are also in Zone 3 — vould enhance an insurance agency's ability o pay.

Without federal relief, the most serious potential problem would concern individuls who received substantial damage but did not purchase earthquake insurance. For hose who can afford the relatively inexpenive coverage they would, and should, suffer he consequences. If a person's house burns own and he does not have fire insurance, hen he must bear the loss himself. It should ot be different with earthquake insurance. or those who cannot afford appropriate nsurance, state and local governments and rivate charities are best suited to provide elief in an effective and efficient manner. he efforts of companies such as Burger ing and Domino's Pizza have demonstrated ow charities can help those who cannot elp themselves. Additionally, charities such s the Red Cross have proved remarkably apable of alleviating the damage caused by ature. Charitable contributions have a defiite role in disaster relief; the wasteful feder- l bureaucracy should be kept out of the way.

The American people have a unique his- ory of generosity and personal initiative. ur forefathers put their faith in the people's bility to take care of themselves with little r no governmental interference. Today hould be no different. If someone is arro- ant enough to risk not insuring his proper- , then why should millions of hard-work- ig Americans who do buy insurance or hoose to live elsewhere in the nation have pay the price? If a person refuses the pportunity to protect himself at a reason- ble rate then he should be considered a ambler who lost. The opportunity to buy surance exists and responsible Americans ill take it. After all government disaster lief in the much larger earthquake and fire 1906 was primarily limited to preventing oting and rationing food. San Francisco ade a remarkable recovery and with newed emphasis in the private sector, it ll again.

Lee Newcomb **DECEMBER 1989** The shortcomings of the minimum wage

High Minimum Wage Equals High Unemployment

You would think that the men and women in Congress were hard-working students in college. Well, given recent events and a long-standing record of action, it is painfully evident that they slept though their introductory economics classes. For evidence, one need only look at the recent increase in the minimum wage.

Now, fundamental economics tells us that when you increase the price of something, the level of demand decreases. This rule is applicable to anything: apples, baseball bats, widgets, and labor.

Send in the liberals, crying about social justice, economic equality, and some abstract notion of *fairness*. "Raise the minimum wage!" they have cried almost every year since its inception. They called for this floor on the price of labor because they felt certain segments of the population were being exploited. The liberals invoked images of slavery in the Old South and rampant exploitation of the unskilled worker to justify their position. The government had to take some action, they said, to stop the plight of these miserable souls. Thus government intervention in the labor market was born.

The minimum wage prevents employers from paying their employees a "fair" wage as determined by the marketplace. In a truly free market, employers and employees engage in negotiation to determine the compensation for a certain job. The more an employee is valued, the higher his wage. Laborers who possess skills that the employer feels are worth the higher price are rewarded accordingly. Such workers usually have a higher degree of education or are willing to perform tasks that are considered dangerous or undesirable by the average person. Lower-paying jobs are determined by this process to be worth less than those that are compensated at a higher level. These tasks demand no great skill or knowledge. In short, anyone can do them. Following our economics lesson, this large supply results in a lower price. The minimum wage, however, perverts this process by imposing an artificial floor and distorting the labor market.

Employers are not going to hire an employee if the cost of his employment is greater than the income he generates. The floor imposed by the minimum wage prevents the "marginal worker" from being hired. If the market were allowed to function freely, producers would hire those marginal employees because they could be paid according to their productivity. They wouldn't earn a king's living, but they would at least have jobs.

A minimum wage increase will hurt not only the unskilled worker, but the entire nation. The increased cost of labor will force businesses to raise their prices. This will result in a general increase in prices, otherwise known as *inflation*. Within a matter of months, the gains in wages will be eroded to the same buying power that now exists.

There is also a greater risk inherent in this situation. The rising inflation rate could prompt Alan Greenspan and company, at the Federal Reserve, to raise the interest rate. The probability that this will occur is quite high, considering that he has announced a goal of zero-percent inflation. If these rate increases are the least bit too fast or the least bit too large, the economy will be catapulted into a recession. Obviously, this would help no one.

"The Great Society" envisioned a nation in which everyone receives a fair living and enjoys the full benefits of industrialization. The minimum wage does nothing to advance this goal. In reality it does the opposite. The minimum wage, touted as a provider of economic justice, is really the economic Gestapo.

FEBRUARY 1990 The Critic interviewed United States Senator Jesse Helms in February 1990, prior to his eventual race with Democratic challenger Harvey Gantt. The following transcript is as it originally appeared:

An Interview with Senator Jesse Helms

Jesse!

THE CRITIC: Several years ago you were quoted as referring to Chapel Hill as a "Zoo" because of its left-wing politics and radical activism. Has you view changed since then?
Senator Helms: The statement was in fact made by the late H. F. (Chub) Seawell, not by me. Mr. Seawell, a highly popular attorney from Carthage, substituted for me occasionally on WRAL-TV's editorial program. Both he and I had our differences with some faculty members at Chapel Hill, and Chub liked to poke fun at them.

As the Ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, you have been extremely cautious when speaking about the changes in Eastern Europe. Do you believe that we are witnessing the disintegration of the Soviet Empire and the end of Soviet Imperialism: also should we send economic aid to Eastern Europe—perhaps a second Marshall Plan?
The changes in Eastern Europe attest to the universal appeal of the principles Americans hold dear: free enterprise, personal responsibility and a moral society. It was America's commitment to these principles under the Reagan Administration—and the success this commitment brought our nation—which helped spur the fervor of the people in Eastern Europe for freedom and democracy.

The Cold War, however, is not over. Soviet troops remain stationed throughout Eastern Europe and many of the new leaders who have taken over power in these countries are communists with ties to the Soviet leadership. The Soviets continue to provide hundreds of millions of dollars in military assistance to repressive communist regimes in countries such as Angola, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan. The best way for the United States to see the drive for freedom and independence in the countries of Eastern Europe successfully completed is for our foreign policy to be guided by the same principles of free enterprise, personal responsibility, and a moral society. The people of Eastern Europe do not need handouts; they need the freedom to build a system like ours.

Substantial reductions in U.S. military spending now seem inevitable. There has been a great deal of discussion recently about how to spend the so-called peace dividend which will be created by smaller defense budgets. How do you propose using his money?
First, a "dividend" implies that one is making a profit. As everyone knows, the United States government is awash in red ink. Any "dividends" must go to reducing the deficit—not creating more monstrous social programs. Second, I wish someone would tell me how we get a "peace dividend" when Mr. Gorbachev is still spending one-fifth of his country's GNP on the military, and his entire armed forces have undergone complete modernization in the past five years.

On February 25, 1990, the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua has promised to hold free elections. In your view what is the likelihood that truly free, and fair elections will take place? Also, if the Communist Government steals the election, as Manuel Noriega did in Panama last year, would you favor using military intervention to restore democracy to Nicaragua?
I do not believe that the Nicaraguan elections in February can possibly be truly fair and free. The conditions for holding free elections do not exist. For all practical purposes Nicaragua is a one-party, Communist state. The Sandinista Communist revolutionaries control the government, the party, the military, the secret police and the system of food rationing. Under such oppressive conditions Nicaraguans would find it difficult to feel that they have freedom to choose. It is a mistake to concentrate on merely the casting of ballots and the counting of votes. Even if the votes were to be counted accurately, which is highly doubtful, there is no psychological freedom.

Now as to military intervention, we should remember that Nicaragua has the largest army in Central America—an army which continues to receive huge shipments of arms from the Soviet Union and Cuba. To overthrow the Communist government through military means would require a massive commitment which I do not favor. The best way to restore democracy in Nicaragua is to renew our support for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters who have demonstrated their willingness to liberate their country without U.S. involvement—if we will only give them the means to do so.

Regarding the invasion of Panama, you have publicly supported the action, and opinion polls show that the vast majority of Americans agree with your position. Would it not have been easier and more humane, however, to have acted when the indictment was first handed down? As Fred Barnes, of the New Republic, has suggested, the U.S. could have simply used a commando unit to grab Noriega last year. Such an action would have spared the lives of dozens of American soldiers and hundreds of Panamanians. Would you have favored such an action?
I did, in fact, favor it at the time the U.S. Marshals proposed that they be authorized to do it. It didn't happen. In any event, once the indictment against Noriega was handed down we had a number of legitimate options under international law to seize Noriega and bring him to the United States. These included arrest by U.S. Marshals, which I have mentioned, action by Special Forces, support for the opposition parties and support for Panamanians seeking to overthrow Noriega through military action.

I advocated such solutions in discussions with the Administration, both publicly and privately. However, after our government failed to support the attempted coup in October, it became clear that the only option left was military force, an option strongly supported by the Panamanians. The President's action was prudent, proper and complete.

This brings us to a question about the CIA. Congress has passed several pieces of legislation which severely restrict the ability of the agency to engage in covert actions. Given the need to act in situations like the one in Panama, would you favor loosening those restrictions?
Under the Constitution of the United States, the President has the authority to conduct foreign policy. The Congress, except for a declaration of war, has only the power to withhold funds. I believe that the President has the authority to conduct whatever operations he deems necessary with regard to foreign policy unless restrictions have been imposed on his spending. Congress has the right to advise and to criticize, but under our Constitution's system the President should be left the greatest freedom to take whatever steps are necessary.

The "War on Drugs" has dominated the domestic and foreign policy agendas for the past year. During that time, several politicians, policy analysts, government officials and writers, have advocated legalizing drugs as the most effective means to combat drug related violence and finance education programs. Do you believe it is time to open a national debate over the legalization question?
Absolutely not! I am not about to condone the distribution of this poison to our children. This is not the same debate that occurred during prohibition. Cocaine, crack,

n 1988, Ronald Reagan called for an end to farm subsidies vorld-wide. Do you support this position, and if so, how would a hasing out of agricultural subsidies affect the tobacco programs?
certainly support an end to farm subsidies world-wide. The free nterprise system made America great, and it will work for U.S. griculture. If the rest of the world agreed to eliminate farm subsiies, I am confident the American farmer would re-assert themelves as the greatest provider of food to the world.

As for tobacco, it would not be affected by elimination of agriultural subsidies because there is no subsidy of tobacco. The obacco Program is a "No Net Cost" program—by law it cannot nd does not cost the taxpayer money, contrary to false and conant reports by some of the media.

eorge Bush entered office with a promise to become the "eduation president." In your view is he succeeding? Also, do you gree with those who are calling for more federal assistance and icreased federal guidance in the public school?
et me go on record again as being opposed to the ever increasing ivolvement of the federal government in the public schools. Since ie passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, iere has been a constant increase in federal regulation and control f our schools, and bureaucratic meddling. Not surprisingly, there as been a corresponding decline in pupil achievement scores. oday there are about 130 separate federal education programs, very one of them having its own red tape.

Over the years, federally-funded programs have increasingly iterposed themselves between parents and their traditional sponsibilities toward their children. The schools now have more y than parents over countless matters as diverse as sex education id career counseling, and in between.

What we need to do in education is get back to basics—get back educating children in history, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Ve need to get away from the current emphasis on socializing chilren by teaching them some educrat's idea of "proper" attitudes and ehaviors towards sex, sexuality, politics, and religion. That's the arents' job, not the school's. Of course, this will never happen nless and until we restore parental control over the local schools.

President Bush recently made several good proposals in his xcellence in Education" bill—alternative certification of teachers and choice in schools being the most notable. However, the liberals in the powerful teachers' lobby once again are opposing the President's initiatives—just as they have opposed every attempt to reform and improve the schools since President Reagan was elected in 1980.

The teachers' response to the problems in public schools has always been (1) more money for teachers and (2) insulating the schools from "political"—meaning parental—influence. They use their very failure as justification for asking for more and more money. The worse it gets the more money they demand. Their latest proposal is to create national certification standards for teachers. In practical terms, this would mean that a competent retired scientist with a doctorate in math could not teach high school unless he or she first goes back to college to learn the education establishment's latest fad in teaching theory, methodology, and child development.

President Bush's alternative certification proposal, on the other hand, would allow such competent and capable retirees, and other gifted individuals, to begin teaching immediately. If the teachers unions would give the President's initiatives a chance, we might finally succeed in beginning to reverse the decline of the public schools.

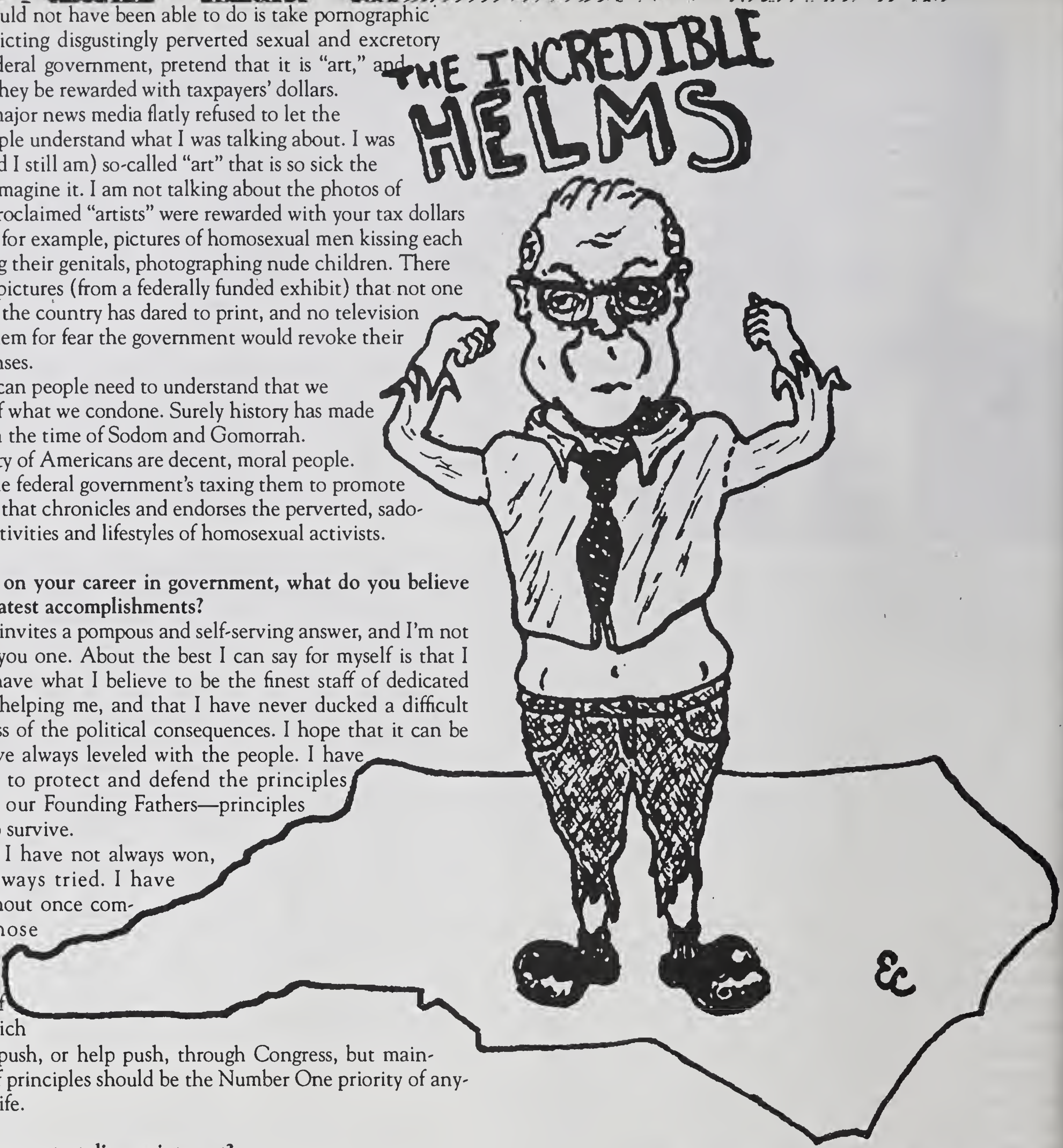
As you go to the voters of North Carolina to ask for their support one question will continue to be asked: "What does Jesse Helms hope to accomplish during the next six years?" Do you have a specific agenda?
I don't know that it can be called an "agenda" but I will continue to fight for a balanced federal budget, a cut in federal spending, a strong national defense, better relations with our South American neighbors, less regulation of the lives of all Americans and allowing the free enterprise system, which has made this country great, to work. But these are only a few of the many things I would like to see accomplished.

Could you please explain the principle behind your argument that "obscene" art should not be funded with taxpayer dollars?
Let me first set the record straight that my legislation did not propose to "censor" anyone. Censorship is the preemption of publication or production. Under my amendment, "artists" would be free to create, exhibit, or sell anything they want—in the private sector.

What they would not have been able to do is take pornographic materials, depicting disgustingly perverted sexual and excretory acts to the federal government, pretend that it is "art," and demand that they be rewarded with taxpayers' dollars. Much of the major news media flatly refused to let the American people understand what I was talking about. I was protesting (and I still am) so-called "art" that is so sick the mind cannot imagine it. I am not talking about the photos of flowers. Self-proclaimed "artists" were rewarded with your tax dollars for producing, for example, pictures of homosexual men kissing each other, exposing their genitals, photographing nude children. There are numerous pictures (from a federally funded exhibit) that not one publication in the country has dared to print, and no television would show them for fear the government would revoke their broadcast licenses.

The American people need to understand that we become part of what we condone. Surely history has made that clear from the time of Sodom and Gomorrah.

The majority of Americans are decent, moral people. They resent the federal government's taxing them to promote so-called "art" that chronicles and endorses the perverted, sadomasochistic activities and lifestyles of homosexual activists.



Looking back on your career in government, what do you believe were your greatest accomplishments?

Your question invites a pompous and self-serving answer, and I'm not going to give you one. About the best I can say for myself is that I work hard, I have what I believe to be the finest staff of dedicated young people helping me, and that I have never ducked a difficult issue, regardless of the political consequences. I hope that it can be said that I have always leveled with the people. I have done my best to protect and defend the principles established by our Founding Fathers—principles that deserve to survive.

To be sure, I have not always won, but I have always tried. I have done this without once compromising those principles. There are many pieces of legislation which I was able to push, or help push, through Congress, but maintaining a set of principles should be the Number One priority of anyone in public life.

What was your greatest disappointment?

I have been disappointed that the Congress has refused to carry out its responsibility in fiscal matters—the excessive spending of the taxpayers' money, the creation of a federal debt so enormous that it is certain to be a terrible burden for generations to come. Some liberal politicians and news media try to put the blame on the President. Just remember that no President can spend one dime that has not been authorized and appropriated by Congress. The U.S. Constitution is very clear on that.

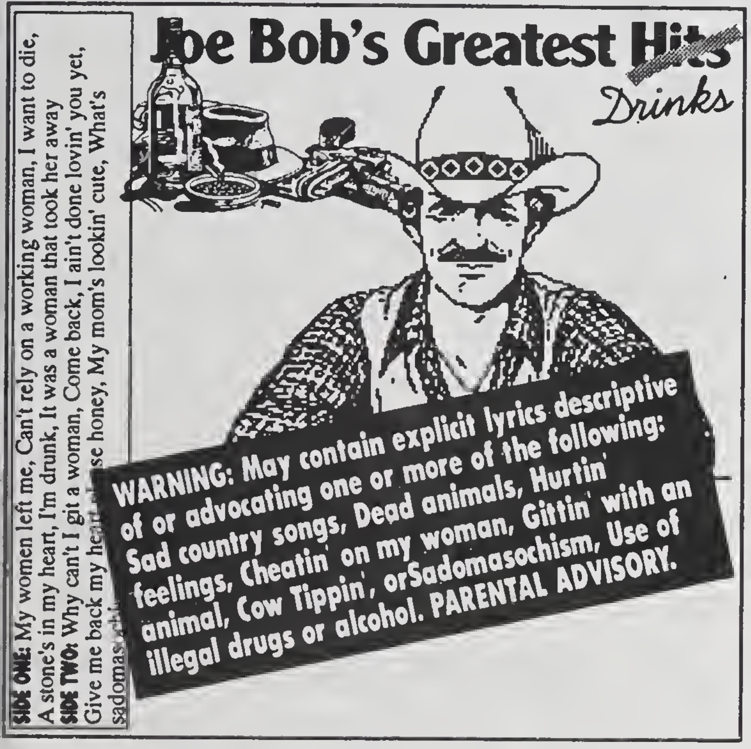
Regarding your up-coming Senate race, who among the field of potential opponents, would you consider your most formidable adversary? Why?

All of them. Any of them. Thanks to the liberal news media, anybody nominated on the democrat ticket will get up to 45 percent of the vote—"off the top." (You might want to examine the margins of victory in North Carolina's U.S. Senate races since 1972.)

I HAVE DONE MY BEST TO PROTECT AND DEFEND THE PRINCIPLES ESTABLISHED BY OUR FOUNDING FATHERS—PRINCIPLES THAT DESERVE TO SURVIVE...THERE ARE MANY PIECES OF LEGISLATION WHICH I WAS ABLE TO PUSH, OR HELP PUSH, THROUGH CONGRESS, BUT MAINTAINING A SET OF PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE THE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY OF ANYONE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

Elliot Fus **APRIL 1990** Now that Tipper Gore will be our Second Lady, we at the Critic decided it would be interesting to run this old opinion piece written by former publisher Elliot Fus in April 1990.

Labeling Albums: It is more than just little stickers


Joe Bob's Greatest ~~Hits~~ Drinks
SIDE ONE: My women left me, Can't rely on a working woman, I want to die, A stone's in my heart, I'm drunk, It was a woman that took her away
SIDE TWO: Why can't I git a woman, Come back, I ain't done lovin' you yet, Give me back my heart ... se honey, My mom's lookin' cute, What's sadomas...
WARNING: May contain explicit lyrics descriptive of or advocating one or more of the following: Sad country songs, Dead animals, Hurtin' feelings, Cheatin' on my woman, Gittin' with an animal, Cow Tippin', orSadomasochism, Use of illegal drugs or alcohol. PARENTAL ADVISORY.

"THEY OUTTA PUT MORE THAN LABELS ON THOSE SAD COUNTRY SONGS"

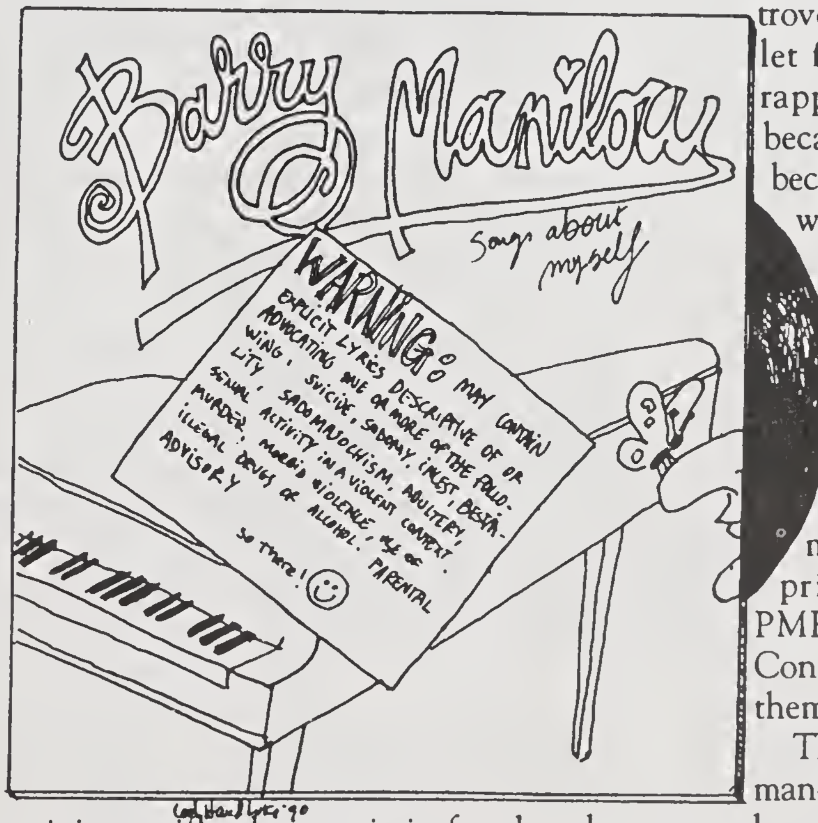
Album labeling proposals have spread beyond religious conservative circles and are being seriously considered in at least ten tates. Their main push has come from roups such as the Parents' Music Resource Center (PMRC), who want to protect their hildren from indecency. In Pennsylvania, Democratic State Representative Ron Gamble has proposed a senate bill amendment requiring any album containing objectionable" material to be marked with fluorescent yellow sticker bearing the words

WARNING: May contain explicit lyrics escriptive of or advocating one or more of he following: Suicide, Sodomy, Incest, Bestiality, Sadomasochism, Adultery, Sexual activity in a violent context, Murder, Morbid violence, Use of illegal rugs or alcohol. PARENTAL ADVISORY.

The sticker would be affixed not on the lastic wrapping, but directly on the prodct by the retailer. Violators of the restricion would face misdemeanor charges. Gamble's proposal has influenced several ther state bills.

But in an attempt to create a respectable society, mandatory warning labels display many shortcomings. One indisputable fault that retailers would be forced to spend considerable time marking products. With as many as 20,000 titles on back catalogue and 70 new titles a week, these yellow stickers could be more inconvenient than the Stamp Act for the average retailer. For enforcement purposes, "Sticker cops" would be needed to patrol record stores for violations. Additionally, a large review board would be needed to assess the moral fortitude of all the songs on the market, including the more than 25,000 new songs written each year.

Censorship is another significant problem. Labeling advocates claim that warnings do not censor artists, but simply inform consumers of an album's content. This notion has been proven untrue. Most radio stations do not wish to be associated with music publicly considered objectionable. Therefore, programmers often cut labeled albums from their playlist. In addition, retailers afraid of negative publicity may discontinue labeled products. The Disc Jockey chain has done this throughout its 119 record stores. Consequently, regional markets dominated by the chain are isolated from these products. The result is that musicians stifle their artistic freedom by altering lyrics in order to avoid being labeled. So, in practice, censorship is accomplished indirectly.


Barry Manilow
Songs about myself
WARNING: MAY CONTAIN EXPLICIT LYRICS DESCRIPTIVE OF OR ADVOCATING ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING, SUICIDE, SODOMY, INCEST, BESTIALITY, SADOMASOCHISM, ADULTERY, SEXUAL ACTIVITY IN A VIOLENT CONTEXT. MURDER, MORBID VIOLENCE, USE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS OR ALCOHOL. PARENTAL ADVISORY
SO THERE!
Cool Hand Lyke '90

Perhaps the most grating dilemma centers on the definition of "objectionable." Who rates the music? Outside of her objections, PMRC leader Tipper Gore has never made any remarkable contribution to music criticism and probably understands little about the music she protests. What is the criterion for objectionability? Violence, sexual misconduct, deviant religious practices? If so, will labeling reach beyond pop? Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring" is intended to evoke visions of the abduction of women, warfare and brutal pagan ritualism including human sacrifice. Most operas are based on themes such as adultery and murder.

There is also confusion in interpreting the meaning of lyrics. Reviewers might unanimously identify something risqué in WASP's "Animal (F— Like A Beast,)" but John Denver's "Rocky Mountain High" could be interpreted as either advocating drugs or babbling brooks and fresh air.

There are other shortcomings to labeling. The intentions of labelers would backfire if young people were encouraged to buy marked albums because of their public controversy. Labeling may also be an outlet for discrimination. Are so many rappers targeted as objectionable because blacks are generally lewd or because label advocates are generally white? And does exposure to immorality in art necessarily bring emulation? Few teachers avoid assigning *Oedipus the King* for fear of an increase in patricides.

If parents wish to protect their children from unsuitable music, they can do so by reading private newsletters such as the PMRC's Rock Rating Report. Consumers can gain information for themselves without affecting others.

Though many people believe that mandatory warning labels are a step toward moral health and order, labeling creates complication, confusion and injustice. Labels infringe on the freedom of artists, retailers and consumers alike.

DEBATE

Women in the Military?

FEBRUARY 1990

Throughout its history, the Critic has featured many debate formats to allow for diversity of opinion. Today, President Clinton has issued a policy statement repealing the ban of gays in the military. Paul Daniels and Elliot Fus debated the following question: Should Women be allowed in the military?

Paul Daniels says **WOMEN: NO**

Women emotionally and mentally unfit for combat

The U.S. invasion of Panama and the actions of female soldiers raises the issue of women in combat once again. A U.S. Army, Captain Linda Bray, became famous while in Panama as the first woman to command U.S. troops in combat. According to reports from the early days of the invasion, Bray's military police company was charged with seizing a Panamanian Defense Force kennel. A fire fight ensued, and Bray's company killed several Panamanian soldiers and captured 136 rifles and two cases of grenades. Subsequent reports were more embellished. A story in the Washington Post claimed the battle lasted three hours instead of minutes, as was earlier reported. Later reports disputed the event and the *Los Angeles Times* reported on January 6 that Captain Bray was half a mile away when the action began. Regardless of what really happened, the idea of a woman successfully leading troops into combat has led to renewed cries from feminists, such as Rep. Pat Schroeder, to integrate women into combat units.

Should women be allowed to serve in combat units? Should they join their male counterparts as America's first line of defense? As a former paratrooper with the 82nd Airborne Division, I believe that women are emotionally and mentally fit for combat but will contribute to the breakdown of military discipline within combat units. In addition, they lack the physical strength and stamina necessary in combat.

Combat is the quintessential human struggle. Participants must be trained to perfection, act in unison, and most importantly, be disciplined to obey orders without question. In order for a combat unit to function as such, it must be uniform. This means that a unit must be sexually homogeneous. Grouping men and women in combat units would lead to fraternization problems and a general breakdown in military discipline. Extra-marital relationships, sexual harassment, and genuine relationships that would ultimately develop between soldiers of opposite sexes would greatly impair a unit's ability to train and fight cohesively.

Medical conditions such as pregnancy and menstruation would leave units chronically understaffed as female soldiers would have to be temporarily reassigned to non-combat units or left with the rear echelon. One female executive officer of an M.P. company reported that medical problems and pregnancy continually left the company 30% below required strength. Such a low state of readiness would be disastrous for a combat unit.

Equally important in evaluating women's ability to fight and survive in combat is their physical strength. Due to genetics, many women lack the upper body strength needed to carry a 50 pound rucksack long distances through sand, mud, and over obstacles. While women are physically suited for the vast majority of military occupations, they simply lack the muscle and stamina required to carry an M-60 machine gun or a mortar: tasks which would certainly be required to effectively engage the enemy. Recently, an army officer from a Pershing missile platoon in West Germany complained that of the three women in his platoon, two were unable to pull back the bolt of an M-60, and none were able to lift the bulletproof panels that protect the missiles from small arms fire. None of the men in the platoon had these problems.

The Army itself recognizes the physical differences between men and women in its training requirements. The physical fitness standards set for men are much more demanding than those for women. On the three part test, men must do many more push-ups and sit-ups and run faster than women in order to score the same number of points. Starting with basic training, male and female soldiers are grouped separately with the men expected to finish far ahead of their female counterparts.

> **THE OBJECT OF WAR IS NOT TO GIVE YOUR LIFE FOR YOUR COUNTRY; IT IS TO MAKE THE OTHER POOR SON-OF-A-BITCH GIVE HIS LIFE FOR HIS COUNTRY.**
>
> **—GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON**

Honestly, the 225,000 women in the U.S. military are demeaned by the implication that the contributions they presently make are not as important as those made by men in combat units. Without the women in military intellegence, signal, supply, maintenance, etc., it would be impossible for America's fighting forces to function. Given their physical differences, women are simply better utlilized in such units.

While other nations such as Canada, Norway, and the Netherlands technically allow women in combat, these nations are unlikely to ever go to war. The United States, as a world leader, unfortunately has no such guarantee. More importantly, experts predict that future military actions will likely be limited to low-level conflicts in which small, lightly equipped units which place a premium on speed, mobility, physical strength and stamina, will do the bulk of the fighting. In order to meet these needs, America's combat forces must be composed exclusively of men.

Elliot Fus says **WOMEN: YES**

Women powerful enough to benefit fighting units

Military institutions compose the foundations of states. They ultimately head the nation's power structures and inescapably shape them socially, echnologically, and geographically. Everyone is omehow affected by their nation's military.

Half of the U.S. population, however, is not permitted to participate fully in our influential military system. What is the role of the woman n the military environment? Generally, she is pictured complementing male combat forces as a nurse, a secretary, a military wife, a worker in an armaments factory, or a prostitute. She makes ounds, makes coffee, makes beds, makes guns, or makes a hard-earned dollar, but does not fight. Both sexist social barriers and lack of female motivation allow this gender division to continue.

Most men are convinced by standard arguments to exclude women from combat forces. The most obvious is that women are "too weak." They cannot run as fast as men, do as many push-ups, or haul as heavy a pack. In some cases his is untrue. In most others, it is irrelevant. Many women are bigger, stronger and more agile han some men already in the military. But even women of average strength should not be considered too weak for combat. Brute strength, hough helpful, is not essential. This was illusrated in the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese were generally not as large or powerful as American soldiers but were formidable opponents nonetheless. Women could be effective oldiers in much the same way. Some women would need to be excused from tasks requiring physical exertion beyond a certain level, but most women could contribute sufficiently to ombat efforts. Any woman who can become proficient with an assault rifle is powerful enough o benefit a fighting unit.

Another argument asserts that the combinaion of men and women in the field would result n sexual fraternization. Soldiers would not be ble to function due to sexual distraction or ntra-unit romances. Strangely enough, that is he same argument used by single sex schools, ut I have yet to find a man who learned less imply because women were in his class. Also, he armed forces, like any other employer, could ave regulations to prohibit fraternization. If the military needs to fear any sexual problem, it hould be the homoerotic bonding between men.

But why should women want the right to ght? Primarily, because they are already given he opportunity to be victims. In war, women's lives, bodies, and property are often threatened, and they deserve the right to defend themselves. The feminist has an additional motivation. To be trusted with a weapon or the command of troops is to be endowed with power. The acquisition of power positions would raise women toward a level of full and equal citizenship. No longer would women be subjected to male protection. By assuming the responsibilities of defense, harmful gender divisions would be eliminated.

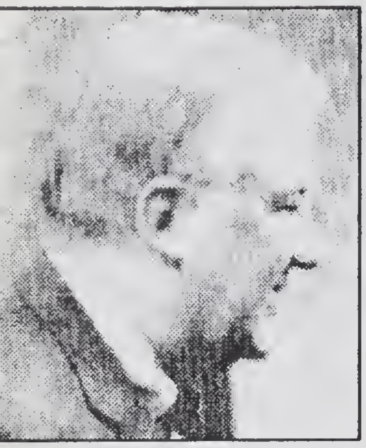
There are two main reasons why most women do not emphatically pursue the right to fight. Most women's vision of egalitarian utopia does not include soldiers firing at them from a helicopter. Similar to minorities who want equal treatment but accept the handicap of affirmative action, a woman can overlook inequality in the name of self-preservation. Who would sign a petition to get killed?

Secondly, many feminists are also anti-militarists and detest organized violence. Unfortunately, these women do not realize that the decision to renounce weapons is dependent on the ability to use them, and that a right is not an obligation.

The role of women in the military is not simply an issue for women. It is an issue of national freedom and security. Eligibility for women in combat could increase the pool of military volunteers, making a draft much less likely. The denial of women's right to fight is justified by myth, fear, and misconception, and must be changed. Gender boundaries must be eliminated.

TO BE TRUSTED WITH A WEAPON OR THE COMMAND OF TROOPS IS TO BE ENDOWED WITH POWER. THE ACQUISITION OF POWER POSITIONS WOULD RAISE WOMEN TOWARD A LEVEL OF FULL AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL ©92 BOK
10:00 O'CLOCK, ALL'S WELL, AND I'M GAY.
UNITED STATES NAVY



Sharon Sentelle **APRIL 1990**

Ed Meese came to campus on November 23 to debate Nadine Strossen, President of the American Civil Liberties Union, on Fairness in the Judicial System. Meese asserted that the system was unfair to victims and innocent citizens, because it favored the criminals. Strossen argued that criminals were being denied essential rights and that minorities were treated unfairly by the judicial system. This interview was with Meese in the spring of 1990.

A Talk with Ed Meese

Sound national policies based on traditional values of freedom, democracy, and constitutional government made the 1980s a period of prosperity and progress, according to former Attorney General Ed Meese.

The American people can thank Ronald Reagan for this, Meese said. "Reagan revitalized the economy and reestablished the United States as a leader in world affairs," he said. "Reagan's election gave the people a chance to show their support for the conservative values and principles which have contributed to our nation's greatness throughout its history.

"Returning to the principles of free market economics through tax reduction and reform has brought the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history, the reduction of unemployment, and an increase in family income."

As the goals of a strong U.S. military and peace through strength are being realized, people are regaining respect for their country, Meese said. "The changes in Eastern Europe could not have happened without Ronald Reagan," he said. "The factors which caused Gorbachev to change Soviet behavior resulted from the reinvigorated strength and self-confidence of the United States and our willingness and ability to demonstrate leadership in world affairs."

Meese said he became a member of Reagan's team "almost by accident." In 1966, when he was governor of California, Reagan chose Meese to serve as his legal affairs secretary. "This was practically out of the blue, " Meese said, "although Reagan and I quickly became friends." Although Meese said he enjoyed working on Reagan's campaigns and serving as Counselor to the President, he characterized his term as Attorney General as the most rewarding job of his career.

"As Attorney General, I was directly able to help carry through the promises that Reagan made to the American public," he said. "My greatest personal achievement was to increase the high degree of cooperation between federal law enforcement and state and local police. This was brought about by the Department of Justice emphasizing the need for cooperation and teamwork between agencies."

Through his judicial recommendations, Meese was a key player in Reagan's most enduring legacy— judicial and legal policy. "Reagan pledged to appoint men and women who would honor the rule of law," Meese said, "and he kept this promise. The key quality of the Reagan appointees is their fidelity to their constitutional role, which is to interpret the law rather than substitute their judgment for our elected officials or for the framers of the Constitution."

The Bush Administration is trying hard to continue this legacy, Meese said, but is encountering the same problem the Reagan Administration faced in its final two years—a hostile Congress.

"The Democrats have tended to politicize the process," Meese said. One of their favorite tactics is lengthening the amount of time it takes for a nominee to be approved by the Senate. "Committee procedures are being delayed for no good reason."

Reflecting once again on the Reagan administration, Meese said that Reagan's greatest achievement was his success in restoring the credibility of and support for conservative values and ideals.

"There was a time in the 60s and early 70s when almost no political candidate wanted to be known as a conservative," Meese said. "Today, most people in both parties try to stress conservative values, and not even Democrats want to be called liberals."

The conservative movement is strong, but it also faces many challenges as liberals try to turn back the clock, Meese said. "Now is a transition period for the conservative movement. Many things we have fought for are coming about."

For example, with the demise of the Communist Empire, the reassertion of freedom in Eastern Europe is becoming a reality. Conservatives need to continue to be strong so they can bring direction to the way in which Eastern Europe develops, Meese said. "If we want real democracies and real free market economies, we need to be willing to work vigorously to help influence these nations as they emerge from the shadow of Communism."

Conservatives can use their influence to provide people, writings, training programs, and personal contacts to produce positive change in Eastern Europe, he said. "We need to continue to show that we are committed to liberty, democracy, and free market economics."

Conservatives also need to work hard at home to maintain what they have gained in the last decade, Meese said. "We have to be steadfast on our most important issue, which is our commitment to maintaining that basic principle of constitutional government through the separation of powers, federalism, and by controlling the growth of power or spending by the federal government."

There is plenty of unfinished business to be done to curb the growth of federal spending, Meese said. He placed the blame on Congress. "My biggest disappointment from the Reagan years has got to be the lack of cooperation we received from Congress," Meese said. "Once the Democrats took control of the Senate in 1986, there was constant hostility and sniping. It was always a fight. You couldn't even count on all the Republicans."

The conservative job is not done, Meese said. "We still have a ways to go to improve our government and throw off the oppressive federal regulations that remain so that we can restore a greater balance between federal and state and local governments."

The Supreme Court is moving in the right direction to restore more authority to the states and legislative bodies, Meese said, citing the example of abortion. "Now that the Supreme Court has relinquished some of its control, it is important for public officials to stand up for their principles and not change their positions for what they perceive to be a short-term political advantage."

The American public continues to support conservative values, Meese said. "The election of George Bush is a good indication of this fact."

ureen Kelley **APRIL 1990** Since *the catalyst* (a student opinion journal) recently ran a brilliant editorial column defending multiculturalism, we thought we would re-run this opinion piece on the subject.

lexandra the Great? Attack of the Mutant Multiculturalists

HMMM... (*)
CHLik
(*) TO BE OR NOT TO BE...

Kindly dispel all preconceptions of Western civilization. Your knowledge is biased and inaccurate. Hereby be informed that Caesar was a woman; George Washington was a pathological liar. We live in the "Euro-American community," not the United States, and Shakespeare wasn't an Englishman, but an Arab dignitary named Shaykh Zubayr Bin William. You have now had a crash course in "bias-free" education.

LIVE IN THE RO-AMERICAN IMUNITY," NOT UNITED TES, AND KESPEARE S NOT AN LISHMAN, BUT ARAB DIGNI- Y NAMED YKH ZUBAYR WILLIAM

This new trend in historical alterations is led by a collective entity called the "multiculturalists." Consisting of various educational institutions and minority interest groups, multiculturalists seek to expunge Western culture from our nation's history books. Ironically, the movement comes at a time when great emphasis is being placed on the need for improved education.

The Stalinistic purges of the multiculturists are being cloaked under the guise of historical inclusion. In New York, education commissioner Thomas Sobol sent the Board of Regents a report entitled, "A Curriculum of Inclusion." The report, however, mentions nothing of incorporating new factual information into the archives of history. The entire proposal is designed around the principle of *exclusion*, not inclusion.

The authors propose to end a curriculum of "white nationalism," by means of textbook revision. The described "Euro-American monoculture" (history as we know it) is to be replaced by "discussions of Africans, Asians, Hispanics, each of the Six Iroquois Nation tribes, Shinnecocks, Poospatucks, Eskimos and Aleuts, and people of Puerto Rico and other South and Central American and Caribbean countries." Furthermore, all illustrations are to depict males and females as being of equal height. Strictly masculine terms, such as "forefathers," are to be eliminated. "Tribes" will be referred to as "nation/people," and Chief Sitting Bull will henceforth be known as "Totanka Iotanka."

Granted, our current textbooks relate historical events and people from a male dominated Anglo-Saxon tradition. In fact, extensive historical research has revealed numerous individuals who have often gone without mention, simply because of their race or sex. For example, only in recently published textbooks, such as *The U.S., A History of the Republic*, can reference be found to Crispus Attucks, a black sailor active in the Sons of Liberty, and the first man to die in the Boston Massacre. Doubtless, historical facts such as this should be included in textbooks to improve their historical accuracy.

Historians of the multiculturalist mindset, however, would deal with this fact by replacing accounts of Patrick Henry, because he was white, with descriptions of Attucks, because he was black. Such "revisions" fail to recognize the vital importance of *both* men, as individuals participating in a historically monumental event.

Yet, determining the historical merit of people based on skin color is just the sort of factual quackery in which the multiculturalists revel. Rather than remedying omissions by simply adding the information to current textbooks, the proponents of "bias-free" education choose to mince facts and figures, yielding a neutered historical conglomeration.

The intention behind this revisionist policy is to raise the self-esteem of minority children. This aim assumes that self-respect is derived from ethnicity or from the mere identification with a larger group. Ethnic groups, white, black, Aleutian, or otherwise, did not contribute to history. Individuals of many nationalities and ethnic origins participated in events, stirred ideas and "made history."

Children will be more likely to identify with such historical figures as Crispus Attucks and Patrick Henry, not because they were members of a greater "Euro-American community," but because they were dynamic individuals. The students' intellectual enrichment will only be served by acknowledging the contributions of these men and women, not by amassing them into a homogeneous culture cluster. Educational efforts should not be concentrated on purging history, but on bringing it to life as accurately as possible. If anything need be purged, it is the new breed of educational folly known as multiculturalism.

DETERMINING THE HISTORICAL MERIT OF PEOPLE BASED ON SKIN COLOR IS JUST THE SORT OF FACTUAL QUACKERY IN WHICH THE MULTICULTURALISTS REVEL.

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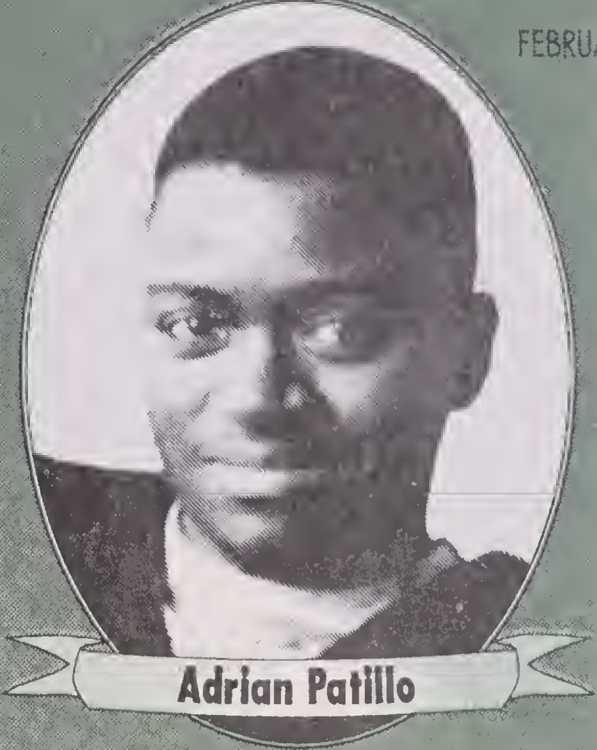
THE EXPOSURE OF CLINTON'S INAUGURAL BRAINWASH / PAGE 20

HE CAROLINA CRITIC

UME VI, ISSUE 5

FEBRUARY 3, 1993

Jennifer Lloyd


Adrian Patillo

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The fight for SBP

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Kevin "Cooter" Ginsberg

R. David Cox

student body
president campaign
THE FIGHT FOR SBP
1993

Carl Clark

Jim Copland

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Ladies Free Pool, $1.25 Domestic Beers

FRIDAY
$2.25 House Vodka Drinks

SATURDAY
$2.25 Bloody's & Screwdrivers

SUNDAY
1/2 Price Pool For Members

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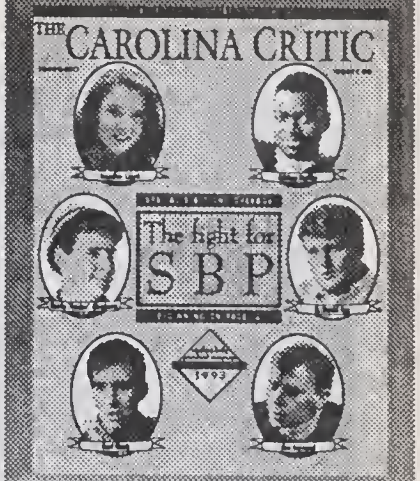

THE CRITIC COVER

There are six candidates running for the highest office in student government. The Critic has interviews with each candidate. Coverage begins on page 12.

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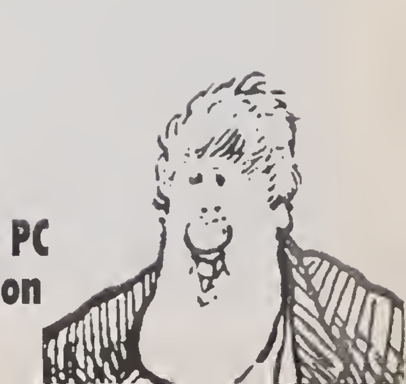
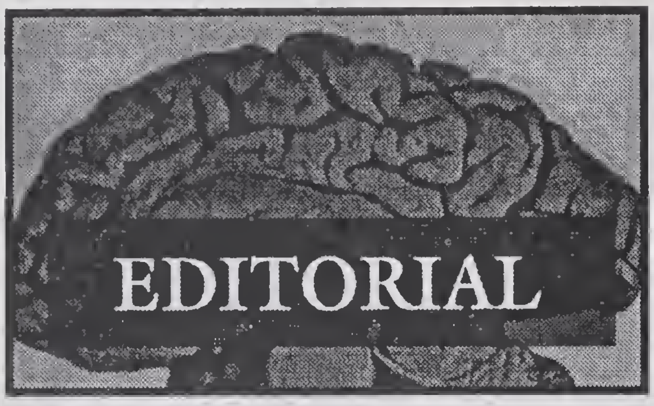




Expensive course-pak fees hurting academics

Students at UNC now have one more item to add to their lengthy list of gripes. However, this complaint is perhaps more legitimate than some of the others because it creates a problem that specifically targets students. In addition to purchasing books, students are now expected to pay a substantial royalty fee for "course-paks." This practice has been in effect for a couple of years now, but only recently did we realize the extent of the financial strap it places on poor college folk. For example, one course-pak, approximately 300 pages, goes for $59.30, printing and binding account for $23.08, while the royalty fee is a staggering $32.86 (tax accounts for the difference).

One realizes that publishers deserve some form of reimbursement for their efforts, and as the Supreme Court has ruled, professors should obtain publishers' permission before they distribute their publications. However, it escapes our reasoning why such a substantial fee should be levied upon students who do not intend nor have any motivations to reproduce copyrighted material for their personal benefit. By charging such a large royalty, publishers are encouraging students to "illegally" copy the material on their own, and instructors to offer such text on reserve for students to copy without paying any royalty.

In the long run, publishers are losing potential customers to these illegal practices, thus decreasing the fees they receive. For the students, the increased royalties either cause further financial strain or encourage illegal copying without the publishers' permission. Common sense tells us that there must be a middle path in which publishers charge smaller royalties and students, able to afford the fees, won't mind doing so.

Letters to the editor are accepted. The letter must be signed, with your year and major listed. Length is not a problem. Please send your letter to:

The Carolina Critic
01 Steele Bldg. CB 5100
U.N.C.-Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

Bill's PC team goes to Washington

BY JENNIFER DURHAM

The Democratic Party, in its tireless effort to impose multiculturalism on the populace through quotas and a variety of other measures, left Bill Clinton with no other choice than to start counting beans. The President may publicly object to 'bean-counters,' but his core constituency, largely composed of professional minority representation advocates and other special interests, gave him few options other than to represent key supporters in the nation's highest offices. As a result, the President appointed a politically correct group, complete with hispanics, blacks, women and even a few Dreaded White Males. Despite Clinton's insistence that his appointees represent America, his new Beans lie far to the left of most Americans.

Clinton may have snubbed many of Hollywood's elite by not inviting them to his Inauguration festivities but he won't make the same mistake twice. With control of the White House and the need to fill a myriad of bureaucratic positions, he is making sure he won't forget anybody in the Democratic party. So hail, hail the gang' all here so hold on everybody!

The one dollar bills remaining in our pockets after the Clinton Administration kicks into gear will bear the signature of Lloyd Bentsen while we can count on Health and Human Services secretary Donna Shalala to promote recognition of self-perceived health problems to justify more federal human 'services.' Those with stints in the Carter Administration on their resumes are here including Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Deputy Treasury secretary Roger Altman and Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary. And lest we forget another important presidential appointee - there is the 'Presidential Partner.' Yes, Hillary will be, among other things, sitting in on Cabinet meetings, helping Bill screen appointments (Whoops! I guess Zoe Baer slipped past them,) and heading a task force on health care reform.

As expected, the new Clinton ideologues span much of the political spectrum's left-hand side. Enter Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala from the far left. Shalala's qualifications for head of this enormous department include 'serving' at the Children's Defense Fund and chancellorship at the University of Wisconsin, where she demonstrated her disrespect for the First Amendment by promoting a PC speech code. As HHS Secretary, Shalala will enjoy a budget in the hundreds of billions of dollars and a staff of, as R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr. put it, "126,000 potential pests."

Joining Shalala on the far left is one Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, whose baffling defense of the Romanian economy under Ceausescu discredits any economic advice she plans to lend the Clinton Administration, or anyone else.

Tyson had best keep her distance from Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen's office. Bentsen, though no ultra-conservative, at least understands the concept of the free market. The former Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and of the Senate Finance Committee, he voted in favor of the 1981 tax cuts, and he doesn't need Webster's Dictionary to look up "supply-side economics." On the down side, Bentsen recently voiced opposition to capital gains tax cuts and favors increased marginal tax rates.

If Clinton really felt like discriminating against white males, Secretary of State Warren Christopher should have been his first target. Throughout his never-ending career, the Secretary of State has involved himself in all sorts of suspicious activities. Christopher, a Los Angeles lawyer, held the post of Deputy Secretary of State during the Carter Administration. Here, he worked closely with Carter's Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, whose latest project involves wasting his time and our money trying to negotiate a peace settlement among ex-Yugoslavian republics. Carter-Vance-Christopher brought the United States the Ayatollah Khomeini, a hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. How will Christopher, who reveres negotiation and retreats from military intervention, deal with Saddam Hussein and other Third World thugs that don't respond to rational discussion?

The Christopher Commission's post-Rodney King investigation of the Los Angeles Police Department adds another blemish to the Secretary of State's record. The report issued by the commission, based on controversial evidence, made sweeping accusations against the LAPD. The commission's findings probably contributed to the department's delayed response to last year's riots. With the report, Christopher establishes himself as

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

ABOUT THIS ISSUE FROM THE EDITOR

Well, there's a new man in the White House and Carolina Basketball is Number 1. What more could we ask for? Hey, one out of two ain't bad. While not everybody is ecstatic about our newest president, Bill Clinton has certainly set a new tone for the White House. I have to admit that I do like his taste in music, Elvis aside, and he can throw a party although I don't know how well it fit into his campaign theme, but after all, who cares?

While our national president is just getting settled in, campus politics is heating up and this year's election promises to be worth watching. In an effort to increase student interest and voter turnout, our first issue this semester has been devoted to the Student Body Presidential race and includes in-depth interviews of each of the candidates by our own Donald Phillips and Jennifer Stinehelfer and photographs by our new photographer, Molly Vogt.

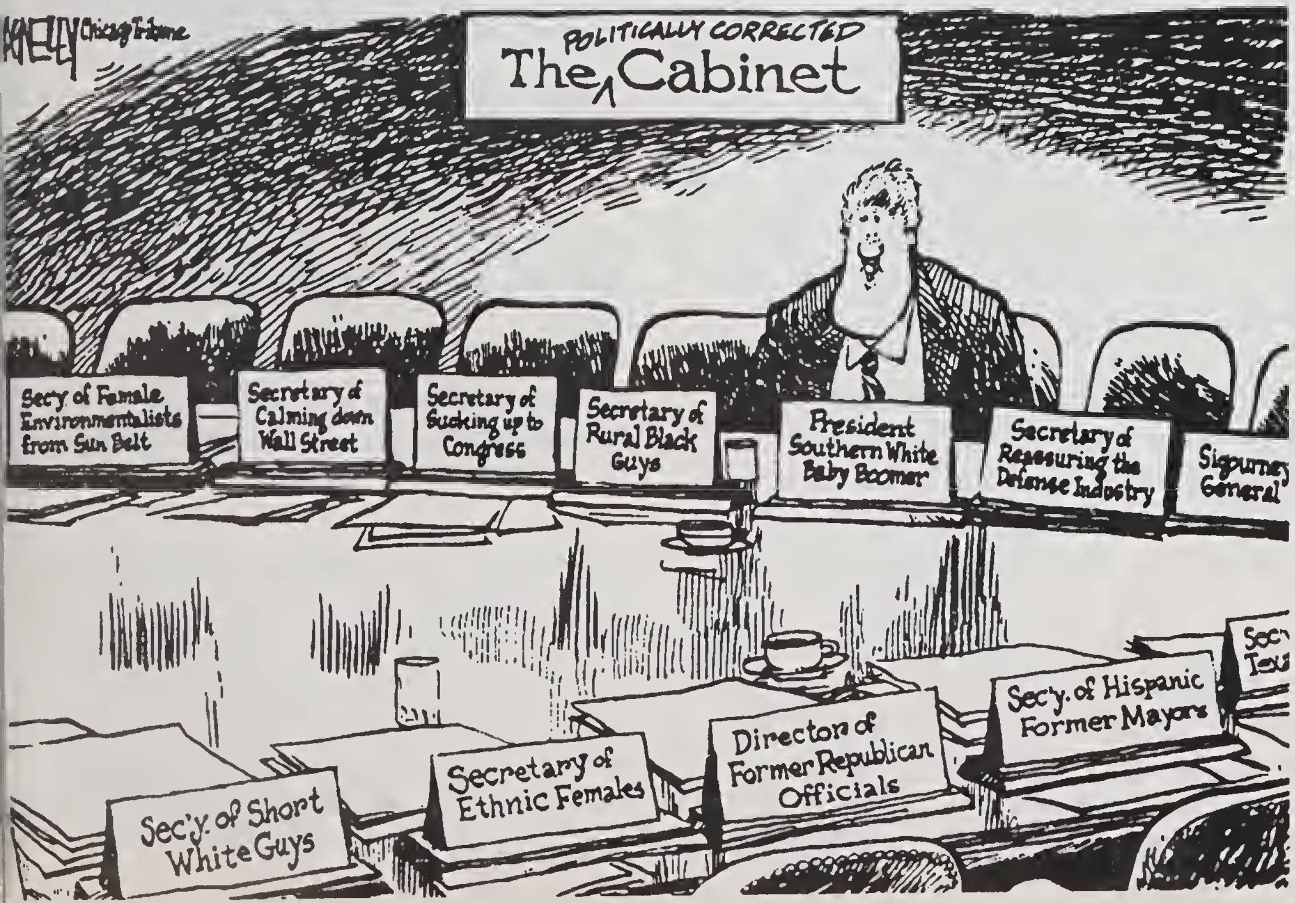
Besides the SBP candidate interviews, we also take a look at the recent Phoenix magazine controversy with Kyle Hooper's "The Phoenix's chronology of blunders" and Andrew Cohen's personal commentary, "Devolution of Phoenix."

We also have several other interesting stories ranging from a look at the fake I.D. phenomenon to an examination of the P.C. movement in Chapel Hill. And as always, there is the Critical Eye and the ever-popular Aphorisms.

As the Critic starts into its fifth year, we are continually looking for new writers. If you consider yourself libertarian, conservative or just fed up with the dominant train of thought in most other campus publications and organizations, give us a try. We are also looking for cartoonists, ad salesmen, and distribution coordinators. We have weekly meetings that are open to anybody on Wednesday night's at 8:00 or feel free to call the office at 962-5252 or myself at 967-5488.

We hope you enjoy this edition of the Carolina Critic and thanks for picking us up!

Mark A. Bandy


MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
The POLITICALLY CORRECTED Cabinet
Sec'y. of Female Environmentalists from Sun Belt
Secretary of Calming down Wall Street
Secretary of Sucking up to Congress
Secretary of Rural Black Guys
President Southern White Baby Boomer
Secretary of Reassuring the Defense Industry
Sigourney General
Sec'y. of Short White Guys
Secretary of Ethnic Females
Director of Former Republican Officials
Sec'y. of Hispanic Former Mayors
Sec'y Texa

CRITIC ALMANAC

Number of the 5,799 couples appearing on the Love Conection since 1982 who have married: 29

Number of these who have subsequently divorced or seperated: 4

Tons of Rocky Mountain oysters consumed each year at Montana's Rock Creek Lodge Testicle Festival: 1

Ratio of rats to people in Washington, D.C.: 2 to 1 (Hey, watch who you call a rat!)

Average number of steps an American adult takes each day: 9,000

Percentage of New York used-car dealers who regularly charge women more than men: 42

Chances that an American does not know which president appears on the one-dollar bill: 1 in 5

Rank of drunk driving, among the most common reasons that an American is arreasted: 1

Amount paid to Joey Buttafuco for the rights to the story about his affair with Amy Fisher: $300,000

Amount paid to Amy Fisher for the rights to the story about her affair with Joey Buttafuco: $80,000 in bail

Number of letters addressed to Juliet delivered to Verona, Itlay each year: 1000

Miles of bad checks written by Americans each year: 35,500

Sources: *Harper's* Febuary 1993; *Time* January 11,1993

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion

Volume VI, No. 5

THE CRITICAL EYE

•The S.B.P. is the student's representative on the Board of Trustees. Imagine if that person is named "Cooter." Now think about how much respect that person would have.

•Frightening thought- "Hello Mr. state representative, my name is Cooter and I'm..."

•Another frightening thought- one more "outsider" S.B.P.

•When it comes time for the Board of Trustees to make a decision, we could count on candidate Adrian Patillo to say "vote dammit!"

•Carl Clark, already known for his lack of personal convictions, revealed his shallowness to the campus by actually bragging about his "200-student phone survey." Some candidates actually base their platforms on what they personally believe in.

•Speaking of Carl, at least four of his campaign promises basically exist already: "Campus Watch"- S.A.F.E. Escort and the Student Patrol; "safety shuttle vans"- Point-to-Point; "Student Alumni Internship Link"- U.C.P.P.S.; "ticket distribution hotline"- C.A.A. office.

•One last comment about poor Carl. Apparently there will be great deal more money floating around U.N.C. next year. Listen to what the campus will get if he is elected: 1-800 number for Caroline, car-level phones, a 24 hour computer lab, stamp and copy card machines plus campus phones for Chase, and best of all, voice mail for student government.

•Okay, there is actually one more thing to say about Carl's platform. Apparently, he has the solution to campus race relations problems. If "administration, faculty, student organizations, and experts" get together and talk, "we will see that racism is stupid." And they lived happily ever after.

•Jim (Copland, that is), how will elevating the African and Afro-American studies curricula to department status help race relations?

•We are glad you want to hire a campus environmental czar. We already have enough instructors, and we certainly wouldn't want to pay them more (see opportunity cost, Econ 10).

•News flash to David Cox: students won't pay $2.00 to get their grades over the phone- they come in the mail for free.

•It is hard to think of something to say about Jennifer Lloyd's platform, since she seems to be running on the S.B.P.'s job description.

•Andrew Martinez,the naked guy from UC Berkeley was recently expelled due to his refusal to wear anything other than sandals and a backpack. Said Martinez, "I'm not allowed to go to school, which severely hampers somebody's chances to succeed." Someone should tell Martinez that his chances to succeed may have been hampered but we hear Ted Kennedy is looking for a protégé.

•Speaking of over-exposed flesh; How about Bill Clinton's jogging shorts?

•Referring to a proposed consumption tax, Jay Leno said of President Clinton, "How would he like it if we raised his taxes on Big Macs, ugly jogging shorts and out-of-tune saxophones."

•A recent Pennsylvania Teamster newsletter labeled Bruce Springsteen a scab for crossing a picket line to play a concert in Tacoma, Washington. The Boss and Teamsters will never get along it seems.

•Advertising slogan for the Arkansas division of the American Cancer Society: Be like Bill. Don't inhale.

•The recent tenure controversy made us wonder about how other professors handle the tough publish or perish world of academic life. According to a recent issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, a Case Western Reserve University chemist, Virgil Percec published a phenomenal 56 papers in 1991.

Percec, however, pales in comparison to ie all time paper publishing champion, ury Struchkov. Struchkov, a Russian hemist, was recently awarded the "Ig Jobel" prize for dubious scientific chievements. During the 80's, he pubshed 948 papers. In 1991 alone he wrote 3 scientific papers dealing with polyers. Get a life.

Sien MacDonald, a Scottish shepherd nd part time psychic predicts President linton will not last 18 months in office. lacDonald who has been a psychic since load of bricks fell on his head 25 years go has predicted earthquakes and other isasters including the recent oil spill off ie coast Scotland.

U.S. officials refuse to comment on the ecent sale of several F-16 engines to hailand for $120 million, according to ie *Wall Street Journal*. The reason offiials did not comment was because it eems in 1991 the US government sold ie Thai Royal Air Force 18 planes inus the engines.

It seems the man who discovered merica is no longer welcome on its iores. A 311ft. statue of Christopher olumbus was given to the US as a gift om Russia to celebrate our new friendip. The statue was originally to be ected off the coast of South Florida. Vhen residents heard of this plan and iewed a model of the "atrocious" statue ie plan was quickly shelved.

The Critic has information that suggests conspiracy by militant factions of the ulticulturist elite is the real reason for irning down the statue and their next iission is to rename Columbus, Ohio ter prehistoric multiculturists who were iown by their contemporaries as *ynosaurus Snackus*.

National Review reports that California pper, Paris' song, "Bush Killa" has nothg to do with what its title suggests. espite the fact that the song describes meone shooting from rooftops and ends ith a Bush speech halted by gunfire, aris maintains it was not meant to incite ie assassination of the former President. immee a break! I know most mericans look stupid and watch *Melrose ace* but give us a little credit.

From *Reason* magazine, proof that politil correctness knows no bounds: John inton, a student at Harvard Divinity School, was in a class discussion in which the professor had asked students to explain what they thought to be the central theme of Christianity. After several minutes, Hinton felt one important element had been overlooked and offered "Jesus." He was subsequently scolded for being too "Christocentric."

•At the recent congressional inauguration, there was surely a sight to behold according to the *New Republic*. It seems that 90-year old South Carolina Senator and former segregationist, Strom Thurmond, put his arm around newly elected senator, Carol Moseley-Braun, as if they were pals from way back. But the momentous event is diminished when you consider that the night before Thurmond passed a Washington, D.C. hotel, where Braun was having an inaugural gala, and questioned who the guest of honor was. When his attendee told him, Thurmond asked "Carol who? Senator from where?"

•The revised Catholic catechism counts "tax fraud" among its listing of sins. National Review hopes ,and we join our prayers with theirs, that this means that all those who work for the government will roast in hell.

•It's amazing how things change and long-held societal taboos are thrown out the window, even in the most traditional of countries, England. According to Reason magazine, on a crowded London subway, no one batted an eye as a couple engaged in what some would call deviant sexual behavior. However, the crowd turned angry when the two lovers lit up a post-sex cigarette and had them thrown off the train.

•On a campus note, Ms. Jennifer Sari asks the question, What's up with the fire lane at Spencer that no fire truck could get into?

•Overheard by Reason, Los Angeles Laker, Vlade Divac, had a most unusual response for arriving overweight to preseason training: "We all get heavier as we get older because there's a lot more information in our heads."

•And finally from our old friends at the *National Review*: "Just because George Bush spent the last year and a half denying the recession, that doesn't mean that Bill Clinton has to spend the next year and a half denying the recovery."

APHORISMS

An appeaser is one who feeds a crocodile hoping it will eat him last.
-Winston Churchill

Bad officials are elected by good citizens who do not vote.
-George Jean Nathan

A statesman is a politician who's been dead 10 or 15 years.
-Harry Truman

Research is something that tells you that a jackass has two ears.
-Unknown

Many people's tombstones should read: "Died at 30. Buried at 60.
-Nicholas Murray Butler

War makes rattling good history; but peace is poor reading.
-Thomas Hardy

I respect faith, but doubt is what gets you an education.
-Wilson Mizner

A reformer is a guy who rides through a sewer in a glass bottomed boat.
-James J. Walker

Compromise: a deal in which two people get what neither wanted.
-Mary Winchester

Democracy: the last refuge of cheap misgovernment.
-George Bernard Shaw

Coexistence- what the farmer does with the turkey until Thanksgiving.
-Mike Connally

A welfare state is one run to the benefit of everyone but the taxpayer.
-Imogene Fey

I hook, I always hook.
-JPG

PHOENIX TRIILOGY BY KYLE HOOPER

The Phoenix's chronology of blunders

In the fall of 1989, former Phoenix editor, Ed Davis, and Aarre Laasko launched a campaign to revolutionize the production of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's small publications by urging Student Congress to lease and eventually purchase, through the use of student fees, a $38,000 Desktop Publishing System. His hopes at the time were to place the Phoenix at the forefront of UNC's small publications. Four years and $22,000 later, the Phoenix has folded and with it Davis' hopes.

It started when Davis brought an elaborate 12-page proposal and supplement before Congress to persuade them to buy the system.

Congress did attempt to make sure that every publication could use the system since it was being paid for with student fees.

"It's important to understand that Congress didn't approve the bill simply for Davis' and the Phoenix's use," said Andrew Cohen, a member of Student Congress at the time that the proposition came into question. "Davis stressed that every publication would use the system."

In addition to this argument, Davis suggested that such a system would eventually pay for itself and would generate ad revenue so that the Phoenix could eventually become self-sufficient.

"An increased readership and the ability to do complex, professional design on demand will make student publications much more attractive to advertisers" Davis stated in his proposition.

There was no question that Davis was a slick character in his dealings with Congress and the bill. He seemed to have an answer to everything. Apparently, it paid off because Davis got his system which is commonly referred to by congress members as "Scapegoat."

Three years passed, Davis graduated, and staff writer, Kim Nilsen became editor of the Phoenix. Nilsen, however, was faced with low advertising and reduced student fees. Congress was still paying $11,050 each fiscal year for the leasing of the Scapegoat.

In the '90-'91 fiscal year, Congress gave the Phoenix $13,788 with which to play, not including the Scapegoat allocations. That figure dropped to $7000 in the '91-'92 fiscal year.

With such cuts, Nilsen had to find a way to budget the Phoenix's costs more effectively so that they could continue to print on a regular basis. By February of 1992, Nilsen and her assistant editor, Diane Peces, realized that if something was not done, they would have to cut production.

Nilsen moved to establish a joint operating agreement with the Daily Tar Heel under the supervision of Kevin Schwartz, general manager. The agreement stated that the DTH and the Phoenix would share business and advertising staffs. Nilsen and Schwartz both agreed that with their partnership, the Phoenix could cut costs and raise ad revenues.

"The idea was not a new one," Schwarz said. "There are several University papers that have already made similar agreements with smaller campus publications."

Schwartz added that he urged Nilsen to be patient because the DTH would need up to fifteen months to completely turn the Phoenix around.

"The DTH had absolutely nothing to gain from this agreement," Schwartz continued. "I felt like we were acting as the Good Samaritan."

Schwartz became the spokesman for the Phoenix and addressed the issue with Student Congress in February of 1992. He asked for one more large installment for publishing costs.

After Student Congress held their annual budget hearings, Congress allocated only $5000 for printing and publishing costs.

"The fact that we only received $5000 from Congress did not present the Phoenix with a major problem," Schwartz said. "I knew that it was going to take a little longer to get Phoenix revenue up."

According to Schwartz, Nilsen and Diane Peces were not satisfied with DTH participation. They were discontent with ad sales and staff participation and voiced their concerns to him.

"Kim and Diane came into my office and told me that they still wanted to print biweekly issues even though the funds were low,"

Devolution of Phoeni

BY ANDREW COHEN

The Phoenix is in a coma.

Food and fluids have been withdrawn, and the respirators have been disconnected.

While we sit vigil at its deathbed, let us do something a bit impolite: draw lessons from the languishing, lifeless body of the Phoenix.

The devolution and demise of the Phoenix provides an interesting study in alleged "market failure", pork barrel spending, and public choice economic principles. The eventual death of the Phoenix, surprisingly, will be a vindication of market principles.

While we walk through its recent history, we'll adduce some clues that the Phoenix was taking more than they were giving back. In its eagerness to promote campus diversity, Student Congress squanders tens of thousands of dollars of students' monies. The clues we'll see were unheeded wake-up calls to congress.

Since the early 1980's, the Phoenix had been publishing at the expense of the student body to the tune of over $10,000 per year. The weekly publication billed itself as an alternative newspaper and tended to focus on feature news stories, entertainment reviews, short fiction and other non-mainstream miscellany. Whether it was all any good is debatable. Many of the articles were interesting and topical; others seemed inexcusably irrelevant.

Many students were aware of th newspaper (the drop-off boxes wer right next to those for the DTH) The level of student enthusiasm however, seemed lukewarm at best When students learned how muc funds were expended on the Phoeni each year, they would often respon with irritated surprise. Congress wa also presented with specific data tha often as much as 1/4 of the issue were left unclaimed. (Remember the stacks were right next to thos for the DTH.) The Phoenix claime to print 7000 copies of the newspa per each week. Assuming all wer distributed (and we don't even kno that) that's an interesting statemen of public enthusiasm.

Clue #1 that the Phoenix too more than it gave back: tepid stu dent interest.

Whether the Phoenix containe anything good is not entirely th issue; the question was whether th newspaper printed $10,000 worth o good copy, plus an additiona $63,000 worth of enough good cop to warrant investing in a state-o the-art desktop publishing compute system.

Of course, governments shoul not be in the business of assessin the literary/informational value o the press. But when government fund publications, they're in a pos tion to make such judgments. Rathe

Schwartz said. "I told then there was not enough money."

Apparently, the two women refused to comply and said that they no longer wanted the agreement which they had established with Schwartz only three months earlier.

"I kinda felt used," Schwartz hesitated, groping for a tactful phrase-"after spending almost 100 hours of my time trying to make this agreement work. I agreed to dissolve the contract and called Central Carolina Bank to get them to transfer all of the Phoenix's existing funds back into their own account. We washed our hands of the Phoenix."

The Phoenix continued to print with their existing funds until the spring semester of 1992 came to a close, draining most of their account.

"To the best of my knowledge, everybody packed up and went home for the summer," Speaker of Congress Jennifer Lloyd said. "There was no money in the executive branch or the Phoenix account to pay for the Scapegoat leasing charges." Congress was forced to freeze all of the Phoenix's funds and pay the Scapegoat charges out of the Phoenix's printing and publishing funds.

Lloyd wrote a bill to take the burden off of the Phoenix. "It was our responsibility to pay for Scapegoat anyway."

Unfortunately, the Phoenix had more problems. "There were 12 months of phone bills to pay as well as outstanding printing and publishing costs," Lloyd stated. "The University would no longer recognize them."

As a result, in December, Congress decided to freeze the Phoenix's funds indefinitely.

"It was the first time I can remember that anything like this has happened," Cohen stated.

According to Lloyd, the Phoenix has currently managed to pay their outstanding bills and regain university recognition but have totally drained their account.

"I don't see Congress releasing the Phoenix's account again until they have some plan to form a business management and provide concrete proof of their financial plans," Cohen stated. There is no business organization within the Phoenix."

"Unfortunately, it looks like the Phoenix will die," Lloyd concluded, "unless someone comes in and takes the whole thing over."

In the meantime, congress will continue to foot the bill for the Scapegoat system, through the use of student fees each fiscal year until the Scapegoat's lease has been paid off. Davis got his toy and the students of UNC got the bill.

proves 'market failure' of Congress

an face this task, the Student Congress
spended judgment on the issue to shovel
ousands of dollars each year in the
oenix's direction.

Three and one half years ago, the
oenix asked for and received the
apegoat desktop publishing system.

It was murky at best whether this comput-
system was worth funding by Congress.
blic Choice economics tells us that public
gesse will be won handily by those who
by for it with the greatest vigor because
benefits of public spending are concen-
ted in the hands of a few while the costs
spread over a nameless multitude. All
centives point toward granting requests for
blic money: everyone knows who wants it
d why; giving the money makes public
icials feel good, win friends, influence peo-
; and giving the money makes tangible
ople happy. All requests at the doorstep of
vernment are for the granting of money.
ople almost never lobby government (at
y level) against giving some group money.
ave we ever seen an anti-farm-subsidy
by, an anti-Chrysler loan-guarantee
by, or, more close to home, an anti-"let's-
y-the-Phoenix-a-big-sexy-computer-sys-
n"-lobby?) Few are willing to organize
position to such requests; pressure is
used toward approval of the expenditure.

The dynamics of quests for public funds
rk to blur market signals. Congress still
nted (and always will want) to make the
udent body" happy. Not knowing where
s "student body" is, they satisfy the vari-
; itches of this hypothetical body, hoping
make the whole hypothetical body happy.

So, in the Fall of 1989, Congress voted the Phoenix its Scapegoat computer system. Price: $11,000 up front, $63,000 total over ten years. It made the Phoenix staff very happy.

In the ensuing three years, the leadership of Student Government and the Phoenix changed hands. Still each year the newspaper received public support, admittedly at steadily declining levels. The idea was to encourage the Phoenix to live up to its promise of increased self-generated funds. Interestingly, ad revenue for the Phoenix did not increase but decreased. A glance at some of the latter editions will show a noticeable dearth of ad space. The last edition, dated November 19, 1992, sports 1,700 square inches of copy — 14 square inches of which were devoted to ads. (Incidentally, this edition can still be found in the drop-off boxes. Go grab one before the sun further yellows the stacks.)

So, this was Clue #3: declining ad revenue.

Each year the Phoenix staffers resisted the call to raise ad revenue. They pointed to the tough advertising market. A combination of the DTH (satisfying all market demand for advertising) and the recession made it difficult to generate ad revenue.

But what about the Scapegoat computer? Didn't that make the Phoenix more appealing to advertisers?

"Times are tough," the Phoenix told Congress in 1990, 1991, and again in 1992.

"Yes, they are," Congress responded while cutting their budget in 1991 and 1992.

The Phoenix did not answer with greater ad revenue. This should have been a signal to congress, not just that the advertising market was saturated, but that the "newspaper" market at UNC was exhausted by the DTH. Advertisers know that. And they also didn't forget other local papers that grab the advertising dollar.

By the Fall of 1991, the Phoenix had lost control of the Scapegoat system because of financial mismanagement. Debt began to accumulate and the planned cooperative agreement with the DTH had been sabotaged by the Phoenix staff. Almost all available funds were exhausted by December. The publication schedule had been cut from weekly to bi-weekly. The managing staff had dwindled to two. No efforts were being made to attract further advertisers. (Clues #4 - 9.)

Congress (at last) froze all funds. The newspaper collapsed under its own weight.

It could be argued that government should not make funding decisions strictly according to market criteria such as consumer interest or long-term financial viability. Some could justify public support by pointing to the "market failure" involved in funding any student group. Student groups capable of sustaining themselves do not come to Congress for much money. And many worthy student groups, the argument runs, are incapable of generating their own funds.

Let us leave aside the problems that this argument begs, namely the questions about what a "worthy" student group is and whether there are "worthy" groups which deserve public support. The Phoenix billed

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

POLITICAL CORRECTNESS BY GREG KONIG

The declining intellectual atmosphere at UNC

In the recent past, much has been written and spoken of on the debate over political correctness (or PC) on college campuses across the country. Has this phenomenon affected Carolina? There has been little said on the particular influence this movement has had on the intellectual atmosphere among undergraduates, but it has reached alarming levels.

The PC movement has been intertwined with the similar multicultural and diversity/pluralism movements that have been receiving a lot of attention. Whatever the merits of the overall movement, the PC debate is of particular interest because of the threat it poses to free debate and the development of individual thinking and learning.

PC is a creation of contemporary leftist thought that seems to be based on the quest for equal representation, opportunities, etc. for traditionally oppressed groups including all racial minorities (with the notable exception of Asians), women, and homosexuals. As a result of this new censorship of the left, diversity has become a paradoxical concept, representing the general outlook of a group unified for the purpose of a common political platform to further the rights that have not been secured under the present legal and political system.

The 'diversity' desired consists of equal proportional representation in any and all demographic groups, and the means being used to achieve this end have the perverse effect of repressing true diversity (ie. the exchange of ideas and opinions freely without fear of oppression). For example, the 'Indispensable Course Guide' advises any student who 'truly' wants a diverse liberal education to take a woman's studies course, where feminist thought dominates. However, most theory courses do offer the feminist perspective along with a range of others— this would seem to be a more truly diverse alternative. Of course, the feminists that teach only their own point of view would beg to differ. Anyone who offers an outlook not compatible with party line thought is immediately and arbitrarily labeled as a racist, sexist, or homophobe.

A peculiar twist is that those who have achieved membership in this 'diverse' club are immune from criticism, and do not have to show an argument for their beliefs. Notable examples include Doug Ferguson's dismissal of Khalid X's homophobic hate speech (that, incidentally, most black supporters of the BCC gave a standing ovation), and the puzzling choice of Sister Souljah by the Campus Y for Race Relations Week. It's doubtful that David Duke, or even Pat Buchanan, would receive such a warm reception.

PC does not place much value on intellectual argument and debate; not only do its defenders rarely develop arguments in their own defense, but if a contrary argument is presented to them its merits are ignored... that person is now ignorant... and must be educated... to come correct. The assumption that everyone will agree with them and see the light if everyone would just 'educate' themselves about other cultures, etc. is another arrogant fallacy the PC commit so often. These thought police have negatively influenced the pursuit of truth on campus, and have lulled many into believing that this paradigm is reality.

The influence of PC is devastating. A recent example stands out. Ebony Davis, who we may forgive because she is a freshman and has been thoroughly brainwashed, wrote a letter to the DTH concerning criticism of an Omnibus feature on entertainment on the Hill for blacks: "As far as calling discrimination against blacks in the theaters a 'pathetic argument' you really need to come correct! There is nothing pathetic about me complaining because a theater where I have to spend my money does not have movies starring people of my race. (And no, "The Bodyguard" does not count)... You are what I call a sellout. You need to keep in mind that you are a minority, just like I am... other minorities on this campus are not pleased with the remarks that you made. True, you have your right to free expression, but when it criticizes the efforts of those who are trying to right the many wrongs on this campus, maybe you need to keep it to yourself... My advice to you is to come correct and watch who you disrespect because what affects us affects you." I must question who convinced her of this fodder.

Her complaints center on the idea that lack of 'clubs for blacks', lack of events organized in clubs and on campus for blacks, and lack of 'racially- pure' black movies are all some sort of injustice caused and perpetuated by ignorance and racism. However, one look at her lack of reasoning directs my attention toward the real causes of the situation. Economic issues, and to some extent safety issues, have obviously caused a shortage of black entertainment, but this certainly does not imply that race had anything to do with it.

In fact, it is clearly evident that race has been made an issue by those who want to politicize the circumstances being dealt with. The effect of PC got the best of Ms. Davis; notice she feels the other person must 'come around' to her way of thinking, she 'has' to spend her money at movies that she doesn't want to watch because they're not 'diverse', Whitney Houston isn't 'really black' because she makes movies with whites, the girl has "sold out' because she doesn't agree with the minority's 'diverse' consensus, the girl must not realize that she's still a minority and that others in the 'diverse' herd are gravely dissapointed, the girl should shut up if she doesn't agree with the herd, and expressing dissenting opinions against those who 'right wrongs' (what about wrong causal analysis on the herd's part?) is a form of disrespect and shouldn't be done, OR ELSE.

Of course, many are guilty of making race an issue if it serves their political agenda. The recent focus on environmental racism shows that the PC are ready to accuse anybody of racism if the consequences of economic and political organization affect a disproportionate amount of poor. The DTH actually did a feature on the fact that race wasn't really an issue in the Midway district grant by the town. Who would write such an article unless they assumed that it already was an issue in every economic or political decision? The article even implicitly assumed that it would have automatically become a race issue if the 'whites' hadn't given the money to the 'blacks'. This sick perspective is formed by the infatuation with the race/class/gender distinctions that the PC movement thrives on.

Over the past several months, the DTH has been a decent indicator of PC's influence. Besides extensive minority coverage, the DTH frequently focuses on homosexual and women's issues in news stores, news 'analysis', and on the editorial page: ever the champion of large gay special interest groups and angry feminists. Occasionally, letters criticize the coverage as biased and focused exclusively on liberal issues. There doesn't seem to be any real problem in that, except for the possibility that the coverage is slanted.

Slanting is a DTH specialty. The DTH filters out articles on the minorities, women, and homosexuals that put a bad light on these groups or present an alternative conception. Considering the amount of print the DTH writes for the vocal groups, this reeks of bias and is unacceptable. Last year a campus organization was denied coverage, representation, or even a quote after it was targeted for criticizing homosexual arguments. However, the CGLA meeting/rally/therapy session that was held to dismiss the argument without discussion and to call them homophobic was extensively covered. It consisted of a diatribe yearning for the days when people will be more accepting and not just tolerant, ignorant homophobes.

The DTH subsequently denied the group that was the object of the CGLA's comments, coverage (even in a letter to the editor) to defend themselves from the charges made. As a result, the group had to print flyers to rebut the attack. The DTH might be exersizing proper discretion in not running the Chronicle advertisement denying the Holocaust, yet choosing to not give a voice to an opponent of the DTH's cause is policing thought unjustly.

The two columnists who represent these groups in the DTH, Doug Ferguson and Alisa DeMao, are completely immersed in the 'diversity' frame of mind. Ferguson is co-chair of the special interest B-GLAD group that claims to represent all homosexuals and bisexuals on campus, and DeMao is a feminist of some sort (someone suggested the demeaning "journalism major feminist").

Though neither claims to represent thir respective groups, they do associate themselves with the 'herd' mentality of group unity in almost every story, and few other voices are represented to present a balanced picture. Alternative and truly diverse viewpoints for homosexuals and women have never been presented in their stories. Rather, when they talk of impediments to their progress, it is almost exclusively in a proactive political context.

The criticism that Ferguson and DeMao receive in response to their views is then immediately shot down as ignorant and homophobic by their supporters. Rarely, if ever, are arguments given to show why these people are wrong in criticizing the columnists; just the stigma remains of a person who 'hasn't the knowledge' to agree with them.

The "lack of understanding and closemindedness" that these PCers accuse their critics of having might in fact be right on the mark; however, it seems the riteous have been inflicted with this same disease. A dissenting opinion does not mean that one has not thought about an issue and misunderstands, but seems to indicate the willingness of an independent mind who thoughtfully considers opinions recognized as different from the 'diverse' herd.

The lack of arguments presented by those who are politically correct might be an indication of stupidity on their part, but is probably related more to their acceptance of the now status-quo belief that the PC opinion is the only one worth listening to, thus other opinions are really not deserving of being considered seriously— they can be supressed because of their irrelevance to the political agenda of the politically correct. One important question remanins: Where has the PC influence on these individuals, the DTH, and others come from, and is it still perpetuating the problem?

PC in the White House

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

a member of the growing numbers more concerned with controlling police conduct rather than criminal conduct.

In addition to the above misfits, Clinton appointed plenty of others hostile to freedom. Leon Panetta, who National Review targets as a "compulsive tax increaser," and Alice Rivlin, an advocate of various interventionist economic policies, will run the Office of Management and Budget. A former anti-war activist, Robert Reich, comes to the Department of Labor with lots of "investment" (translate "higher taxes and more spending") rhetoric.

For EPA Administrator, a position which Clinton may bring to the Cabinet level, the President chose one of Vice President Gore's former environmental staff members, Carol Browner. And then there's Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, who favors defense cuts and a smaller military. The list goes on to include such unnotables as Hazel O'Leary, recycled from the Carter Administration, who has been assigned to the Energy Department.

Rising from their positions as former mayors, Henry Cisneros of San Antonio, sadly replaces Jack Kemp at Housing and Urban Development, and Federico Pena of Denver checks in at the Transportation Department. Bruce Babbitt, former governor of Arizona, fills the Department of the Interior's vacancy and last, and maybe least, let us not forget Ron Brown, our illustrious new Commerce Secretary, who will be right at home in his new position as he is already in the pocket of several major business interests.

America, in short and whether they intended to or not, has elected a group of people to the White House who believe the government should be omnipresent, reaching into everyone's backyard. Educated, rich liberals like the Clintonites mirror hypocrisy of the worst kind. Assuming an air of superiority, Clintonites presume to know what benefits everyone, and they accordingly establish extensive regulatory policies that destroy and discredit the individual's capacity for responsibility. Liberalism does not represent the common man, it justifies lucrative positions in the bureaucracy for educated, wealthy liberals who claim to represent them.

The Clinton Era indeed brings the winds of change. Unfortunately, the future doesn't hold the kind of change Americans bargained for when they signed onto the Clinton-Gore ticket. Americans, in the next four years, will lose more personal autonomy to the federal government. The President, correctly sensing Americans' general disdain for extremism, cleverly masqueraded himself as a moderate on the campaign trail. But Bill Clinton's appointees, from Warren Christopher and Donna Shalala to Laura D'Andrea Tyson, reflect either his true liberal colors or the excessive influence of Hillary. Either way, the ultra-liberals sit in Washington's highest offices. And Americans born before 1976 know what happens when they come to town.

Kevin "Cooter" Ginsberg

Jennifer Lloyd

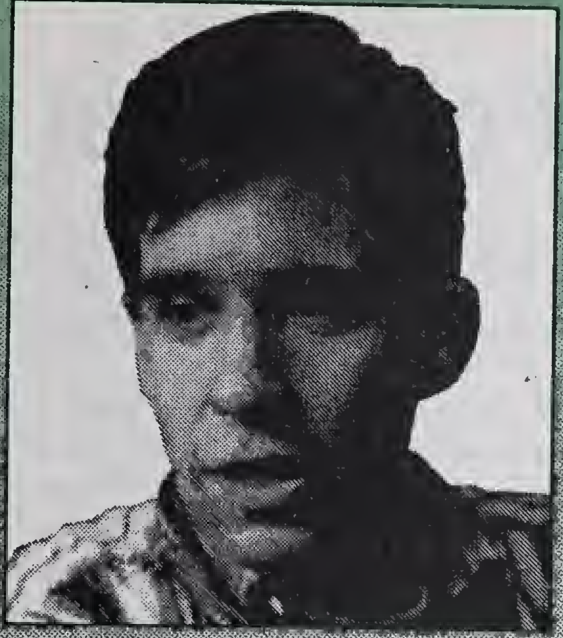
Adrian Patillo

In search of hig

This year's race for the office of S
President promises to be an inten

Six candidates, each having different goals and co
cerns, seek the school's highest student office. The pu
pose of these interviews is to let you, the voter, g
acquainted with each candidate, their reasons for ru
ning, and what they have to offer. Each participant w
asked the same series of questions and was given a
ample amount of time to give a response.

After the interview the candidates were asked to prio
tize 10 campus issues without explanation.



Carl Clark

R. David Cox

Jim Copland

office

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one

student body
president campaign
THE FIGHT FOR SBP
1993

Editor's Note: Despite Jim Copland's affiliation with the Carolina Critic, he in no way influenced any of the candidacy questions or article content. Each candidate received the same impartial treatment and gave the following responses.

QUESTIONS ASKED IN CANDIDATE INTERVIEW

Why are you running for student body president and what are your priorities?

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

What has John Moody done to help alleviate some of these problems?

As president, what do you plan to do differently?

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

Do you have a special agenda planned for the Bicentennial celebration?

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you in favor of an increase? Why? If not, what will you do to stop it?

Define the ideal university.

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being the link
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need.”

student body
president campaign
HE FIGHT FOR SBP
1993

JENIFER LLOYD

Experience heads Lloyd campaign

Why are you running for student body president and what are your priorities?

Lloyd says that she has "a clear understanding of the job" and "understand[s] the role student body president should play on campus." Lloyd stressed her total commitment to the office and to her constituents. Her experience and familiarity on the Board of Trustees, Lloyd says, will be a definite asset as a voting member of the BOT.

As a General Assembly lobbyist, she feels qualified to represent student interests in lobbying against tuition increases and budget cuts, and says she will have an organization prepared to go to Raleigh daily. Lloyd also emphasized her commitment to representing students' interests regarding tenure and the BCC.

She says she will make "appointments to committees that matter" and cited their importance in effecting political change. Lloyd also notes her experience with committees, and says she will know "from day one what those committees do, what they can do, and what they can't do." She also plans to address the judicial system regarding sexual assault victim's rights, honor code violations, and other student concerns. "I am experienced in the workings of the university, knowledgeable in the administration, and committed to representing students to these groups, to being the link that they need."

LLOYD AT A GLANCE

Class: Junior
Major: Speech Communications/ Political Science
Hometown: Burlington
Interests: Piano, travelling, motivational speaking, public policy
Future Aspirations/Career: Master's and Ph.D. in public policy, concentration in Education, Labor, and Human Services

LLOYD'S PRIORITIES

1-Fall from U.S. News' top 25
1-Tuition increase
1-Libraries
2-BCC
2-Race relations
2-Housekeeper grievances
2-Diversity
3-Tenure policy
3-Recycling
3-Campus crime

Editor's note: Ms. Lloyd's survey was completed as it appears here, with only 1,2,3 given as answers

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

Lloyd is concerned about the lack of a sense of community of campus, and says that controversial issues on campus, such as tenure and the BCC, were seen in black and white and "never should have been so divisive." "I take a very pragmatic approach to problems like this; I'm very realistic, yet I hold to the ideal." Lloyd also expressed concern over educational quality, and emphasized the importance of teaching, low-cost, high-quality education, and comprehensive course reviews. "We do deserve to shop for our classes, and get the teaching style and the professor that best suits our needs as students, and I think that can also help as far as keeping professors accountable for their teaching," Lloyd says. Lloyd also wants to reform Student Government to prevent establishment of blocks and other politico strategies.

Lloyd criticized the politicking and corruption involved in appointing parking directors and other offices. "I don't like the politics of Student Government at all, I don't think they're funny or enjoyable, I don't enjoy a good game on Congress night; I'm really looking for ways to serve the students."

What has John Moody done to help alleviate these problems?

"John has focused largely on the problems of the common student. . . he cares very much, and he has tried to educate himself as best he can on every issue that the BOT deals with to make good votes." Lloyd pointed out, however, that Moody could not begin his job with the inside knowledge that she would have from the beginning.

As president, what do you plan to do differently?

"I would do everything differently," Lloyd began. She stated that her first act would be to appoint a "qualified, diverse administration" to handle UNC's greater problems. This would include a treasurer with good knowledge of treasury laws, a hard-working vice-president, a budget-crisis lobbyist to skillfully organize Raleigh efforts, about whom Lloyd says: "I know these people, these are my friends that I'm talking about. I know a person for everything I'm saying." She says her emphasis in appointments would be on people who care about Student Government and put it first. Lloyd cites her avoidance of a lawsuit from Delmar publishing over the debt owed by the Yackety Yack as evidence of her commitment and hard work in Student Congress.

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

Lloyd considers her position as leader of the legislative branch the "obvious answer", because it has given her inside-track knowledge and experience. However "the reason people should vote for me is because I care. . .that's why I ran for Congress and that's why I ran

See Lloyd on page 21

"Plans, not ideas," for Cooter

Why are you running for SBP and what are your priorities?

"I got involved with campus politics early in my freshman year and quickly became dissatisfied [with the] runaround," says Ginsberg referring to the procrastination that he felt permeated student government. Ginsberg stresses communication and contact between students and their elected officials as top priorities if elected.

Notes Ginsberg, "Communication and contact between students and student government has been extremely poor." He also stresses "plans, not ideas" that he has developed to bridge the communication breakdown. These plans include a liaison between himself and each campus organization and a weekly letter in the DTH from the Student Body president to students.

COOTER AT A GLANCE

Class: Junior
Major: Business
Hometown: Chapel Hill
Interests: Friends, coaching soccer, Boys State Counselor, watching movies.
Future Aspirations: Writer, professor, politician and lawyer all at the same time.

COOTER'S PRIORITIES

1-Tuition increase
2-Tenure policy
3-Diversity
4-Libraries
5-Race relations
6-BCC
7-Recycling
8-Campus crime
9-Housekeeper grievances
10-Fall from U.S. News' top 25

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

Ginsberg believes there is a racism problem on campus that minorities feel and experience to a greater degree than do other students.

The proposed tuition increase is at the top of Ginsberg's list of impending problems for the campus. A great deal of his platform is devoted to opposition of a tuition increase.

Other problems cited by Ginsberg include tenure policy and the environment. He believes a great deal of reform is needed in tenure policy and points to the student involvement on behalf of Professor Paul Ferguson as a good first step, but says further action must be taken to assure a change in overall policy.

Ginsberg also supports education as a positive step in creating greater environmental awareness.

What has been John Moody's role in alleviating campus problems?

"John Moody's reputation on campus is very low. At the very least Moody could have been a stronger voice," Ginsberg states. Regarding the problems he sees on campus Ginsberg says, "I don't believe John Moody has quantifiably improved any of these situations." Ginsberg stresses his plans of a liaison between student organizations and a weekly letter to students as positive steps toward a more effective SBP.

As president, what would you do differently?

"I can't stress enough the importance of getting in touch with people." In addition to his plans for a liaison and a weekly letter, Ginsberg says he will represent every group on campus as SBP. He believes the Student Body President should represent the concerns of groups such as SEAC; BSM and others.

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

"I have a wide variety of strong leadership activities," he says. Ginsberg points to experience as a summer orientation leader along with coaching experience and attending Palmetto Boys State as examples of his leadership ability. He maintains these and other qualifications make effective leadership skills a strong point that would prove useful in student government.

Do you have a special agenda planned for the bicentennial celebration?

"This year's SBP will have extra responsibilities. I plan to work closely with the senior class president and VP," says Ginsberg. He also asserts that he does not in any way wish to lessen the authority of the senior class president and will assist them in Bicentennial activities.

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you in favor of an increase? If not, what will you do to stop it?

"I am opposed to a tuition increase," says Ginsberg. Since the tuition increase is a major part of his platform, Ginsberg is already working against the increase. He has compiled a list of legislators and how they voted on the proposed increase. He plans to focus

See Ginsberg on page 21

"I can't stress enough the importance of getting in touch with people."

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president campaign
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CARL CLARK

Clark vows reasonable, practical approach

"I'm genuine, I succeed in my approach, I'm reasonable, I'm practical."

Why are you running for student body president and what are your priorities?

Clark says there are two reasons that he is running for student body president. Having served in Student Congress for three years, Clark has seen "a lot of waste[and] a lot of inefficiency." "I've served under three student body presidents. I've been able to see what works and what doesn't work." Clark says he has solutions for what does not work. "I conducted a phone survey before I decided to run." Clark surveyed two hundred students. "I let the students tell me what the issues were." In Clark's survey, campus safety came in as the greatest concern with 90% of those polled. Academics and making UNC a place where students are more than a number were also concerns according to Clark. "With those three guiding factors I believe that I can make a change."

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

Clark feels that campus crime, academics, and making UNC more personable are key problems. Clark proposes a range of safety-oriented programs, including "Operation Night Shield" which will help provide safe transportation to and from classes for night students.

Clark also has propositions in the academic area. One of these is a syllabus reserve file, which would "create a reserve of syllabi from all professors from each course section so that when there are several sections of particular classes, students can go look up and determine what section best fits those study habits." He also would like to open a 24-hour computer lab.

Another of Clark's proposals is "to set a higher standard in student life" with "Sports Night" at Lenoir. This would allow interested students a chance to enjoy extended hours at Lenoir on big game nights.

Clark also wants to see improvements in South Campus such as a campus phone in Chase dining hall.

What has John Moody done to help alleviate these problems?

"Of all the student body presidents that I have worked under, he has been the most approachable, personable, and in touch with the students." Clark also feels that Moody "reflects the student quality, he's not politico and I like that." Clark credits him with having "always been an advocate for the student view", but adds that "whether or not that has shined through, I can't be the judge. I'll let the students decide."

CLARK AT A GLANCE

Class: Junior
Major: Political Science
Hometown: Fuquay-Varina
Interests: Photography, music (organ, violin), public speaking
Future Aspirations/Career: Public service, state government law school

CLARK'S PRIORITIES

1-Tuition increase
2-Campue crime
3-Libraries
4-Race relations
5-Tenure policy
6-Fall from U.S. News' top 25
7-BCC
8-Recycling
9-Diversity
10-Housekeeper grievances

As president, what do you plan to do differently?

Clark stresses his dedication to being "a responsible, sincere, and genuine individual who will be high profile," noting that "the tone that will be set will be all my own. . . I don't want to be judged or compared, which I will be, but I'm setting a tone that I don't think this campus has seen, ever." Clark says that his commitment to the issues that he has researched as being concerns for students will lead him to provide practical, day-to-day solutions. Clark's goal is to bring Suite C down to students' level.

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

"I believe I have a strong working knowledge of student government," Clark says, clarifying that he has "knowledge, but not enough knowledge to corrupt." He also adds: "I'm genuine, I succeed in my approach, I'm reasonable, I'm practical." Clark is also concerned about improvements that could have been made during his time in student government but were not; he sees the "student body president as being that office for change." Clark's strongest assets, he says, are his working knowledge of and experience in student government, his insight gained from diverse students, and his activities outside of student government.

See Clark on page 21

Cox: Give students an active voice

Why are you running for Student Body President and what are your priorities?

Cox says he is not content with the status quo of student government and wants to bring a campus wide sense of unity. He feels he can effect this unity because of his communication with students and insight into their concerns. He has participated in a range of activities, such as varsity baseball, Alpha Phi Omega service fraternity, and a social fraternity, which he feels gives him rapport with different students. Cox said the way to get students involved is to "give them a voice."

Cox proposes giving 75% control of student funds to the at-large student body and the remaining 25% to student government. This, he says, would give students more information and allow them to dictate funding to groups they consider important. Cox also proposed a one-hour credit for service and public safety work, and a 900 number giving students grades and other information.

COX AT A GLANCE

Class: Junior
Major: History
Hometown: Signal Mountain, TN
Interests: Sports, politics, people, running, movies, music
Future Aspirations/Career: Sports medicine or Business

COX'S PRIORITIES

1-Race relations
2-BCC
3-Diversity
4-Fall from US News' top 25
5-Libraries
6-Tuition increase
7-Tenure policy
8-Housekeeper grievances
9-Recycling
10-Campus crime

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

One of Cox's concerns is the lack of student involvement—he proposes to raise it through direct empowerment of students and creating greater awareness of where their money goes. "Students need to get excited." Another problem he sees is racial separation. His opinion of the Black Cultural Center is generally positive, and he fells any attempt to reverse that decision. He expresses his respect for the enthusiasm and commitment of the Black Student Movement.

What has John Moody done to help alleviate these problems?

Cox cites Moody's hand in organizing the board which discussed the Black Cultural Center, and says that Moody had delivered most of his campaign promises, like bike racks and better lighting. "Moody did not run on a big-issue platform," Cox says.

As president, what do you plan to do differently?

Cox reiterates his commitment to giving students more involvement and an active voice, especially regarding the dispensing of student fees. He stresses that Student Government has potential if it has unity and student involvement.

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

Cox suggests that his previous lack of involvement in student government is not a weakness because "that can be learned." What can't be learned, according to Cox, is the ability to make changes and communicate with students. He feels he is capable of doing this because of his personal skills, activities, and insight into students' opinions.

Do you have a special agenda planned for the Bicentennial celebration?

Cox says he has no plan now, but hopes to discuss the matter with Kevin Moran and the Bicentennial committee. He suggests using the money for library funding, housekeepers, and teaching assistant salaries.

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you in favor of an increase? Why? If not, what will you do to stop it?

Cox says he is not in favor of the increase, because he feels a strong point of UNC is the "excellent education at a reasonable price." He also argues that an increase would create more need for financial aid and adversely affect out-of-state students. To stop it, he plans to use his leverage with the BOG and BOT, boards and lobby with UNC system chancellors for a compromise.

Cox proposes giving 75% control of student funds to the at-large student body and the remaining 25% to student government.

R. DAVID COX

Copland aims to restore credibility to office

Copland vows to be a much more visible president by speaking to students on issues and to "basically tell them what [he] thinks."

student body
president campaign
HE FIGHT FOR SBP
1993

JIM COPLAND

Why are you running for Student Body President and what are your priorities?

"I'm running for SBP because it is a critical year. The eyes of the nation will be focused on the University with the upcoming Bicentennial," says Copland, who stresses safety on campus, race relations and tenure policy as top priorities. "I think there is a critical need out there for leadership, a critical need for someone who is experienced, who can step in on day one, lead the executive branch, lead the student body and be an advocate for the students. I feel I can handle this job. . . I'm the only one who has any experience with the State Legislature in Raleigh." Copland was the budget crisis lobbying coordinator for the former SBP, Matt Heyd. He believes the University needs a SBP who can restore the credibility of student government, return ethics to student government, and make student government work for the people.

COPLAND AT A GLANCE

Class: Junior
Major: Economics and Political Science
Hometown: Burlington
Interests: Running, basketball, debate, theater
Career: Public Service/Policy making

COPLAND'S PRIORITIES

1-Fall from U.S. News' top 25
2-Libraries
3-Tuition increase
4-Race relations
5-Campus crime
6-Tenure policy
7-Diversity
8-BCC
9-Recycling
10-Housekeeper grievances

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

"We obviously have problems coming under two main areas, those being academics and community." Copland says that the tenure policy will be tackled via the Board of Trustees "looking at the teaching versus research mission of the University."

Another issue Copland sees as significant is the probable tuition increase. "I would institute a tuition defense initiative to attempt to deal with the legislature." If he is unable to prevent the increase, he will strive to minimize its extent. Copland is in favor of using 25% of possible increase money as financial aid.

In his community agenda, Copland voices a strong need for campus security. He also says that, "Student Government should be a leader in environmental issues." Copland wants increased recycling and energy conservation. Race relations and promoting racial harmony are also major concerns for Copland. He is in favor of expanding the academic curriculum in the African-American Studies Department as well as attracting Native American faculty to the University.

What has John Moody done to help alleviate these problems?

"John Moody went into Student Body Presidency with a slightly different focus . . . he wanted to accomplish small tasks that would help students." Copland feels that Moody achieved the goals he set for himself. "He has done a lot of the small things he said he was going to do."

As president, what do you plan to do differently?

"As president, I think I can be a very forceful advocate for the students." Copland wants to get Student Government working for the people again. He feels there is too much politicization. "My interest is in making Student Government tackle the big issues," he adds.

Copland vows to be a much more visible president by speaking to students on issues and to "basically tell them what [he] thinks." By doing this, Copland says he will be "a more effective advocate and be able to look at big picture issues more." Also Copland wants to install a larger, more diverse branch of appointees.

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

"I'm the only candidate who has any experience dealing with the legislature over in Raleigh." As a result, Copland says he has developed a "knowledge and rapport with the General Assembly which will be a great asset on day one." Copland states that he is the only candidate who has served on an executive branch cabinet. Therefore, he has "a very in-depth knowledge of how this branch should be run." Copland feels his connections with long-range planning committees, Student Government leadership experience, and his work with the trustees and faculty give him the edge.

Do you have a special agenda planned for the Bicentennial celebration?

"I don't have a specific agenda for the Bicentennial celebration, but I do want to work with the Bicentennial coordinator." Copland does have a community agenda consisting of campus safety, race relations, and environmental leadership. Copland says this community agenda will help shape the Bicentennial "to have a community focus or a community theme."

See Copland on page 23

Patillo: Accessibility and an end to apathy

Why are you running for student body president, and what are your priorities?

"For the last few years, at least, the student organizations have been the ones to keep in close contact with the students," says Patillo. He suggests that the Student Government has distanced themselves with the students via non-publicized meetings and inaccessibility of officers. "I think I can do a lot better," says Patillo. "What I did my first three years is talk to the people and that's something student government really doesn't do," adds Patillo.

What do you feel are some major problems on campus?

"I don't know about major problems except for apathy." Patillo comments that many people in administration and positions of power do not have it "in their best interests to serve the student body,"; that's why, he says, "we, as students, can't just sit around and wait . . it takes direct action to get the things that you want."

What has John Moody done to help alleviate some of these problems?

Patillo's opinion, which he says is gained largely from the insight of friends in Student Congress, is that Moody hasn't done a lot. Moody is not going to "leave a legacy" at UNC and has not made significant contributions to the office of student body president according to Patillo. He added, however, that many students who complain about Moody "didn't vote, and if they did vote probably voted for him, when he ran on a platform that essentially said he wasn't going to do anything."

As president, what do you plan to do differently?

Patillo places emphasis on working closely with student organizations. He plans to organize a summit with the leaders of major, active campus groups to address important issues and discuss the role of the student body in the Bicentennial celebration.

What are your strongest qualifications and what makes you more qualified than the other candidates?

Patillo cites his three-year employment in the registrar's office and his role in the working group for the BCC as qualifications, and says he has spent a lot of time with the student body, meeting and getting input from students. He also credits contacts in higher levels. Patillo adds that he plans to use his seat on the Board of Trustees as a special instrument in policy-making.

PATILLO AT A GLANCE

Class: Junior
Major: RTVMP, Public policy minor
Hometown: Chapel Hill
Interests: Going out with friends, seeing films, writing (poems, essays)
Future Aspirations/Career: Media job, work with the town in making affordable housing materialize

PATILLO'S PRIORITIES

1-Race relations
2-BCC
3-Tuition increase
4-Tenure policy
5-Housekeeper grievances
6-Diversity
7-Libraries
8-Campus crime
9-Recycling
10-Fall from U.S. News' top 25

Do you have a special agenda planned for the Bicentennial celebration?

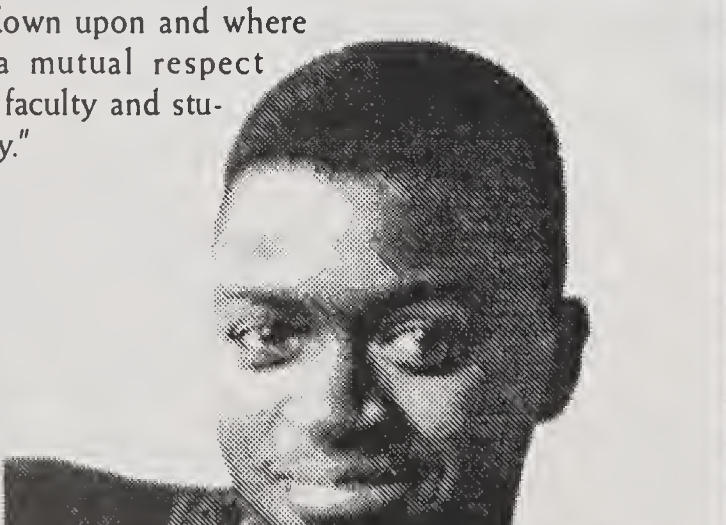
Patillo views his role in the event, which would start around October, to "be available and represent the student body in kind in any of those celebrations; as far as details, they're sketchy."

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you in favor of an increase? Why? If not, what will you do to stop it?

Patillo says that the introduction of the bond issue complicates the matter of keeping tuition down. "The student body can't say, 'well, don't raise my tuition, and give us the bond at the same time.' Something's got to give somewhere." Patillo promised that he would work hard with lobbyists to keep tuition affordable.

Define the ideal university.

"A whole lot of services and the tuition is cheap." Patillo also would like to eliminate hypocrisy from everyone. "A lot of people who are in positions of power will say . .'I'm looking out for the whole entire university community.' Don't ever forget that students are involved in that, and just because they're only here for four or five years, they're important." He also sees the ideal university as a place "where the students are recognized; where student leadership is respected instead of condescended and looked down upon and where there's a mutual respect between faculty and student body."



"We, as students, can't just sit around and wait . . it takes direct action to get the things that you want."

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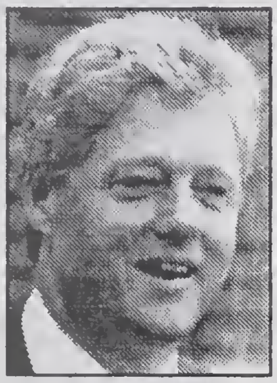
1993

ADRIAN PATILLO

INAUGURATION **BY JOHN DONALDSON**

Stand up and proclaim your own value



This guy is our president now

> **"YOU ARE IMPORTANT FOR YOUR OWN SAKE, YOU ARE YOUR OWN SOURCE OF VALUE, AND YOU DON'T NEED AMERICA, THE GROUP, THE RACE, THE RELIGION, BILL CLINTON, OR MAYA ANGELOU TO APPROVE YOU."**

The Inauguration of Bill Clinton had crowds, handholding, applause, speeches, even poetry. The ceremony is not my subject, nor are the details of Clinton's policies rather I want to examine instead the idea that lies behind it all and ask, "Will you still celebrate?".

Clinton says, "We can work together for a positive change for America." He thinks that our country is in danger and that a new spirit of communal effort is needed. This idea has been something of a refrain for America's recent Presidents. JFK commanded us, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." LBJ proposed his Great Society. More recently, various Republicans have called for a return to "the values that made this Country great". Yet national anguish and problems keep returning in spite of efforts to come together and conquer them. Now Bill Clinton announces yet another united battle against the same enemies: a failing economy, urban crime and hopelessness, and an educational nightmare.

Americans are wondering: "What should I do?" You need to buckle down, to straighten up, to keep a stiff upper lip, to do a few push-ups, and to have courage to face the struggle. This is what our presidents keep shouting. They talk the same game about crime, and education, and say "economy" until every one's ears hurt. So Americans make the sacrifices that are commanded, accept more taxes, and push paper for the public service. And lo and behold!: one year, four years, twenty years later and the same effort is being demanded to fight the same enemy.

We begin to wonder why we keep working and still we cannot win. Americans have been fighting for more than thirty years and our generals have continued to sound the charge but it seems at times that the enemy will never be vanquished. So what is needed? Our new leader says that we haven't been working together and we haven't really tried hard enough. This is Bill Clinton's New Covenant that America celebrated during the Inauguration but how new is it really?

There are important questions concerning value, self-worth and community behind the recent Inauguration. Does individual value come from the self, from others, or from the community? The message of this Inauguration is that your value is derived from others. This is most clearly seen in Maya Angelou's "On the Pulse of the Morning". When I write "you", I am referring to the individual reading this column, you are the one I address. Ms. Angelou uses a general "you", uniting the individual and the group, making the "I" merely a part of the group, of no value for its own sake. Her last image is crucial because it epitomizes this philosophy. You must look at your sister, your brother, your country for value and hope for it is not within yourself. You are to "say simply/ Very simply/ With hope/ Good morning." You are to speak an empty social greeting, said every day by people who hate each other, love each other, or don't give a damn about each other. The phrase says nothing about who says it, because it does not matter who you are.

You are simple and without the rest of humanity incapable of anything on your own. You ought to return to "when you yet knew you still/ Knew nothing." The beings that have discovered the universe's most intimate secrets and powers, soared beyond the sky, and conquered distance and time with the products of the mind, these beings are to realize they know nothing?

She goes on to enumerate various group names yet never names an individual. The "I" that is used in the poem refers to either a rock, a river, a tree, or a country. This "I" speaks most of the poem. These ideas are the kind that would come from a rock. The tree could probably do better. The poem speaks "Not less to you now than the mastodon then." Personally, I think I am better than a mastodon. The poem fooled America into applause because people were drunk on communal spirit. A person looks around, every one smiling back, O what a feeling!

Everyone must decide what to value. I propose a different choice than our President: your self. It is hard enough today in America's cities, even in the Pit in Chapel Hill, to look around and see the multitudes and to feel that one's life is important. The last thing that should be said is that you have value only because you are a member of the crowd. The message should be this: you are important for your own sake, you are your own source of value, and you don't need America, the group, the race, the religion, Bill Clinton, or Maya Angelou to approve you. You are not good because we need you, you are good because you do not need us.

The problems of America keep getting worse as a direct result of the "solution" of our more recent leaders. There is no difference in the basic idea that moves both Republicans and Democrats today. Both groups believe that your self-interest is evil. "Self-interest" is a political term used to hide and villify its actual meaning: "what you want". Republicans consider themselves pragmatists who accept "what you want" as an unfortunate means to achieve the "common good". In some ways, it is viewed as a necessary evil. Democrats are the idealists who believe that you should simply reject what you want as evil in order to achieve the "common good". And, shock of all shocks, both groups are all too happy to go to Washington and direct the profits of your "evil" existence. They call it "ignorance" when you say that your life is important, "cowardice" when you live for your own happiness, and "evil" when you achieve your highest aspirations. Where is that enemy we've been fighting? The answer is scary: the enemy is you and me.

I say my salvation, your salvation, America's salvation is each "I" standing up, proclaiming its own value, and achieving happiness. No living thing is happy in admitting its inferiority, its weakness, its inability to care for itself. No human being is happy living off of others, or sacrificing the self to others. Some resign themselves and accept life as an acceptance of duty, as a "job", as some sort of means to an end they look for, but never find. Others agonize through a parasite's existence, feeling as if they were impotent, seeking value in anything but the "I", and never getting it. This past Inauguration was another successful attempt by America to put a smiling face on a putrid idea: that your value lies in sacrificing yourself to others, that you are worthless for your own sake. When you talk of the human sacrifice of ancient tribes, modern people cringe, but when you speak of self sacrifice, your nobility is applauded. But what is human if not each one of us? The words have changed, but was not this past Inauguration, like those before it, a ritual in which the faithful were asked to burn ourselves on the altar of the god of "public good", our Druid high-priests mouthing the prayers, America smiling at the prospect?

The issue is simple. Are you important for your own sake, your life your own, its goal your own happiness? Or are you merely a part of something, taking value from the whole, your life the tool of society? Your choice decides whether or not you celebrate this past Inauguration. I will not celebrate.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

SBP—JenniferLloyd

for Speaker." Lloyd says she is not approaching the election as a win-or-lose contest, but wants to educate students about Student Government and what it can do. "I want to serve, I want to be someone who is accessible."

Do you have a special agenda planned for the Bicentennial celebration?

Lloyd says that the celebration is under the jurisdiction of the Bicentennial committee, and Student Government's attempt to duplicate their efforts wastes money. Student Government should be a co-sponsor in programs, according to Lloyd. "What we need from the office of student body president during the Bicentennial. . . is leadership, excitement, some kind of pride to be at Carolina." Lloyd said Student Government could provide funding, publicity, and volunteer work to contribute to the celebration, but should not infringe on the committee.

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you infavor of an increase? Why? If not, what will you do to stop it?

Lloyd says she does not favor the increase, because "our tuition has been increased systematically every year [and] our rankings are going down. There is no correlation between increasing tuition and providing better services at this university because tuition is such a small portion of our income." Lloyd proposed a bond referendum, greater emphasis on education expenses in the General Assembly, outside sources for funds, highway funding diverted to education. Lloyd says she would use a "qualified, experienced, talented budget lobbying crisis team that would go to Raleigh every single day," this summer to try to stop the increase.

Define the ideal university.

Lloyd says the ideal university is "a place where every single student can claim that they feel that this is their school." It is necessary for the university to fulfill the needs, affirm the cultures, and provide opportunities for all students, says Lloyd.

Furthermore, academics and extracurricular activities should go hand-in-hand, and groups should cooperate to produce opportunities for students to take advantage of. "By a few choices, a few decisions . . . we can make simple decisions that can make so much happen, make things so much better, where students feel that they do belong here."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

SBP—Kevin Ginsberg

an intensive lobby on 30 legislators who voted for the tuition hike. Ginsberg also points to a clause in the state constitution that says tuition should remain "as close to zero as possible."

Define the ideal university.

Ginsberg stresses several different factors, including academics, cost, social life, campus and people. He says the proper mix of such variables are the key to an ideal university. Ginsberg continues on to say "I used to think UNC was the ideal." Ginsberg says, however, that he hasn't lost faith in UNC even though existing problems deny UNC the right to be called ideal.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

SBP—Carl Clark

Do you have a special agenda planned for the Bicentennial celebration?

Clark is hesitant to "spill all the beans at once", but says that it will "all wrap around the theme that we can set a higher standard." Clark believes that his strong leadership will be key in meeting the challenges of this turning point.

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you in favor of an increase? Why? If not, what will you do to stop it?

Clark comments that he personally believes that "these are times that warrant those increases," and sees the increase as a "miracle cure", but states that because the students didn't want it, he is "a staunch defender for not raising student fees." "I'm an advocate for the students," says Clark. Clark comments that such a hike "will increase library funding . . [and] provide the money that we will need for the budget crises in various departments." He plans to conduct another phone survey, however, and "gauge how our students feel."

Define the ideal university.

"Carolina" is Clark's ideal university. He concedes, however, that there are problems on this campus, one of which is race relations; he says that the university has not "taken an adequate step toward improving them." The ideal university to Clark is a campus without budget cuts, where students are looked upon as individuals, and where students don't apply labels to each other. But Clark also sees UNC's problems as a necessary rallying point to unite students.

CAMPUS RELATIONS **BY LUKE BAKER**

Diversity and Community:

Vague idealism or a sought-after reality

▲

People with similar background and interests tend to socialize in the same circles. Here's a favorite activity of one social group on campus.

There is a catch-phrase that seems to be buzzing around this campus at the moment like some sort of fire-fly. It flashes up every now and then on posters, or fliers or in conversation, and for a second we take note of it and yet five minutes later we probably couldn't even recall where we had seen it or in reference to what it had been mentioned, besides what it is supposed to mean. The catch-phrase is "Community and Diversity".

Each of these concepts might well, in some small degree, be an actuality on campus. Certainly there is diversity smattered here and community spread thin over there, but as for the two having any profitable or purposeful relationship, helping to improve each other in any worthwhile way, I am very skeptical. Simply put, no such "motto" could strike me as more misguided or inappropriate in the context of this University at this time.

The problem is societal and as such manifests itself most directly in social settings. It is in the places we "choose" to live on campus, where we like to eat, which bars we find it "essential" that we go out to at night, where it's important for us to hang out at on campus, even where we work in the library, that we show our uncontrollable tendency to form cliques and groups that does absolutely nothing to foster the supposedly sacred edicts of "community" and "diversity" .

The University has developed it's own class system. Not strictly in the hierarchical sense, (although that is somewhat true also), but in the sense of classification. "Oh! You live on South Campus!", or "You sit in the smoking section of Lenoir!" ,or perhaps "You mean you don't go to Molly's?" Obviously there is nothing inherently wrong with doing any of these things, but the point is that people should feel free to live, eat, go out, do whatever, wherever they choose without being made to feel as if they are committing a social faux pas by going somewhere or doing something that is not necessarily characteristic of their "group".

Housing is one of the biggest problems, and there are several others associated with it. Firstly, as it concerns foreign students. Having foreign students at this University gives every student the possibility of learning as much about them and their culture as they come here to learn about ours. Their presence is an invaluble resource for the creation of a cosmopolitan atmosphere on campus, which is vital to a balanced education and an understanding of different peoples in an ever shrinking world (as far as international barriers are concerned). However, practically all — around 80% — of foreign students live on south campus, mainly in Craige Dorm. There they are surrounded by other foreign students, (they might be able to learn Korean from the person in the next room), or by graduate students who haven't got any spare time for the improvement of race relations. There are even some exchange students who end up sharing a room with someone from their own country or even the same university. In this way they end up angry, not only with the incomprehensible policies of the housing department but also with their own countryman.

Foreign students aren't the only ones who have little if no choice. South campus might as well be called Fayettville (or some such town in North Carolina); despicably I have also heard it called the "ghetto". The vast majority of students that live there are either very southern 'in-staters' or African-Americans. The main reason for this preponderance is that it is cheaper to live on south campus. That it should be cheaper to live on one part of campus rather than another and that living conditions should be so vastly different between dorm areas also strikes me as outrageous. It is so blatantly inegalitarian. So separitist. And it does nothing to create a healthy community or spread out the wealth of diversity at the university.

The RHA, combined with people's unwillingness to live somewhere that "doesn't suit them" (which is somewhat understandable), means that a socioeconomic barrier is erected seemingly without effort and without anyone being directly responsible. There are people who have never even been down to Hinton James or Morrison. Conversely there is a virtual embargo on anyone

HOWEVER, WHEN THE "TYPE" OF PEOPLE ONE IS MEETING ARE INVARIABLY THE SAME, THE SOCIETY ONE MIXES IN BECOMES STAGNANT.

not in a sorority moving into a dorm like Spencer. Not that they couldn't, if they had the money, but because they would feel so totally lost on a Thursday night as all the residents would be out at Greek parties. None of this is the fault of the girls that live in Spencer, they naturally gravitate towards it because like minded souls live there, but they inadvertently build up barriers and make their dorm into something of a social castle.

The social conflict created by student housing is just the beginning. The dorm is where people spend the majority of their time and where, as a consequence, they make their friends. It is also likely, then, that they will eat meals with these dorm friends and go out to bars with them in the evening. Suppose, then, that some in-state students living on south campus get to know each other. They all decide to go and eat lunch together in Lenoir. The chances are that they won't sit down at the smoking end of the dining-room because that's where the cigarette-smoking-doc-marten-wearing-Euro-fags sit. (I perpetuate stereotypes merely to show their ridiculousness). They won't meet any Greek types because they'll all be eating lunch at the house, they won't sit with any foreign students (if there are any) because they "probably don't speak English"; in short they're not likely to meet anyone any different from themselves. So much for Carolina broadening the horizons of its students.

If this same group decided to go out to eat in the evening it's probable that they would avoid the likes of Spanky's or The Hardback Cafe, they might think about going to Pepper's but in the end they would probably settle for the Rat. It is the sam with bars. Avoid Molly's or Papagayo's: feel more comfortable going to Rosey's.

One might say that there is nothing really wrong with this situation. True... up to a point. But apart from there being nothing wrong with it, it shows an incredible narrow mindedness, it gives off the impression of intolerance (even if there isn't any), and it doesn't say very much for the liberal minded, balanced education Carolina would like to promote. Very soon these social divisions start to permeate into all areas of Carolina life. Classrooms, where one would hope for the greatest amount of equality and acceptance, become divided also. Certain classes end up becoming particularly popular for certain "types" of people until eventually all the students are of a similar background, are like-minded, and consequently no worthwhile, open exchange of ideas can take place.

The outcome of all this is a social stagnation. It is in going out that people meet each other, find out about each other, and therefore, with luck, learn something from each other. However, when the "types" of people one is meeting are invariably the same, the society one mixes in becomes stagnant. Nothing new is happening or being produced and so that society is unable to develop; it can't possibly hope to have any beneficial affect on anyone or anything else. No one can be blamed for mixing always with the same group: there is the utmost amount of comfort in this. It is the groups as a whole that must realize that although they may have formed some sort of community, it is hardly diverse or dynamic. Once we start accepting, without reservations, the niche that we put ourselves in — the designated role that we inadvertently assign ourselves — then we cease to have any ability to foster a true sense of community or diversity.

Some might argue that there are, in fact, many diverse groups on campus. But realistically, how many people actually attend their meetings, or learn very much, even remember anything? Having forums and seminars is all very well but it doesn't tackle the problem where the problem initiates — in the social setting.

Individuals need to start interacting across these fundamentally non-existent barriers. If they do, and then decide they want to revert to "the old ways" then that is fine, as long as they take a little extra understanding back with them. Carolina has all the ingredients necessary both to be a diverse community. When it comes down to it we are all at the same university and are all proud of the fact.

I think it would be a crying shame for an out- of- state student, for example, to graduate from this university and never really have known someone from the heart of the south. They may have received all the benefits of Carolina but they won't take away with them its essence; the fact that its in the south and that 80% or more of its students are from in-state. Next year is this university's Bicentennial and one of its mottos is likely to be the phrase, "community and diversity". Perhaps by next year we will all have taken steps towards making that a reality.

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SBP—Jim Copland

What do you plan to do about the proposed tuition increase? Are you in favor of an increase? Why? If not, what do you plan to do stop it?

"I'm not in favor of the proposed tuition increase, but I can also see that there will be some sort of increase." "I plan to stop it the same way I tackled the budget acts back during my freshman and sophomore years as budget crisis lobbying coordinator." Copland says he knows the legislature. Copland wants to insure "viability as a top flight institution" by going to the General Assembly and making long range plans to limit further increases. He feels that a tuition increase is bad because "it is unfair to the students here" and is often "announced in late July or August and students get a bill two weeks before they get here and they have to withdraw for the semester."

Define the ideal University.

"I think the ideal University is a place of learning where students learn from top professors, among top peers, with top resources, and a community environment that is conducive toward intellectual and social growth." The ideal University must have a good library, good faculty, and a diversity of students with a diversity of backgrounds. "It's important that people be able to live together and appreciate each other's differences."

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Death of the Pheonix

itself as a newspaper. They then allowed themselves to be evaluated as such. Under such criteria, they flunked. And in its ashes, the Phoenix leaves the university with a really nice computer system costing $63,000, without enough users to justify the system's presence.

It is fortunate that it only took four years for Congress to see their foolhardiness. It is fortunate the Scapegoat system didn't mysteriously disappear in the night. If groups are going to be funded without regard to their appeal and without regard to their ability to survive, the market, in one way or another, will make you pay. We paid. We paid big.

The Phoenix was set on fire by the market and then, like its mythical namesake, incinerated itself to death. If it dares to rise from its ashes, we can only hope that it will not burn too much money during its next self-immolating life-cycle.

The market will burn you if you do not heed its principles. Not only did the Phoenix get burned, but Congress and Carolina students did, as well. And you can be sure it will happen again. When it happens again: don't worry. Congress will be there to guard your interests. After all, Student Government exists to enrich the university community, no?

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—Sherry Ingram, Yale University

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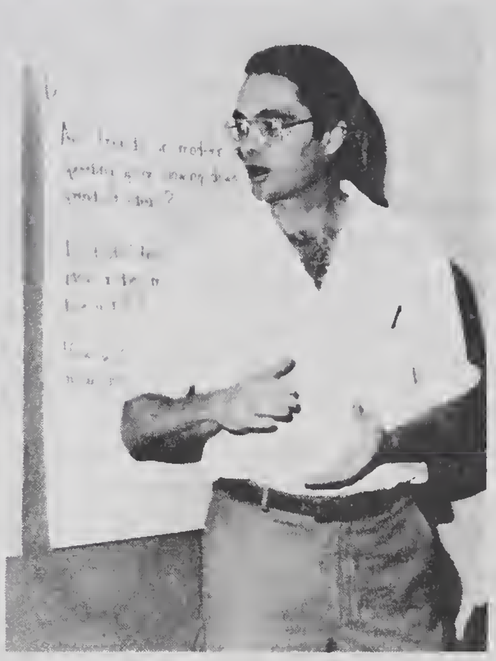

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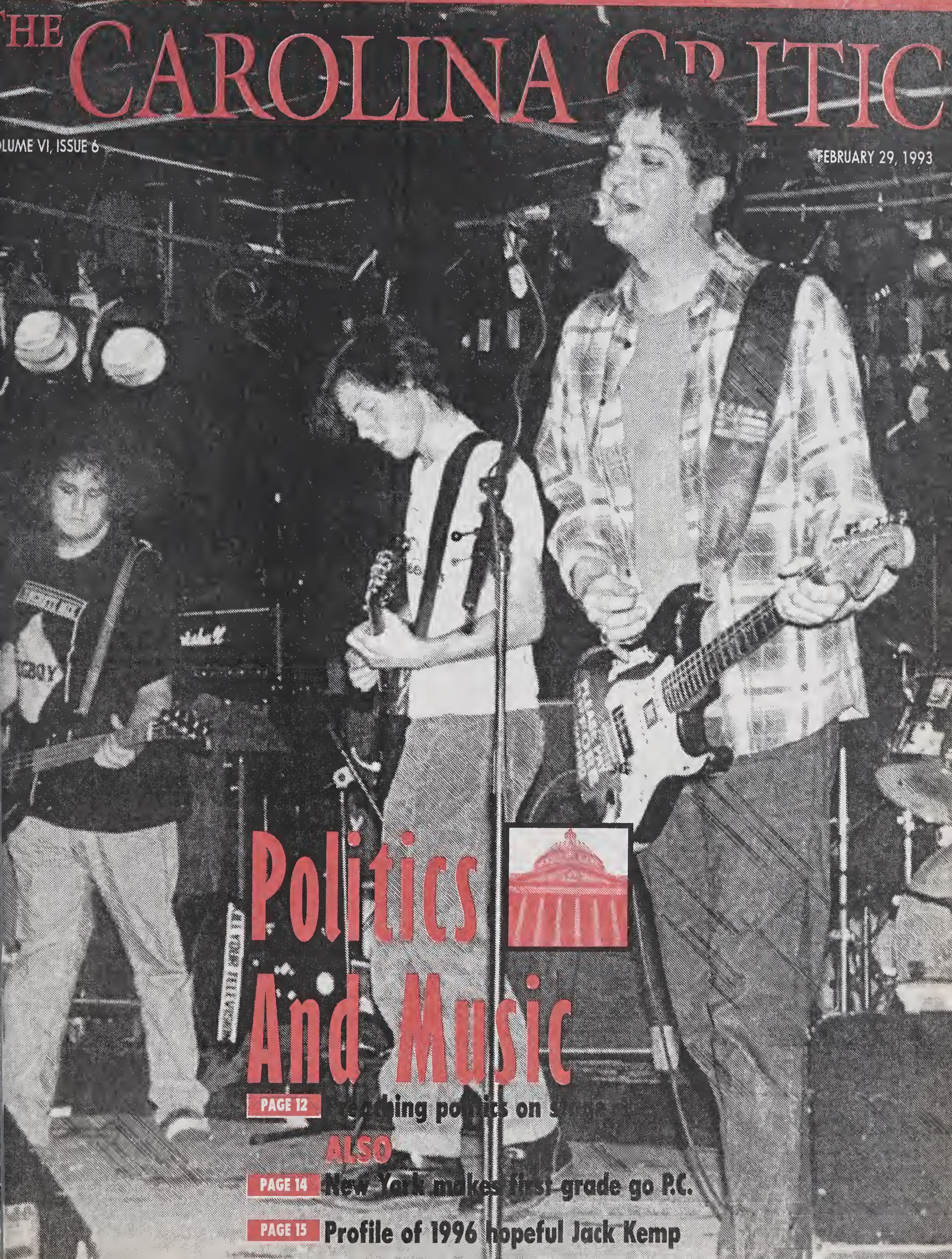
FEBRUARY 29, 1993



Politics And Music

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ANNOUNCING

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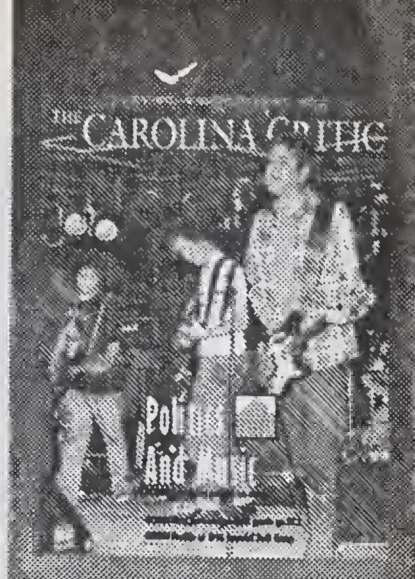

THE CRITIC COVER
Liberal politics have infiltrated the music industry to an extent that conservatives can't even listen to music anymore. Pictured is "Small." From left to right: Matt Walter, David Hollinghurst, Mike Kenlan and Chuck Garrison.
Photo by Molly Vogt

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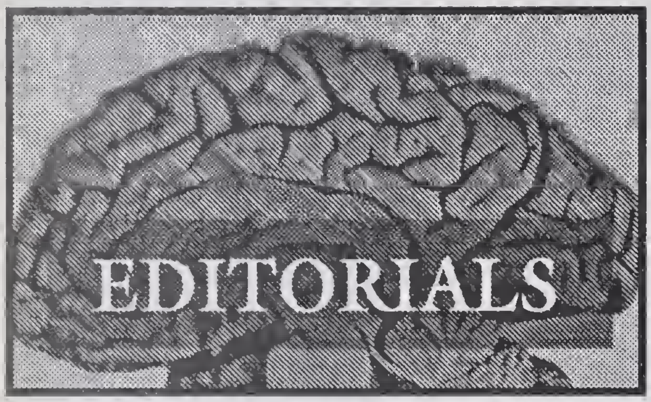


Fund groups based on how money is spent

Every year after the campus elections, students turn their attention to Student Congress's budget process. Student groups that need (or want) funding come before the representatives to make their case. It is a complicated, confusing, and contentious process, yet there are overall principals that the Congress should follow.

True or false: the budget process is when Congress decides the merit of student groups. Hopefully false. In principal, Congress's task is to maximize the utility of each student fee dollar. This utility is determined based on the following principals found in the student government code.

•Representation: the more students affected by the appropriation, the better.

•Vitality: different parts of a groups proposed budget are judged on how important they are to the group.

•Specialization: preference is given to unique programs; redundancy is discouraged.

•Generated Funds: groups are rewarded for raising their own money.

Clearly these standards are somewhat vague and open to interpretation. However, the one point which is perfectly clear is that funding decisions need to be based on how the money is spent, not who is doing the spending. An example should explain why this is necessary. Would it be wise for the U.S. Congress to fund an Army-Navy whiffleball league and not a National Endowment for the Arts program to educate impoverished children? Even Jesse Helms would have problems with those priorities.

On a campus level, an example might be as follows: Pauper Players wants money for refreshments at their cast parties, while B-GLAD and the BSM offer to have a campus-wide lecture series. Unfortunately, some members of Congress won't be able to look beyond the name of the group when voting on how to spend their constituents fees.

On a related note, members of Congress would be well-served to remember this.

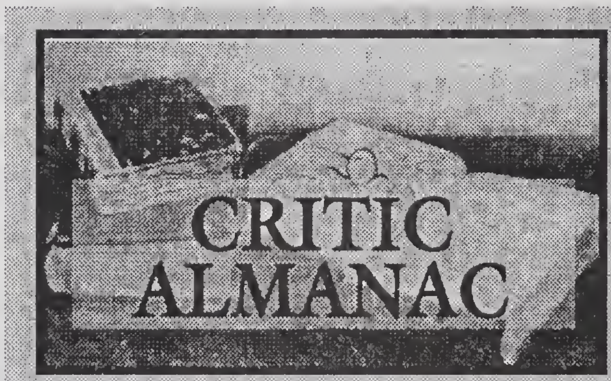
ABOUT THIS ISSUE FROM THE EDITOR

The first Critic of this spring semester proved to be a success. It seems that this is the first issue that has warranted four (count 'em folks, 'cause we printed them all) letters to the editor. While not all of them praised the merits of the Critic, we at least know that you were reading it and we hope that you continue. Before you pack up and head to the beach for this spring break, take along a copy of the Critic. In case you're not aware, it makes for great beach reading.

In this issue, the Critic examines the influence of music in politics and vice versa with two articles. The first piece by Jennifer Durham looks at the national scene while the second article by Mike Bradley focuses on the politics of rap music with some insights from recent campus visitor, Chuck D. Other articles include Sam Ravenel's long-awaited story on underage drinking (which was supposed to be run in the last issue), a breif bio of Jack Kemp, already jockeying for position in the '96 race, and a revealing look at the relationship that Clinton can look forward to between himself and Congress.

Before I quit, I would like to take this opportunity to personally congratulate Jim Copland in his successful bid for Student Body President. Jim is a diligent, devoted and inspiring leader and his service as SBP will greatly enrich the University community.

Once again, we hope that you enjoy this edition of the Carolina Critic and if you feel so inclined drop us a line telling us what you think about us. If it isn't obscene or just downright mean, we'll print it. Have a great break!



Percentage of people who believe abortion should not be used under any circumstance: 13

Percentage who believe abortion is acceptable under any circumstance: 12

Price of having one's hair set in dreadlocks at Slug Hair Salon in Tokyo: $1,215

Percentage of incarcerated burglars who say they looked at their victims' family photo albums: 32

Percentage of Russian government revenue that comes from Vodka production: 10

Chances that a member of the thrash-metal band Anthrax lives with his parents: 2 in 5

Chances that a woman wears shoes that are at least two sizes narrower than her feet: 9 in 10

Number of minutes it took an Australia man to give away the $1 million he won in a lottery last year: 30

Average number of American workers killed on the job each day: 28

Number of Americans robbed or assaulted last year by people impersonating police officers: 25,000

Percentage of women who had at least one side effect from the Norplant birth control device: 95

Percentage of women who had two or more side effects from Norplant: 61

SOURCES: *American Spectator* March '93, *Harper's* February '93, *National Review* February 15, 1993.

APHORISMS

I don't know if God exists, but it would be better for his reputation if he didn't.

-Jules Renard

I never trust a man unless I've got his pecker in my pocket.

-Lyndon Johnson

Wine gives great pleasure, and every pleasure is of itself a good.

-Samuel Johnson

The best government is a benevolent tyranny tempered by an occasional assassination.

-Voltaire

Chastity is the most unnatural of sexual perversions.

-Remy de Gourmont

I've been rich and I've been poor; rich is better.

-Sophie Tucker

With soap, baptism is a good thing.

-Robert G. Ingersoll

God cannot alter the past but historians can.

-Samuel Butler

College] administrators are usually ncompetents, or they would be in he business world

-Camille Paglia

When everyone is somebody, then no one's anybody.

-W.S. Gilbert

could eat alphabet soup and shit better lyrics.

Johnny Mercer on a British musical.

Only the young die good.

-Oliver Herford

he best part is waking up and not nowing their name.

-JPG

Course pack is a developing market

To the Editor:

Your editorial in the Feb. 3 issue regarding the high cost of course pack royalties was to the point — publishers are hurting all sides by their pricing.

Student Stores has been seriously in the course pack business for about a year. We've produced course packs for a couple of hundred courses and negotiated thousands of individual permissions with copyright owners (usually publishers). And we've missed several because the royalties were too high.

In that context, I would like to note that this is a new market and a developing income stream for copyright owners. But it is not yet mature enough to have fully reached the classical intersection of supply (permission's pricing) and demand (for those permissions) curve. Our belief is that when that point is reached, royalty fees will be less than they are now.

At Student Stores, we are trying to help. Our custom publishing manager contacts copyright owners whose fees have been prohibitively high. We let them know that they've lost income they could have had by simply lowering their permission fees.

Unfortunately we're only a small player in the process. But the market grows and feedback mechanisms are developing which should rationalize the pricing of copyright permissions — the only question is when.

Sincerely, John T. Jones
Director, Student Stores

Letters to the editor are accepted. The letter must be signed, with your year and major listed. Length is not a problem. Please send your letter to:

The Carolina Critic
01 Steele Bldg. CB 5100
U.N.C.-Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

B-Glad not happy with diversity story

To the Editor:

As co-chair of B-GLAD and a witness to the events recorded in Greg Konig's article, "The declining intellectual atmosphere at UNC" (Feb. 3, 1993), I would like to dispel any misunderstanding of the unnamed organization referred to in the following passages:

> Slanting is a DTH specialty. The DTH filters out articles on the minorities, women, and homosexuals that put a bad light on these groups or present an alternative concept ... Last year a campus organization was denied coverage, representation, or even a quote after it was targeted for criticizing homosexual arguments. However, the CGLA meeting/rally/therapy session that was held to dismiss the argument without discussion and to call them homophobic was extensively covered ... The DTH subsequently denied the group that was the object of the CGLA's comments, coverage (even in a letter to the editor) to defend themselves from charges made. As a result, the group had to print fliers to rebut the attack.

The CGLA rally was in response to a series of events. Were they anti-gay? You decide. They include: 1) the defacing (signed "Anti-Gay and Lesbos of Cobb") of a Lesbian and Gay Awareness Week flier posted on a CGLA member's dorm door 2) sightings of the fliers, "Pants Day. If you think faggotry is a crime wear pants April 8th 1992 (sic)" and "Faggot Homicide Kill all you can April 8 1992, No Limit's (sic)" 3) sightings of fliers satirizing, not "criticizing," the gay rights movement by the prementioned "campus organization."

Before folks get all rallied up over the 'fact' that the DTH refused to print an opposing view of homosexuality, HERE'S THE REST OF THE STORY. That gay satirizing 'organization' calling itself Siblings United/ Carolina Man-Boy Lovers Association has never been an officially recognized organization. It first appeared during Lesbian and Gay Awareness week in an Incest/Pedophilia Week flier that used arguments similar to those used by the gay rights movement to justify incest and pedophilia. (Note: Gay rights' best reason, we are consenting adults, was omitted.)

SU/CMBLA's second sighting was in the To the Editor box of the DTH. As Konig stated, the letter was not printed. WHY? The authors of the letter failed to sign it and, as the DTH's letter policy goes: no

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VI, No. 6

name, no letter. What did the letter say? It was a report about a non-existent SU/CMBLA rally. Included the were the names of the groups members, Bill Carnsedaro, Bambie Hebes, and John Hebes. Unfortunately, these names were not found in the 1991-92 Carolina phone directory. One could assume, as the DTH probably did, that these names were either pseudonyms or the whole thing was made up.

Later, another flier was found rebutting the CGLA's rally. This unsigned flier was put in the DTH newspaper boxes. Ironically, it overflowed with misquotations. For example, to my recollection, the rally did not end with the chant, "homophobe! homophobe! homophobe!" It even incorrectly identified speaker Dana Lumsden as Arnie Epps. No wonder the DTH refused to print this "alternative conception" of the story.

Finally, I would like to point out that the DTH does, in fact, report negative aspects of gay and lesbian lifestyles: AIDS, crimes of passion, sex in public, the community's racism, breast cancer. The DTH has reported the following events: a former CGLA co-chairman died of AIDS last February, a gay man murdered one of his two ex-lovers, the Western Sizzlin' sex scandal, B-GLAD discussing racism, one in three lesbians are at risk for breast cancer. These are topics which many gays prefer to leave unreported, "It defames the community!", but the DTH reported them.

Perhaps what folks really want is for DTH articles to condemn gays. C'mon folks! We've tried that one before. The Spanish Inquisition, the witch trials, the Nazi concentration camps, the U.S. military and police, and Joseph McCarthy have all done wonderful jobs of persecuting gays. But, we're still here, we're still queer, SO GET USED TO IT.

Kathy Staley
Co-chair of B-Glad

The Phoenix rises

Editor's Note: The writer is assistant editor of the Phoenix Student Magazine.

To the Editor:

It is difficult to know where to begin criticizing the "Phoenix Trilogy" in the Feb. 3 issue of the Carolina Critic. For starters, the trilogy contained only two articles. But more serious than the Critic's difficulty with basic math is the lack of objectivity and biased reporting displayed in the articles.

Kyle Hooper, the Critic's advertising director, stayed true to his job title in his article, "The Phoenix's chronology of blunders." The article is nothing more than advertising for the conservative positions of the Critic and certain members of student government.

No one from the Phoenix Student Magazine was contacted for information on the article. Hooper must have had a preconceived idea of what he wanted his story to look like, and he didn't want anyone at the Phoenix contradicting him.

One basic tenet of journalism is to show both sides of an issue. If for nothing else, Hooper should have contacted us to check his spelling. The editor of the Phoenix is Dianne Paces, not "Dianne Peces."

But the mistakes don't stop with the spelling. Hooper contends that former Phoenix editor, Ed Davis, somehow tricked a majority of Student Congress into approving the Scapegoat desktop computer publishing system in 1989. Hooper states that "Davis got his toy and the students of UNC got the bill."

The Phoenix is not the only publication that utilizes the Scapegoat system. The Black Ink, The Catalyst, The Cellar Door, Lambda and Habitat for Humanity are only a partial listing of the student publications and groups that rely on Scapegoat.

It is interesting to note that Hooper's first source is Andrew Cohen, author of the second article in the Critic trilogy and a member of Student Government's Finance Committee.

In his article, Cohen uses information about the Phoenix available to him as a member of the Finance Committee. Neither articles note Cohen's position on the committee nor the conflict of interest that it represents.

Cohen states that the Phoenix has been "publishing at the expense of the student body to the tune of over $10,000 per year." The Phoenix received only $7,000 from Student Congress for the 1991-1992 school year and $5,000 this year.

Cohen also makes the faulty assumption that the Scapegoat system is for the Phoenix's use alone despite his own quote in Hooper's article, stating that "Congress didn't approve the bill simply for Davis' and the Phoenix's use."

This sort of incestuous reporting and lack of objectivity does a disservice to readers who might mistake these biased, slanted articles for real journalism. If the Critic does not wish to include both sides of an issue in the future, perhaps its articles should include warning labels: "Not meant to be taken seriously."

Brendan L. Smith
Senior, Journalism
Assistant ediotr, Phoenix

ccording to the *Wall Street Journal*, a
end of Vice President Al Gore suggested
minating Sigourney Weaver for attorney
neral. Said the friend, "She knows how
handle aliens."

peaking of hostile aliens, *Diversity* and
ie *Michigan Review* quote Planned
renthood founder, Margaret Sanger, as
ying "We do not want the word to get out
at we want to exterminate the Negro
pulation."

nother heartwarming tidbit comes from
e *Observer*, which quotes Sanger as say-
g, "The most merciful thing a large family
n do to one of its infant members is kill

low does current Planned Parenthood
esident, Faye Wattleton feel about such
mments? According to *Diversity*, Ms.
ttleton says, "I am proud to be walking
the footsteps of Margaret Sanger."

oes the term feminazi really sound so far-
ched?

n the lighter side of the news, there's
chael Jackson.

is refreshing to see absurdity being
orted abroad. *The Wall Street Journal*
orts that the Japanese media has become
essed with a duck that was wounded by
arrow. A team of 70 rescue workers daily
empt to catch the wary waterfowl, which
l carries the arrow in its wing.

looks like the Japanese finally have per-
ted the once exclusive U.S. art of mak-
a martyr of an animal and in turn wast-
a huge amount of money trying to save
ungrateful quack.

ounds a lot like the U.S. media's rela-
nship to President Clinton.

ontinuing with the stupidity motif, *The*
ndeisian reports that a Merchantville, N.J., couple stole $216 worth of film from a local drugstore and left the drugstore unassailed. The couple's brilliant heist was thwarted when they forgot to take their 6-year-old son on the getaway. The child promptly told the store clerk and authorities the names of his parents whom he feared lost.

•Just when you think you've heard everything....

•*The Brandeisian* also reports that a S.C. drug dealer deposited his days take at the local bank. While waiting for his receipt, the police arrived and arrested the young man. It seems that instead of money, he deposited a bag full of marijuana to the drive-up teller.

•What does this say about A) our educational system B) drug enforcement officers C) Driver's license examiners, etc., etc., etc.

•*Eli* quotes Oliver North as saying, "You know, Bill Clinton gives me new respect for Jane Fonda. At least she made it to Vietnam."

•You know, Lenoir gives me new respect for that homeless video, *Dumpster Dining*.

•Speaking of Lenoir, we can live with them not allowing *The Critic* to be placed in their fine establishment. However, we wish they would extend the same courtesy to the roaches.

•In *The Critic's* never-ending quest for political correctness we have stumbled across several new and exciting PC terms. These terms are a bit ambiguous, so we enlisted the aid of the Duke basketball team to help illustrate their proper meaning:

Cherokee Parks—Uglo-American

Grant Hill—Pompous Ass-American

Marty Clark—Opie-American

Bobby Hurley—Squirrel Boy-American

Thomas Hill—Forget the NBA-American

And of course we cannot forget the coach....

Mike Kryzwewski— Best-days-are-behind-him-American.

National Review points out an event overlooked by the mainstream media. Apparently a group of vegetable-rights activists raided the kitchen of the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., and liberated the fruits and vegetables destined for slaughter and consumption by PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) members at their inauguration celebration.

•"It is impossible to get decent Chinese takeout in China, Cuban cigars are rationed in Cuba, and that's all you need to know about Communism."

-PJ O'Rourke

•From this past Christmas, *National Review* and *Eli* spotted this banner displayed near a Christmas pageant that was ordered religion free by a court: 'The ACLU is jealous of a manger scene because it does not have three wise men *or* a virgin in its organization.'

•That sounds a lot like the Clinton cabinet.

•A quote from our favorite nonfeminist, Camille Paglia: "Leaving sex to feminists is like going on holiday and leaving your dog with a taxidermist."
Think about it.

•Speaking of nonfeminists, Vice President Al Gore was quoted by *Eli* after his 1988 bid for president as referring to the vice-presidency as a "political dead end." We at *The Critic* agree.

•On a recent episode of The Simpsons, Sideshow Bob revealed what we always knew after he was arrested for attempting to murder Bart's Aunt Selma. Quoth Bob: "You can't keep the Democrats out of the White House forever. Someday they'll win, and then my criminal buddies and I will be back on the streets again."

•From our friend PJ O'Rourke, "The Clinton people like to say that they are 'nonideological.' Let me translate. It means that they don't know right from wrong."

•In light of the Clinton economic plan, we are reminded of a quote by George Bush: "The Democrat's economic policy is: if it moves, tax it; if it keeps moving, regulate it; and if it stops moving, subsidize it."

•"Americans are so enamored with equality that they would rather be equal in slavery than unequal in freedom."

—Alexis de Tocqueville

THIRD WORLD **BY DONALD PHILLIPS**

Summer jobs for guilty rich kids

Every day in the pit decent, respectable students, like yourself, are accosted by tree-hugging, nut crunching peacenuts who want us to plant a tree or save the whales. It is important that we as students be able to differentiate the fruit cakes from the more legitimate causes. Recently the Critic stumbled upon an example of one of these groups and we were a bit curious, you decide.

Have you ever wondered what it is like to live in the Third World? Have you ever wanted to travel to Africa or Central America and experience the lifestyles of the people there? Have you ever wanted to pay $4,300 for the privilige? Well if you have, IICD (The Institute for International Cooperation and Development) might be able to help you. IICD is a nonprofit organization that was founded in 1986 and "is dedicated to promoting global understanding and international solidarity." IICD is not connected to any governmental agency and is based in Williamstown, Mass. According to IICD, one can learn about the world and realize one's potential when cooperating with other people.

As a participant in an IICD program, "you will be working in educational and economic development projects" while gaining experience and knowledge about the various cultures. The IICD has six ongoing programs. Two of the projects are in Nicaragua. Another focuses on understanding many of the countries in southern Africa. The remaining three projects are in Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. According to IICD, all programs are designed "in cooperation with organizations already working in the respective countries" to "undertake projects with direct and long-term benefits for the community." IICD's projects involve planting trees, teaching or construction work.

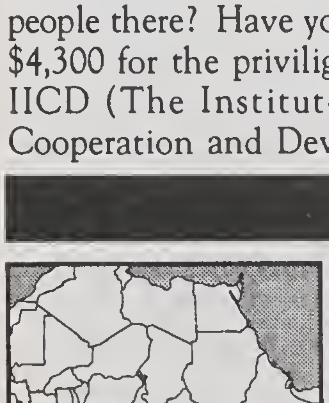
At the IICD center in Williamstown, each participant goes through the same basic training period to prepare for the international projects. During this time, participants learn technical aspects of their projects as well as basic facts about the culture and language. Once the participants return from their projects, there is a follow-up period of learning and reflection at the center. Each participant is strongly encouraged to document their experiences through writings, audio/visual footage or other means of production to help create educational materials for use in the United States.

To participate in one of the programs, a person must be at least 18 years old and ready to work. Besides the time commitment to the project (two to 12 months depending on which project chosen), an eager **participant-to-be should be prepared to pay big money for their volunteer efforts. IICD states that a yearlong program this year will cost $4,300.** IICD does have limited financial aid, but much o that comes from funds raised by the individual participant. Usually, these funds are raised by outside sources or by such activities as selling postcards. Regardless o whether one needs financial aid, during th preparation at the center, all participant carry out fund-raising for the center.

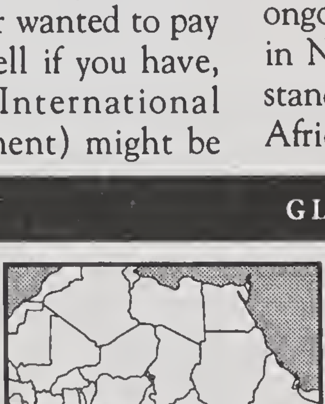
If you are interested write:

Institute for International, Cooperation an
Development (IICD), P.O. Box 103-F,
Williamstown, MA 01267

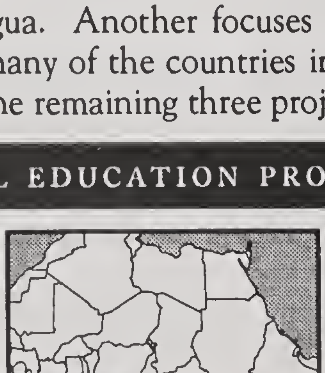
GLOBAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS



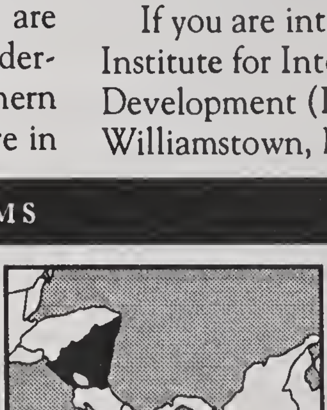
MOZAMBIQUE
Forestry Project
Starting: July 5
Duration: 12 months



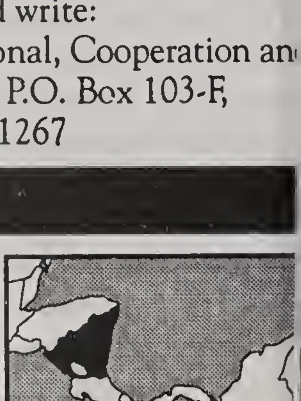
ANGOLA
School for street kids
Starting: Aug. 22
Duration: 12 months



SOUTHERN AFRICA
Travel/Study
Starting: Aug. 1, 1994
Duration: 5 months



NICARAGUA
Community construction
Starting: Aug. 22
Duration: 11 months



NICARAGUA
Summer course
Starting: July 5
Duration: 12 month

RAPE AWARENESS **BY ERIKA HONEYCUTT**

Events and rape-free zone planned in March

IT WAS ABOUT 1:30 AM WHEN THEY JUMPED OUT IN FRONT OF ME FROM BEHIND THE TREES BY THE SIDEWALK.

They were obviously drunk, but they were also at least 180 lbs. — I'm only 102 lbs. —and there were two of them. They insulted me and called me names. They grabbed me, tearing my clothes and trying to pull me into the woods. One guy called me a "goddamn bitch" and backhanded me hard across my face. Luckily, I had taken a self-defense course at C-TOPS that year, and I fought as hard as I could. I used my knees, my fists, my fingernails, all the time screaming "NO!" and "STOP!" I finally got away and ran like hell. My face stung with pain and tears of rage and humiliation. My clothes were torn, I had scratch marks and bruises, and I was bleeding. I ran to my room and cried for hours, then called in a report.

Now, while your first reaction should be "How awful! How could anyone do that to another human being?", or "I hope this girl is OK," unfortunately many of you are thinking "She must be a slut," "Wonder what she was wearing?", or maybe "Stupid girl, she shouldn't have been walking alone." Well, let me tell you a few things. My clothes did not consist of spandex and were not skimpy, and I was walking toward the nearest emergency phone because my two male escorts, who were friends from high school, would not let me use their phones to call a safe ride or escort home. And, finally, I was not drunk. Not your stereotypical sexual assault victim, huh?

The reason I'm sharing my painful experience with you is to make everyone aware of how scary, humiliating, and most importantly, how WRONG rape and sexual assault are, no matter what circumstances surround the people involved. March is Rape Awareness Month, and in conjunction with other campus organizations, the Campus Y is sponsoring a Rape-Free Zone — an actual site on campus for a 24-hour period where women and men can go to be free from fear and rape, to become educated about rape and its surrounding myths, and to empower themselves.

I'm not writing this article to "blame men"; men also are sexually assaulted, but it is not as common as female rape and assault, and it is rarely publicized or reported. I'm writing this piece to bring up the Rape-Free Zone and to make a plea to the men and women on this campus to understand how horrible rape is and how important it is to do something about it. There will be programs from noon March 25 until noon the next day, including keynote speaker Gloria Allred, a lawyer who is famous for her work with rape cases. Musical guests She Said and other groups will perform. Many events will be held the week before March 25, including exhibitions of artwork by victims and other students on campus and petition signing for concerns such as better security measures and more phones. Self-defense workshops also will be taught, and sites will be designated where people can place a ribbon of acknowledgment and support if they or someone they know was a victim.

We invite everyone to camp out in the Zone, but please understand the amount of trust this decision gives you. A lot of the participants will be women and victims, and they trust those of you who come not to hurt or degrade them (again) but to support them, to show that you know rape is wrong and to help fight this inhumane injustice. This is NOT a time to scope out chicks; to label people feminazis, lesbos, man-haters or wimps; or to play tricks. Rape is serious, and it is not just a "woman's problem." Imagine your sister, girlfriend or mother screaming, crying, struggling and scared as someone humiliates and degrades her by ripping off her clothes, hurting her physically and forcing her to do something most women consider private and personal. How would it make you feel to watch someone you love go through such agony?

And men, how would you like it if some guy pinned you down and forced himself inside you? Ignoring the issue of it being a homosexual rape, I doubt any man would ever "ask for it" or "sit back, relax and enjoy" it; so why do so many people, men and women alike, think a woman would enjoy or ask for such treatment just because the relation is heterosexual? And, again, do not forget that male rape occurs, for it is just as painful and degrading.

This Zone is for victims to enter and find solidarity, understanding, support, and most importantly, healing and empowerment. It is for women who are scared and unable, like so many of our male counterparts, to wear what they want, to go where they choose when they choose, to express their anger and pain, and to be safe. The Zone is for educating everyone that "NO" means "NO" and that no one asks to be raped.

I still have nightmares. Sometimes I feel very alone in my humiliation. But I am not alone. Nine out of 10 women on this campus will be sexually assaulted or raped. Every 30 seconds, a woman endures an act of violence. Eighty percent of rapists know their victim. This is the stark reality in which we we live.

I want everyone to participate in the Rape-Free Zone and the entire month's activities, especially the men on this campus. I want women to see there are "good guys" out there and stop seeing all men as potential rapists and to dispel the myths and stereotypes about "frat boys." And women, don't think you are invincible, or if you are a victim, that you're alone. Everyone can learn and benefit from this Zone. Oh, by the way, I issue a special invitation to BOT member John Pope. Mr. Pope, you just might learn a thing or two about rape, and judging by your previous remarks this year, you could definitely use this experience!

THIS ZONE IS FOR VICTIMS TO ENTER AND FIND SOLIDARITY, UNDERSTANDING, SUPPORT, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, HEALING AND EMPOWERMENT.

'UNITED WE STAND' BY KYLE HOOPER

Can "United We Stand America" really make a difference?

ROSS PEROT

"Too many people are for sale, and this needs to stop."

Have you ever stopped to think what happened to Ross Perot and the "United We Stand America" movement now that all the elections are over? I thought for a moment and couldn't remember the last time that I saw anything in the news about either. Come to think of it, President Clinton has dominated the news recently and that was the only thing that I could remember. With my curiosity aroused, I decided to probe this question. A group the size of "United We Stand America" didn't simply disappear overnight — or did it?

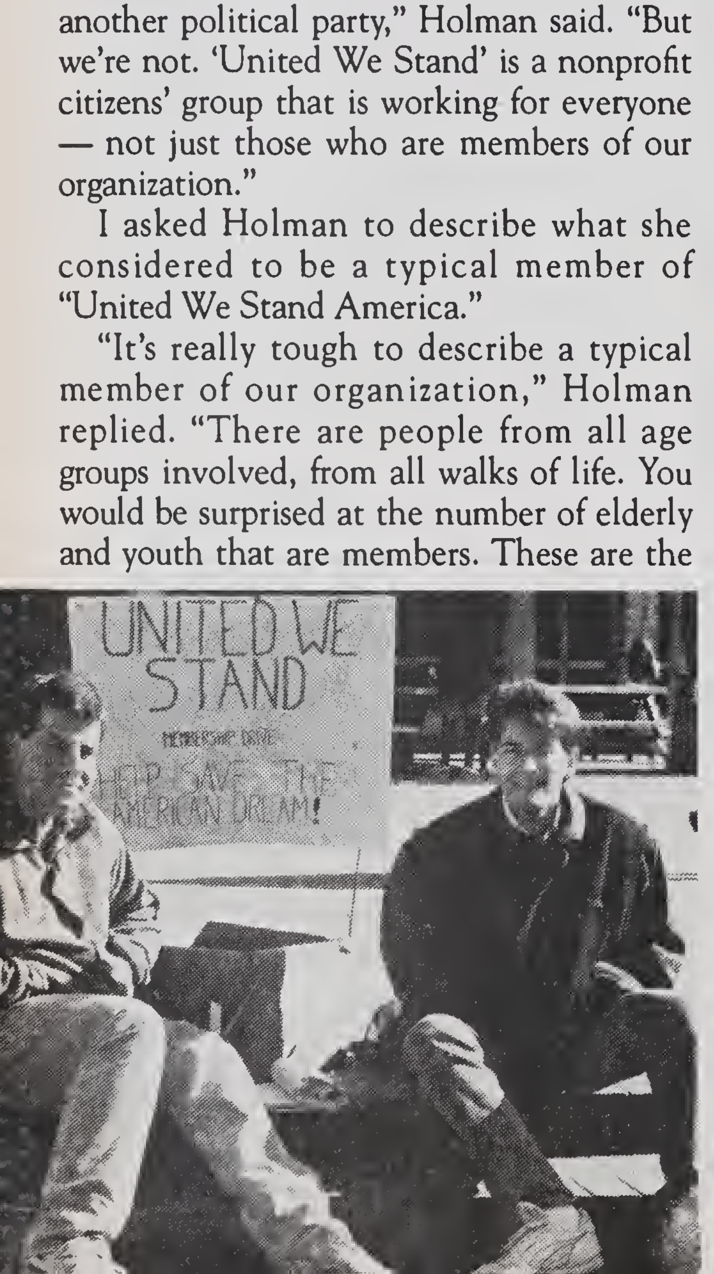
My first step was to call the movement's headquarters in Dallas. I wanted to find out the direction that this nonprofit citizen's group was taking. My call was forwarded to Sharon Holman, public relations spokewoman for the group, who attempted to answer my questions.

Holman quickly pointed out that "United We Stand America" was often confused as a political party

"Most people think that we are just another political party," Holman said. "But we're not. 'United We Stand' is a nonprofit citizens' group that is working for everyone — not just those who are members of our organization."

I asked Holman to describe what she considered to be a typical member of "United We Stand America."

"It's really tough to describe a typical member of our organization," Holman replied. "There are people from all age groups involved, from all walks of life. You would be surprised at the number of elderly and youth that are members. These are the two groups that really want to change the way our government is run."



"United We Stand" membership drives have raised awareness of their project

Holman then stressed the goals of Perot's organization.

"Most importantly, we want to return our government to the people, rather than at the people," Holman said. "This includes eliminating the deficit, balancing our national budget, creating jobs, making health care available and ridding our country of political action committees."

The converstation continued, and I wondered whether Perot would remainw the chief spokesman for the organization or fall out of the limelight now that the "United We Stand America" movement had been established.

"If you mean 'Is Mr. Perot running for president again?' then the answer is no," Holman quickly answered. "Mr. Perot is not interested in becoming president. He just wants to change the current system."

Holman remarked that Perot would, however, remain the chief spokeman and organizer for "United We Stand America" and is setting up state headquarters for the organization around the country.

"You do not have a "United We Stand" headquarters in [North Carolina]," Holman said, "but several states do. We are working very hard to make sure that every state has a headquarters so that everyone can have a voice."

One question still lurked in the back of my mind. If "United We Stand America" is working so diligently to set up headquarters in every state, then why haven't we heard about it? Ross Perot and his organization certainly had been visible during the election, but why not now? Holman seemed to have no answer.

"We have always continued to do what we were doing before," Holman said. "Perot is taking a trip to Florida to promote the organization, and he's appearing on ABC News Nightline."

I decided to watch ABC News Nightline after President Clinton's economic address to see what Mr. Perot had to say.

"The American people are more than willing to pass the American dream on to their children," Perot said, "and that's what 'United We Stand' is all about. People don't want to feel manipulated. People are going to become nervous and very sensitive to foreign lobbyists when they come into office and cash in on their jobs."

"'United We Stand' is going to work against this," Perot continued. "Too many Americans are for sale, and this needs to stop."

Perot encouraged both the Republican and Democratic parties to take the people of "United We Stand America" seriously. He also said he was pleased with their reactions so far.

Obviously, the Democratic Party is taking Perot seriously. President Clinton felt obliged to call him before giving the presidential address.

When the host of ABC News Nightline asked Perot about their conversation, Perot refused to comment on any details.

"I don't think it's appropriate to discuss what the president and I talked about," Perot said. "If you want to know, then you can ask the president yourself."

Perot commented on the upcoming trip to Florida that Holman had mentioned. He said he hated the campaigning aspect of the job but recognized it was necessary to bolster membership.

"I want to get organized across the country so that we can accomplish our goals," said Perot. "Good decent Americans join 'United We Stand'."

Perot concluded by saying "United We Stand America" would push Congress into being responsive to the American people.

"If we are big enough in every congressional district, we can make a difference," Perot said. "If 'United We Stand' can inform the people of this nation, then we can change our vote and be heard."

After watching Perot, I felt that "United We Stand America" is not necessarily over, but is on the downswing. Americans are tired of the political arena. Unfortunately, "United We Stand America" was part of that political arena, and many Americans now seem enamored with Bill Clinton and change. People simply don't have the time, nor the interest in "United We Stand America."

P.C. IN NEW YORK **BY JENNIFER STINEHELFER**

Indoctrination in the classroom: New York makes first grade go P.C.

LAST YEAR, THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, UNDER CHANCELLOR JOSEPH FERNANDEZ, INSTITUTED A MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM CALLED "THE CHILDREN OF THE RAINBOW," AIMED IN PART AT MAKING STUDENTS "AWARE OF VARIED FAMILY STRUCTURES, INCLUDING . . . GAY OR LESBIAN PARENTS."

Included in the curriculum is a controversial first-grade reading list that includes books superficially aimed at increasing gay tolerance. The books in debate, which are recommended for first-grade reading, are Heather Has Two Mommies, Jennifer Has Two Daddies, Daddy's Roommate, and Gloria Goes to Gay Pride. Each book is, as the titles imply, about children raised by gay and lesbian parents. Generating respect for homosexual people and tolerance for their lifestyles is a noble and necessary endeavor in a time of increasing violence and hate crimes. However, the placement of these books on public-school reading lists represents an endorsement of homosexual values rather than a tolerance. The public schools have a responsibility to remain value-neutral and not become indoctrination grounds for ideas, however popular or progressive.

The incorporation of gay and lesbian children's literature into the school curriculum predictably has met with some resistance. Defying New York City's influential gay lobbying power, the editorial slant of many New York newspapers, endorsements by politicians and the United Federation of Teachers, four districts refused aspects of the curriculum; moreover, Staten Island voted to remove the bibliography in November. The board of Queens' District 24, led by Mary Cummins, was the most vocal in its resistance, and consequently was suspended by Chancellor Fernandez. The suspension was overturned unanimously in an appeal to the Central Board, however, and the District 24 board was able to vote on controversial aspects of the curriculum.

The opposition, made up of people who object to homosexuality on moral or religious grounds, has been frustrated in its attempts to disprove the notion that they represent hatred or intolerance. These people voice their intentions to live and let live but are themselves being subjected to intolerance and lack of respect.

So what exactly is objectionable about the books' content? Daddy's Roommate concerns a boy whose divorced father finds enjoyment in male companionship; Heather Has Two Mommies preaches the moral that two mommies, one of whom conceived Heather through artificial insemination, are at least as good as a mommy and a daddy. All four of the recommended books promote ideas like, "being gay is just one more kind of love." Many parents of New York City public school students do not see homosexuality as an acceptable form of love, nor do they have such a responsibility. They have a responsibility to leave their values at the door, and a right to expect the same courtesy. Their obligation is to respect the right of gay couples to have and raise children, not "acknowledge the positive aspects" of such arrangements, as the Rainbow curriculum suggests. As John Leo said in an editorial in U.S. News & World Report, it is not necessary to promote respect for Catholic children by putting Heather Finds Peace As a Nun on the curriculum.

The effect of these books is the promotion of homosexual values, which violates the responsibility of the public schools to be politically blind. Their use represents an endorsement of homosexuality rather than a tolerance; their instruction is an imposition and a kind of intellectual imperialism. Public schools are places for everyone to learn free from bias — and that applies to children of people who religiously or morally object to homosexuality as well as children of homosexuals.

The Conservative Society of North Carolina

THE CONSERVATIVE SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA IS A NON-PARTISAN, NON-PROFIT CORPORATION DEDICATED TO THE PRESERVATION AND ADVANCEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSERVATISM IN NORTH CAROLINA. PLEASE JOIN OUR EFFORT

The Conservative Society of North Carolina
PO Box 471806
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The Conservative Society of North Carolina seeks to advance the causes of limited government, economic freedom, constitutionalism and judicial restraint, and the moral, religious, and cultural traditions of the West, which, together, form the foundation of modern conservatism.

I

Government is coercive by nature, and for freedom to endure government must be limited. When government ventures beyond its rightful functions of the preservation of internal order, the provision for national defense, and administration of justice, freedom is diminished.

II

Personal freedom cannot long exist withour economic freedom. The market economy, allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand, is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and is the most productive and fairest supplier of human needs.

III

The Constitution of the United States is the best arrangement yet devised for empowering government to fulfill its rightful functions while restraining it from the concentration and abuse of power. Our Constitution should be interpreted by our courts according to the construction and intent of its authors.

IV

In the exercise of our freedoms we should strive to be just, compassionate, and virtuous; and the traditional moral, religious, and cultural values of the West form the appropriate framework for this pursuit. Without strong families that teach these values, a diversified and decentralized system of education that reinforces them, and voluntary religious, civic, and charitable associations through which they are exercised, our nation can be neither free nor just

V

These principles of modern conservatism can and should be preserved and advanced through the common efforts of thoughtful, informed, and principled conservatives.

Politics And Music

TODAY'S MUSIC IS BECOMING BOGGED DOWN IN POLITICS. EVERY GROUP MUST HAVE A CAUSE TO FIGHT FOR

MUSIC SCENE

BY JENNIFER DURHAM

Ash Bowie of the group Polvo, playing at Margaret's on Feb. 6

In the world of rock and roll, the oxymoronic phrase 'conservative musician' sounds about as foreign as Madonna (not Mary of Nazareth, folks) in a convent. Special-interest politics creep further into the music industry each day, affecting all involved. It seems everyone has jumped on the political bandwagon. Musicians, concerts, albums, MTV, record companies, record stores, music critics and fans crusade to clean up the environment, feed starving children in Africa and guarantee every woman legal access to abortions. The extent to which an individual or group becomes involved in 'musical advocacy' depends on the amount of guilt that drives them.

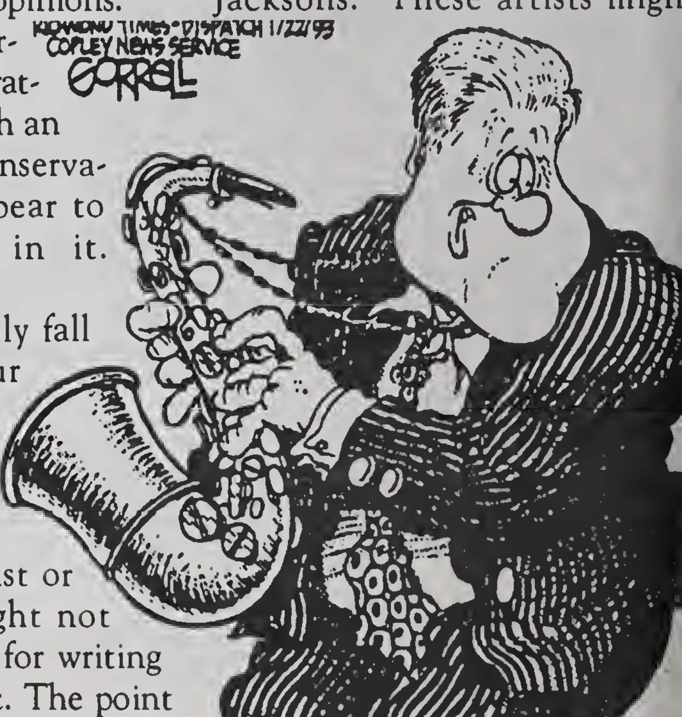
Conservatives justifiably feel like foreigners in the music world. Musicians develop feelings of guilt if they don't use their influence to benefit organizations society has, in many cases, erroneously defined as benevolent. Guilt feelings for politically correct groups must now accompany the love of music as a rationale for playing it. Since conservatives believe leftist special-interest groups perpetuate counterproductive bureaucracy, the music industry refuses to welcome them. But conservatives should know by now that they don't need an invitation from the Left to enjoy, guilt-free, the display of an individual's talent and appreciate it for what it is.

Special-interest hysteria hits some in the industry harder than others. For some artists, participation in political activity is a necessary side activity that comes with their careers; others use musical fame as a platform for advancing a particular agenda. Most walk a road in between, but few will refuse to participate in some sort of special-interest activity. Given these facts, how should conservatives treat an industry that seems so hostile to their interests?

When conservatives dismiss a musician's work on the basis of political content, they miss the point. Good music successfully incorporates writing talent, musical talent and the artist's sincerity into a work. It doesn't need a political purpose. Political justification for playing music has become the Left's problem, and conservatives don't have to play its game. Conservatism professes to respect the individual. If one is firmly grounded in his own philosophy, the viewpoints of other individuals should not threaten him or her. Musicians, thank goodness, are not candidates for public office. When we listen to their music, we vote for their skills, not their opinions.

Nevertheless, liberal politics have infiltrated the industry to such an extent that some conservatives simply can't bear to become involved in it. Here's a look at why.

Musicians generally fall into one of four groups. But first, the forthcoming terminology requires a short introduction. A 'nontalented' artist or group might or might not possess actual talent for writing and composing music. The point is that the artist doesn't adequately develop whatever skills he or she might possess. The music of a 'talented' artist reflects the development of inherent



ent.

'Nonpolitical' artists often become involved in musical politicking, mostly under industry pressure. But they play music mainly because they love to. Most of these artists lack any coherent understanding of the issues and interest groups they support. 'Political' artists likewise love music, but they often use music to advance particular causes they feel strongly about. They tend more toward advocacy than simple observation. Their political advocacy derives more from personal conviction than industry pressure. Finally, these categories represent generalizations they are not mutually exclusive The classification of an artis into one of these groups easily opens debate.

Nontalented, nonpolitica musicians usually find their way into the Top 40. This category includes such notables as Mariah Carey, Paula Abdul and all of th Jacksons. These artists migh write an occasional song advocating racial harmony or show up at a benefit for this or that cause, but the majority of their work constitutes nothing more than poorly written teenage pop songs. Their superficial interest in politics stems from the industry's obsession with special interests, and it probably came only after they spent some time in the music field.

Madonna typifies the nontalented, nonpolitical category, though she might at times stray across the political-nonpolitical line. She demonstrated her lack of real commitment to the political world by crusading for MTV's Rock the Vote and then not voting. Members of this group often engage in political rhetoric as a means for selling records, but they exhibit little genuine commitment to political issues.

A second group of nontalented, political artists frequently joins the nontalented, nonpoliticals in the Top 40. Many rap artists fall into this category. Bold political statements mask artistic deficiencies. Many people, during the furor surrounding Ice-T's "Cop Killer," completely ignored the question of how well the song was written. Nontalented political artists, whether consciously or not, use politics as a marketing tool to a greater extent than their nonpolitical counterparts. Advocating controversial political action leads to calls for censorship, which in turn stimulates cries against censorship. In the end, demand for the controversial music increases.

Since the proper evaluation of a musician's work centers around artistic merit, it is safe to ignore the above nontalented artists. Politics aside, they produce poorly composed music that the ear should find undesirable. Their music is as annoying as their politics. But what about the plethora of talented artists that the music industry taints with politics? Even worse, what about the slew of talented musicians that don't need the music industry to stimulate their left-wing political interests?

Steve Earle, a talented, nonpolitical artist introduces his song "The Rain Came Down" on Shut Up And Die Like An Aviator as follows:

"A few years back I played a show called Farm-Aid. And, actually we've played three of them. But the first time I did Farm-Aid, it did me more good than it did the farmers because nobody knew who the hell I

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Jerry Dirienzo and David Motamed of Cell.

Rap music in politics

BY MIKE BRADLEY

Since its rise to mainstream popularity in the mid-1980s, rap music has garnered as much criticism as praise. Thanks in part to the media blitz following a Florida judge's banning of 2 Live Crew's infamous album As Nasty As They Wanna Be, rap often is written off as obscene and frivolous.

But as mainstream America has realized there's more to rap music than the 2 Live Crew's crude party anthems, rap has drawn criticism for other reasons. As rap music's audience has grown, artists like Public Enemy and Ice-T have come under fire for their strong social and political messages.

Criticism of rap climaxed last summer in the wake of the L.A. riots. Politicians of both parties, looking for a handy scapegoat, blamed rap music. Bill Clinton went after Sister Souljah, an ex officio member of Public Enemy, for remarks in the Washington Post allegedly advocating killing white people. Clinton targeted the comment, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?" Souljah actually was trying to describe the mentality of an L.A. rioter, but Clinton apparently took her comments out of context. Meanwhile, George Bush, Dan Quayle and numerous private groups were busy denouncing Ice-T's "Cop Killer," a song Ice-T defended as sung from the persona of a fictional, psychopathic character.

Regardless of whether these and other attacks on politically explicit rap music are legitimate, the incidents clearly show the power rap music can have as a means of political expression. Many rappers and their fans see the music as a voice for black youth who face challenges and frustrations from society that are largely overlooked by the mainstream media.

Public Enemy's chief rapper and lyricist, Chuck D, is keenly aware of rap music's power as a social and political voice. Chuck, who once described rap as "black America's CNN," stresses the music's importance as an alternative voice.

"The truth is reinforced in different avenues," Chuck said. "The avenue that I use is rap music.

"(Blacks) don't have control over the media like we should," Chuck added. "Every time we're exposed in media circles, it's from the other man's eyes. It's a white viewpoint of us instead of our own viewpoint."

The viewpoint Chuck describes doesn't always produce a pretty picture. Public Enemy's songs tackle America's racial problems at point-blank, with targets

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

UNDERAGE DRINKING **BY SAM RAVENEL**

Yes, officer, this is my driver's license

Rumor has it that more beer is consumed in Chapel Hill per capita than anywhere else in America or Germany. I don't know who said that, but it does sound pretty darn impressive. I somehow doubt that we outdrink the Germans, but UNC students are definitely known to pour a cold one every now and then. After all, late-night Franklin Street is practically one big bar, and the MTV generation certainly includes alcohol in its social repertoire. This fact gives rise to one of the greatest dilemmas of the underage beer-drinking world: fake ID's.

It is, needless to say, a miserable evening if you have to tell friends that you can't join in the night's revelry because you can't get into the bars. The natural response is usually, "Get an ID!" Now, it is important to note that I am not, repeat NOT, advocating the falsification or misrepresentation of identification (say that one fast!). For the record, and so I don't get in trouble, it is a misdemeanor regardless of how you do it — but then so is drinking underage, period.

Just how much trouble can you get into, you ask? Well, the police say that although you technically can go to prison, it rarely happens. They will, however, give you community service and/or a fine, and we all have "friends" who have suffered accordingly. Typically, bouncers will confiscate an ID that they know is fake and send you on your bummed out way — that is if they care at all. Many don't. If you ask around, different bars have different reputations as to how easily you can pass for 21.

Be realistic — if you get in a bar on a fake ID, you're not fooling them; they just don't care. It's not difficult for most socially adept students to discover which bars are strict and which bars don't care.

But, despite this knowledge, it is important to realize that you can be turned down (or not carded at all) anywhere. The people you really have to watch out for are the A.L.E. (Alcohol Law Enforcement). They are a state agency with no direct affiliation to local police, and they would just as soon bust you as look at you. In fact, they will sometimes go to great pains to do just that — it's their job. If you're planning to go uptown, or you're already hanging out in some bar, and you hear that the A.L.E. is out, find some alternate entertainment. Some people will tell you to suck it up and live on the edge, but they're usually the ones that eventually will get caught.

The problem with the A.L.E. is that they'll get you in the bar. Picture it: There you are minding your own business, winding down from a long day, and bam! there's a guy asking to see your ID. If you're lucky (not to mention honest, cooperative and relatively sober), they might just take your ID and kick you out, but they can have you arrested and thrown in the paddy wagon if they are so inclined. (Incidentally, if a bar that usually lets you in turns you down one night, it may be because the A.L.E. are there or on the way. Also, rumor has it that A.L.E. officers can't drink on duty, so if you see someone in a bar not drinking, heads up.)

There are several ways that people acquire fake IDs. The most common methods are using someone else's license, actually fabricating one with a backboard or computer or taking someone else's birth certificate to the DMV. The latter is especially dangerous because in the process, the individual has broken several state and national laws. Once again, I emphasize that it is all illegal, but if you are so inclined, use someone else's license. First of all, it's the easiest method if you can find someone to give you their license, and it's probably the least illegal.

A fabricated I.D. will be confiscated because bouncers get paid for turning those in, and, as we mentioned, it's a felony to snow the DMV. Generally, a worst-case scenario with someone else's I.D. is that you'll get turned down.

Illegal though it may be, the use of false identification is pretty common among college students. Many people who are careful never get caught, while a lot of others get pretty mixed up with the law. Just like with anything else you do, there are ways to minimize your risks, but no way to totally eliminate them.

▲

This Franklin Street bar has been having trouble with the A.L.E., and is now carding hard.

ALCOHOL-RELATED "CRIMES" IN THE AREA

Number of arrests made for use/possession of fictitous ID's between July 1,1992 and January 31, 1993: **428**

Number of charges made for selling alcohol to minors: **489**

Number of arrests made for underage possession and/or purchase of alcohol: **2,619**

Number of these arrests that were charged as infractions (19 & 20 year olds), which is a non-criminal offense (possession only): **1,177**

Number of underage possession arrests that were for possession/purchase by 16 to 18 year olds: **1442**

Number of area businesses that have been currently cited for selling alcohol to underage patrons: **196**

All information is courtesy of Raleigh division of the Alcohol Law Enforcement Agency and is for the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill Area

PROFILE **BY SCOTT HOLT**

Can Jack Kemp *empower* the Republicans?

JACK FRENCH KEMP

Age: 53

Born: Los Angeles, CA

Education: Occidental College (1957 graduate)

1958-1962: Army Reserve

1957-1970: professional football quarterback for the San Diego Chargers and the Buffalo Bills

1965-1970: Co-founded AFL Players Association; president

1970-1989: Member of U.S. House of Representatives from New York

1987, 1988: Republican presidential candidate

1989-1993: HUD Secretary in Bush Cabinet

"Kemp '96!" Wherever Republicans are gathered these days, this idea is sure to permeate their conversations. A few enterprising companies already have begun marketing "Kemp '96" pins, T-shirts and bumper stickers, which are selling well.

Following the Bush defeat, many conservatives are content playing the role of vocal opposition, yet most recognize the opportunity and need to regroup the Republican party. Certainly, party loyals have nowhere to look but toward the future.

For now at least, Jack Kemp, the media-designated early (very early) front-runner in the 1996 GOP presidential bid, seems to be the focus of that anticipation. Will Jack Kemp be the savior that the broken Republican party is looking for? Or will he merely be a temporary rallying point for conservatives eager to have some stake in the future?

Jack Kemp has been consistently and steadfastly conservative on most social and economic issues throughout his 23 years in Washington, D.C. He is FOR a Constitutional amendment banning abortion, FOR cuts in capital gains taxes and FOR a strong, interventionist foreign policy. Kemp is AGAINST tax increases and AGAINST protectionism in any form.

As a congressman from New York, Kemp helped pioneer tax reform in the early 1980s by co-authoring the Kemp-Roth tax cut. As a result, he played a major role in Ronald Reagan's election and was a consistent advocate for Reagan's policies on Capitol Hill. Kemp supported the president on about three out of four votes in which the president took a stand.

In many ways, Kemp is tied to the Reagan school of political thought and is considered to be the most logical heir to the Reagan Revolution. Some are calling him the "Reagan of the 90s".

Still, Kemp is not your typical conserva-ive. He is, by self-definition, a "bleeding-eart" conservative, outpouring his compas-on mainly on the poor of America. He lso claims to practice "progressive conser-atism" — an activist, change-oriented pproach to government and politics (as pposed to status quo conservatism).

As secretary of Housing and Urban evelopment (HUD), Kemp declared a edefined" war on poverty. He proposed numerous plans for helping the poor and homeless, the most famous being project HOPE, which attempted to give public housing tenants an opportunity to become homeowners.

Kemp's vision (yes, he does have "the vision thing," narrow though it may be) is one of empowerment. He wants to help the poor and homeless care for themselves rather than be dependent on governmental programs. He seems more willing than most conservatives for government intervention into situations where the working poor cannot advance on their own accord.

As HUD secretary, Kemp proved to be capable of working with Congress. His enthusiasm inspired Congress members and the public alike to accept his proposals. He knows how to deal with Congress, having been among their ranks for nearly two decades. This "inside" cooperation and knowledge can be seen through several deals with the legislative branch to get HUD programs passed.

Kemp has a vision for the Republican Party, as well. Few doubt that he would like to be the driving force for party unity in hopes that the strong coalition he creates will, out of gratification, catapult him into the White House.

At the same time, Jack Kemp is very interested in enlarging the party's bounds, possibly by creating a Republican majority. To do this, he probably would attempt to bring more minorities and blue-collar workers into the GOP ranks. He is not likely to do so by strictly promoting a common bond of conservatism, but through ideals and ideas which appeal to such groups and claim long-term advocacy. He has long reached out to minorities and the poor. And, having been a co-founder and president of an AFL players' union during his football days, he has frequently voted in favor of unions in congressional votes.

Commentators often state that Republicans are, in the public's view, much more trusted than Democrats on almost all major issues, including the economy (taxes and inflation, for example) and foreign matters. However, Republicans have had a difficult time reaching out to the "common American."

Though the tax issue effectively was stolen from the Republican party during the 1992 campaign (due to George Bush's tax increase), Bill Clinton is sure to return the favor to the public with his planned tax increases. Thus, Kemp would have little trouble regaining the public's trust on issues such as taxes. Also, his progressive ideology and ability and willingness to reach out to the working person could produce a massive turn to the Republican Party.

Ironically, the difficult part of the equation for Kemp, if he attempts to run for president, might be keeping conservatives content. His overtures to minorities and unions prior to his 1988 bid for the party nomination cost him crucial funds from would-be big contributing conservatives

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Profile of Jack Kemp

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

(especially in the South). Kemp has a history of fostering skepticism among conservatives who want to support him but are afraid that he is not partisan enough or that he is suspiciously liberal in some ways.

Surprisingly, for a man who is so widely known as a strong conservative (and he has been solidly conservative on most social and economic issues from the beginning of his political career), Kemp has, or has had, a large number of skeptics within the conservative ranks. Some are leery that he is not tough enough on the budget deficit. He has said he would not support a balanced budget amendment. Others fear he is too willing to support government intervention in economic situations. Still others cite his large budget in HUD (under Kemp, HUD became the fastest growing Cabinet-level agency in government with a 93 percent increase in its budget authority) as an example of big-spending.

These concerns (HUD excluded) were particularly important factors in his miserable loss of the Republican nomination in 1988. His campaign never got off the ground, partly because of skepticism and partly because of Kemp himself. He was unwilling in speeches to malign his opponents, attack government and address hot-button issues — all expected of traditional Republicans. His optimism was met by bewilderment in most right-wing circles.

Having certainly learned from his mistakes in '88, Kemp is already planning a comeback in '96. Now unemployed, he has hit the speaker circuit with full force. He also has been instrumental in the formation of a Washington organization called "Empower America" (a.k.a. "The Kemp for President Committee"). With former Education Secretary William Bennet and former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick aiding him, Kemp seeks to keep the conservative movement alive in government through an activist organization while uniting conservatives across the country (not to mention boosting his own expanded message of empowerment).

Lately, the organization has come under a certain degree of scrutiny for its almost blatant exclusion of the "Christian right." Kemp and Bennett, from the start, clearly are setting themselves apart from Pat Buchanan and his followers (saying they were the opposite of status-quo conservatives and making accusations that Buchanan promotes protectionism). The "Empower America" organization exclaims the need for an "inclusive" Republican Party, but its board contains no representatives of the "Christian right," a major faction of Republican Party.

Here, Kemp might have to use the skills of compromise that won him modest success in dealing with Congress as HUD secretary. He must unite the "Christian right" and ultra-conservatives with his idea of a progressive, conservative government if he is to be successful.

Kemp's deep-rooted respect from the conservative community is likely to win him support with a majority of conservatives, despite suspicion of liberal tendencies. While he is a much more powerful contender now than he was in '87, his popularity seems still to be increasing. However, in the ever-changing tide of American politics, he has no guarantee of success. Indeed, anything can happen.

No, Jack Kemp is not a shooin, not by a long shot. Is he the Republican "savior"? Only time will tell. Regardless, he is sure to have an impact on America's future.

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FAMILY LEAVE BILL **BY CULLEY CARSON**

The 'change' president means 'business!'

As the dust begins to settle, and the glossy rhetoric of campaign promises begins to fade from memory, Americans begin to find out the real plan that Mr. Clinton has in mind. Throughout the campaign, Clinton/Gore constantly spoke of the forgotten middle class and how it was finally time for the "rich" in this country to pay their fair share. The question that many people asked was, what does Mr. Clinton define as rich? The first definition was people who are in the "top 2 percent." However, this figure quickly began to plummet to incomes of $200,000, and then in Mr. Clinton's first presidential address, this igure was cut in half to $100,000. Then the eal truth came out in a subsequent press onference in which White House Spokesperson Dee Dee Myers confirmed hat everyone making $30,000 or more can xpect to feel the impact of the Clinton tax ackage. What a change, huh?

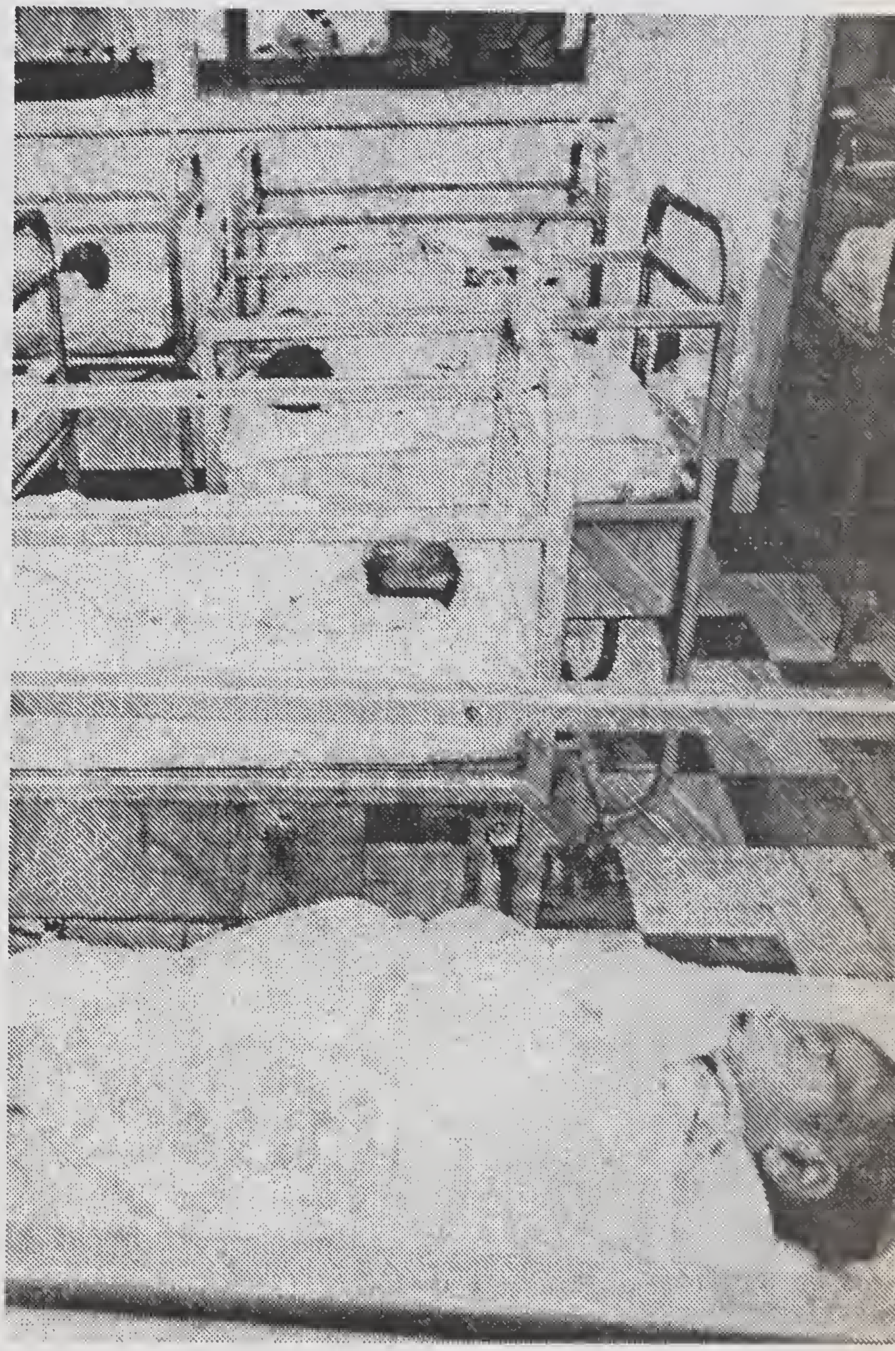
This "change" that Mr. Clinton plans to mpose on America is going to be especially elt in the business community. To finance ll of the giveaway programs that Mr. Clinton promised in the election, it is clear hat he intends to go straight to the source f prosperity and growth in this country, usiness. He plans on slowly sapping the trength of American businesses until they an be neither prosperous nor competitive. Iowever, he does plan to provide ample enefits to those who will inevitably lose heir jobs due to the cutbacks that businesses will be forced to make because of governmental intrusion.

To illustrate this "change," all we have to lo is to look at the very first bill to be rawn up by Congress this year, House Resolution number one, "The Family Leave Bill." This is an exact duplicate of the bill hat President Bush vetoed last year. In this ill, businesses that employ 50 or more people will be required to provide as many as 2 weeks of unpaid leave to employees for ne birth or adoption of a child or illness of close family member. What appears as an nnocent, friendly measure to aid in the romotion of the family and the rights of ne worker is actually an invidious intrusion y government into the private sector. In ddition to the obvious impact that this easure could have on productivity, this ill more importantly gives government a othold into private businesses to expand overnment's control. Undoubtedly, Mr. Clinton will not stop here in his attempts to socialize American business. By mandating that the private sector adhere to government policies, the government removes businesses' capacity to make autonomous decisions, stifling their ability to react quickly to a fluctuating world economy. This type of intervention is in direct conflict with the free market approach to business that has helped the United States of America develop into the strongest, most affluent country on this planet.

Inevitably, liberal skeptics out there perceive this is as just another conservative hyperbolic critique of one good-natured piece of legislation. I wish that were the case. However, the truth is that this bill is just one of a string of bills aimed at the American business community. It is through this example that we truly can appreciate what "change" actually means. For the past 12 years, a majority Democratic Congress has been trying to push such liberal legislation through. However, until now we have been blessed with Republican presidents that have vetoed such foolishness. It is a shame that the American people have to learn a civic lesson through their pocketbooks. Now they can learn that the only change that will occur in the next four years is that all the tax-and-spend measures that failed under former Presidents Reagan and Bush are going to be resurrected and passed as Congress and the president begin to court each other.

This first resolution pushed through by Congress could be followed by a 1.5 percent payroll tax, a striker replacement bill and the energy or fuel tax. All of these measures are not lethal in and of themselves, but the cumulative effect undeniably will be detrimental. This detriment will not only affect business but also workers, consumers and ultimately the growth potential of the economy. The payroll tax is designed to fund job training programs for employees. So, on top of running a business, companies also will be expected to be teachers, which clearly takes time away from production. In large businesses, job training programs might reduce growth and the number of jobs available. The striker replacement bill is directly linked to Clinton's pandering to the labor unions. The AFL-CIO is very excited to have Robert Reich, a union sympathizer, as secretary of labor. This bill would prohibit companies from replacing striking workers. Does

IN (THE FAMILY LEAVE BILL), BUSINESSES THAT EMPLOY 50 OR MORE PEOPLE WILL BE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE AS MANY AS 12 WEEKS OF UNPAID LEAVE TO EMPLOYEES FOR THE BIRTH OR ADOPTION OF A CHILD OR ILLNESS OF A CLOSE FAMILY MEMBER.



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this sound like the beginning of a nationalization program or just the payment of a political debt? Is Mr. Clinton is telling the truth? I thought his administration was going to end the power of the lobbies and special interest groups — maybe not.

In addition to these intrusions aimed specifically at businesses, Mr. Clinton has proposed an energy tax. This tax, which is being lobbied for heavily by the environmental extremists who followed our illustrious vice president into the White House, seeks to reduce pollution while raising revenue. I wonder where these folks were during the infamous Carter years? Similar measures were tried during 1970s and, well, you know how the rest of the story went. A tax on energy means a fuel tax. This means that it costs more for businesses, big and small, to transport their products to be sold. Consequently, since profit is the name of the game for businesses, that means they raise the price of their goods. If prices rise, then what used to fit into people's individual budgets no longer fits, which translates into less cash flow in the economy. It is really an easy concept. If people do not buy the goods, businesses' profits decline, which means that they are forced to streamline production and lay off workers. Additionally, for many states, tourism is a large part of their income. The businesses in these states rely on people being transported. If the price of fuel suddenly increases, so does air fare and gas prices, which means that the family vacation so long awaited is no longer possible.

Thus, it is clear that if Mr. Clinton is really truthful in his pledge to do what is best for this country, he must start by lowering taxes and unnecessary burdens on business, not increasing them. It is time to stop the same old policies of meager revenue collection from higher taxes followed by irresponsible spending. We will have to wait at least four more years before we can call upon Americans who truly are committed to responsible government. Additionally, I hope the next administration will at least give the taxpayers the benefit of a confirmation hearing before appointing the first lady to overhaul a major part of our country. Until Mr. Clinton returns to his home state of Arkansas, we must call upon Democrats and Republicans alike to voice concern about the tax-and-spend policies that hurt only those who have the most need — the hard-working taxpayers of this great nation.

COVER STORY

Music and politics a bad mix

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

was. So I wrote this song strictly out of guilt..."

Earle, without intending to, sums up the problem this group of musicians has. It is a crying shame that talented musicians, who simply love to play music, suffer from guilt feelings, whether they stem from the industry's insistence on politicking or from personal beliefs. One often finds talented, nonpolitical musicians playing benefits for Amnesty International, Rock the Vote, AIDS awareness, Earth Day, Greenpeace and many others, presumably out of guilt. Special-interest groups set up booths at their concerts, and the artist might even give them an endorsement during a performance.

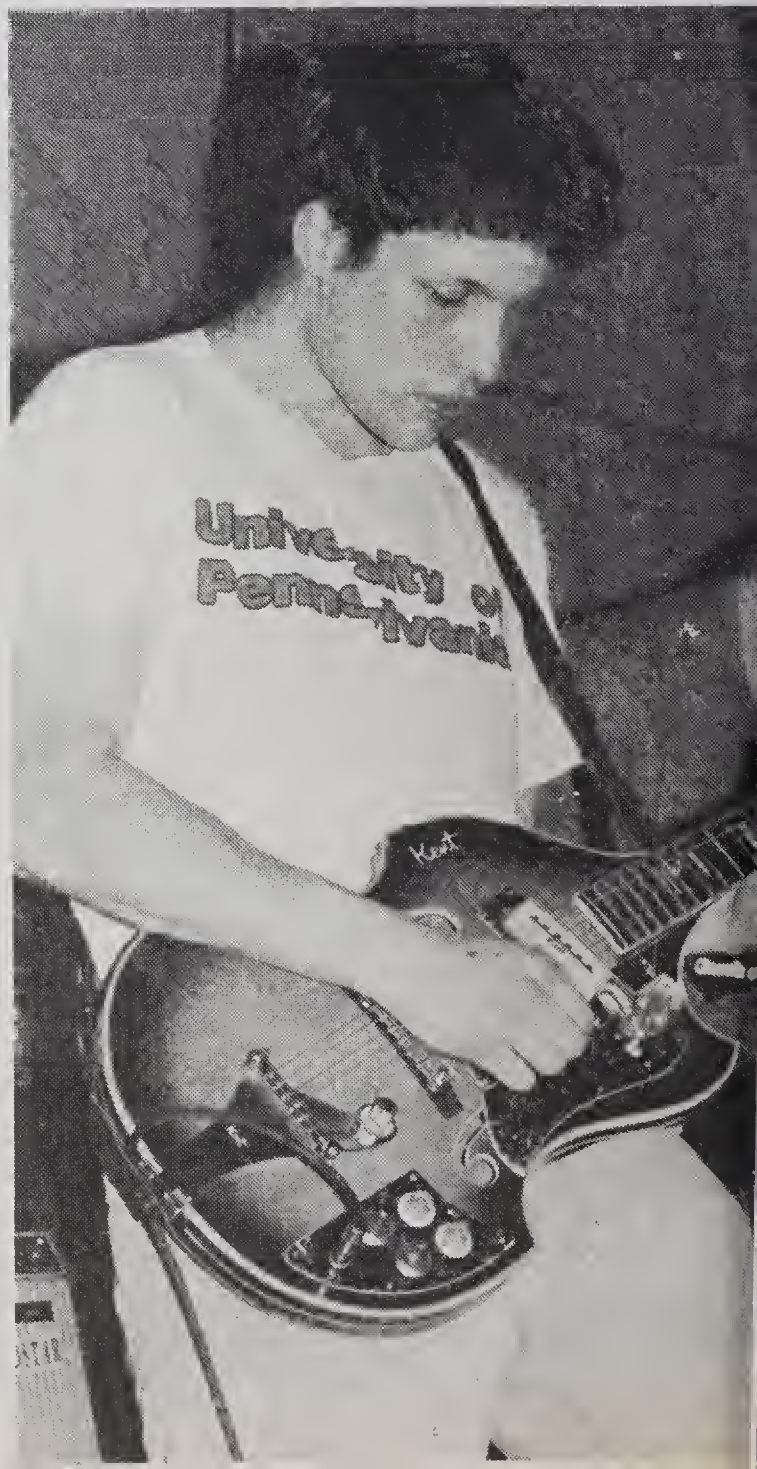
Examples abound in this category: Bruce Springsteen, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, John Mellencamp, Neil Young, Toad the Wet Sprocket, Bonnie Raitt and many, many more. Politics, however, remains secondary to these artists. The majority of their work abandons political content in favor of more personal observations and feelings. The skill with which these artists deliver their music testifies on behalf of their affection for it.

The final group of talented, political musicians poses the greatest problem to conservatives. How should conservatives treat a talented artist that sings mainly about left-wing political issues? These Oliver Stones of music can be difficult to stomach. What conservative wants to listen to U2's repeated denunciations of Ronald Reagan? or to R.E.M.'s incessant calls for environmental activism?

Perhaps the best example of a very talented political artist is Bruce Springsteen's former guitarist, Steven Van Zandt (also known as Little Steven). Van Zandt's Voice of America details various hostile political situations around the world, and his Freedom-No Compromise follows suit. "Can you hear me / wake up / where's the voice of America," Van Zandt cries. Van Zandt is, in short, a man with a political mission. His songs, for the most part, constitute well-composed, sincere efforts.

In addition, Van Zandt proves his musical prowess in less political areas. Withou Van Zandt's soulful songwriting and skillfu production, Southside Johnny and th Asbury Jukes rarely put out good music Van Zandt also successfully produced th debut album of the Arc Angels, a band tha includes former members of Stevie Ra Vaughan's entourage. The dichotom between the activism and the talent o Steven Van Zandt elicits confusion in thos who hate activism and love music, an some understandably cannot bear to listen.

Almost all modern rock-and-roll musicians have one thing in common. They al involve themselves in some form of political activism hostile to conservatives' interests. And if the artists themselves don't discourage conservatives from listening t music, the rest of the music industry migh MTV constantly lampoons conservative and invites the likes of Bill Clinton ont the network. Music critics, record companies and record stores politicize recor reviews, albums and other merchandise.



Dave Brylawski of Polvo ▶

The most influential music critics write for Rolling Stone and Spin, and their opinions affect the choices of music consumers everywhere. Some of the same writers compile the Rolling Stone Album Guide, which is the music collector's bible. Many critics consistently use political criteria in evaluating new albums. A mediocre album with heavy political content often receives more credit than it deserves. To a much lesser extent, critics underrate apolitical albums. In addition, critics frequently overrate female and minority artists because they come from politically correct groups. Bonnie Raitt and Sinead O'Connor arguably receive slightly better write-ups than their music merits because they are women. One need not take too many pains to find examples of political reviewing. One Spin writer condemned John Hiatt's excellent Stolen Moments and its two equally good predecessors, Bring the Family and Slow Turning, for being too positive. Some of the albums Bob Dylan released after his conversion to Christianity, Shot of Love, for example, are universally underrated. Critics mourned the 'loss' of a socially conscious, sixties-generation poet and wordsmith instead of continuing to ppreciate Dylan's enormous writing talent. Neil Young's decision to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1980 continues to puzzle interviewers. In short, some reviewers ave soft spots for artists who articulate roper political ideas, and they remain more openly critical of those who do not.

Record companies are the Ralph Naders of the music industry. Just as Ralph Nader makes loads of money fightng legal battles on behalf of consumer dvocates, record companies earn money nd prestige promoting special-interest gendas. The increasingly popular benefit lbums, like Geffen's Greenpeace Rainbow Warriors, attempt to impress pon the public a company's (and the rtists') concern for humankind, therefore boosting its image. While all the rofits from these albums go to particular pecial-interest groups, the company benefits in the future from publicity.

The artist and record company profit n yet another way from benefit albums. Greenpeace Rainbow Warriors might as well serve as a promo-disc for almost all l artists who contributed songs. Most mply donated old songs to the album; w donated a previously unreleased song hat was written specifically for the lbum. Lou Reed contributed a track om New York; U2 donated "Pride (In the Name of Love)," John Mellencamp signed away a cut from The Lonesome Jubilee, etc. Donation of old material to benefit albums is the rule rather than the exception, and it demonstrates more of a desire to appear compassionate than a real commitment to a cause.

The debate over the longbox exemplifies record companies' concern over their benevolent image. Musicians and environmental groups banded together to protest the use of the longbox, which they argue wastes too much paper. Not wanting to appear hostile to the environment, record companies started researching alternative packaging methods and set a date for the elimination of the longbox.

One cannot walk into a record store without noticing the music industry's political slant. Parodies and condemnations of Jesse Helms adorn the walls. School Kids Records on Franklin Street openly campaigned for Helms' most recent challenger, Harvey Gantt. Some stores feature books on fighting censorship in the music industry. There is simply no escape.

It is ironic that a field that centers so fundamentally on the display of individual talent presses so vehemently for a leftist agenda that leads to collectivism. The industry understandably alienates many conservatives who know special-interest groups don't improve lives. That liberals dominate the music industry is unfortunate, but it is a fact. That, however, doesn't mean conservatives should hide from the industry, or that they should condemn it. As long as one distinguishes between good music and bad music, he or she stays on the right track. This principle allows listeners of all viewpoints to enjoy a well-composed album, song or concert.

What does all of this mean for conservatives? Conservatism is the philosophy of the individual, and it allows and encourages the individual to develop personal talents. Each unique artist carries skills that, when used adeptly, merit recognition regardless of the views the artist pushes. A musician's talent should stand alone for conservatives as a rationale for his or her music. Conservatives don't need the Left's guilt-ridden justification for playing music, whether it be all of the time or any of the time. Good musicians perceive and describe what they see and feel with skillful musical craftsmanship. Judge them not on what they say, but on how well they say it.

Rap music in politics

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

including the media, government and popular culture. In "Rebirth," Chuck takes on mainstream America: "These days you can't see who's in cahoots/'cause now the KKK wears three-piece suits." In "By the Time I Get to Arizona," a song criticizing that state's failure to recognize the Martin Luther King holiday, Chuck criticizes mainstream politics: "Neither party is mine, not the jackass or the elephant."

Not all of Public Enemy's songs are as antagonistic as the band's image suggests. In addition to pure criticism, the group makes pleas for tolerance. In "Fear of a Black Planet," Chuck raps:

> *I've been wonderin' why people livin' in fear of my shade or my hi-top fade... All I got is genes and chromosomes Consider me black to the bone All I want is peace and love on this planet*

Public Enemy's message is not directed specifically to white America. Chuck's lyrics also point to problems within the black community. "It's weak to speak and blame somebody else/when you destroy yourself," Chuck raps on "Welcome to the Terrordome." Songs like "One Million Bottlebags" and "Night of the Living Baseheads" address the problems of drug and alcohol abuse, and "Brothers Gonna Work It Out" preaches parental responsibility: "Teach a man how to be a father/ and never tell a woman he can't bother."

Despite a message that supports black pride, self-sufficiency and understanding of other races, Public Enemy is repeatedly charged with advocating violence and espousing hate.

Chuck, however, says he would rather have a small number of fans understand the message behind the image than compromise either one.

"If you hit one and nine miss it, we're not dwelling on the nine that miss it," Chuck said. "If the one that gets it is inspired enough, maybe they'll convince two or three or four."

Public Enemy's music apparently is convincing a lot of today's youth. The group's quickly growing audience is remarkably racially diverse, boasting a large white following. In December, Public Enemy performed to a packed, racially mixed crowd at the Cat's Cradle. And this February, Chuck returned to Chapel Hill on a college lecture tour.

It's easy to criticize rap music for appearing obscene or violent sometimes — some popular rap groups are. But more and more Americans are looking beyond rap music's negative image and discovering legitimate and serious messages. And as the popularity of groups like Public Enemy grows, the real power of rap music as a vehicle for social and political expression becomes crystal clear.

HOMOSEXUALITY **BY CRAIG HENDRIX**

A tolerant answer to the homosexual question

▲ *A gay march in Durahm two weeks ago is an example of a peaceful protest to bring awareness*

REGARDLESS OF ONE'S VIEWS ON THE LEGITIMACY OF HOMOSEXUALITY AS A LIFESTYLE, THE QUESTION REMAINS, "WHY IS THIS MORAL ISSUE ALSO A POLITICAL ONE?"

In the often muddled "discourse" of contemporary American politics, the issue of homosexual rights has emerged as a most controversial matter that at times escapes the bounds of rational debate. Social activists on the left push for public acceptance of homosexuality as a legitimate "lifestyle," as evidenced by the support of several November referendums that were intended to establish special protection for homosexuals.

On the right, many conservatives consider homosexuality as deviant or immoral behavior, chiefly for religious reasons. In the midst of this sea of confusion, moderates (e.g. President Clinton) float with the popular tide between the two extremes, trying to please everyone so as not to lose that precious political support that they value above their moral consciences.

Regardless of one's views on the legitimacy of homosexuality as a lifestyle, the question remains, "Why is this moral issue also a political one?" Specifically, why do those in Washington, D.C., Colorado and on the Chapel Hill Town Council consider it within their sphere of legislation? Cynically enough, most elected officials tend to support what they believe will bring them the most votes; hence, moral questions are sifted through hastily in pursuit of political expedience or advantage.

Considering the widespread attention the issue recently has received, the political "debate" over the legitimacy of the homosexual lifestyle does merit some attention, but only when it is viewed on a personal level. In the private sphere, this issue is relevant, and everyone is entitled to his own opinion that he can justify according to his own moral consciences, whether it be active support of homosexual rights or strong condemnation of such behavior.

However, problems arise when citizens carry these opinions with them into their social relationships. A broad range of views on homosexuality does indeed lead to conflict in the public sphere. The task, therefore, is to formulate a solution that both allows homosexuals their rights and allows opponents of homosexuality (who aren't necessarily 'homophobes') to maintain their rights to disagree with homosexual behavior as long as they do not deny homosexuals their personal freedom.

One obvious solution would be to "legislate" on the issue; homosexuality could be deemed illegal or legal, depending on the votes of a select few. However, we can reject the criminalization of homosexuality because it would deny rights to homosexuals. We can also reject the legalization of homosexuality on the grounds that such legislation would require the government to take a positive support for homosexual behavior.

Contrary to what many homosexual activists have shouted (notice that they have given no rational arguments), a vote on the issue is indicative of government support for the same reason that we do not have a state church in the United States. An affirmative vote on homosexuality would not mean that such behavior is the state lifestyle preference, but such a vote necessarily requires a limited number of legislators to publicize their view on a moral issue that should be left in the private sphere and to individual discretion.

For further insight, it is helpful to look at the writings of Henry David Thoreau as he considered the conflict between moral issues and the state. In 1849, Thoreau published "Resistance to Civil Government" after being jailed for refusing to pay his poll tax. He argued that he could not financially support a government that permitted slavery and was expanding the "peculiar institution" in its war with Mexico. He wrote:

> *Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right.*

A far better solution can be found in the vague notion we call social tolerance. Tolerance. What a confusing word it has become. As citizens tolerant of homosexuality, we should remain indifferent to another's sexual behavior in matters other than personal relations. The issue does not go before any legislative bodies, but is to be exposed to the market of social pressures. The ideal would be a social tolerance in which individuals are permitted to retain their views on the issue without interfering in the behavior of others. In this situation, both the "flaming homosexual" and the "ignorant homphobe"

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right.

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ire condemnation. If one approves of homosexuality, and considers it one's sexual orientation, then one can no more demand special treatment or protection than one who morally opposes homosexuality can condone discrimination against such an "unnatural" lifestyle.

As an open opponent of slavery on the grounds that it infringed upon the liberty of individual slaves, Thoreau's message can be transcribed into the debate concerning homosexual rights. One can argue that if he had faced the issue in our present social context, he would have spoken out for tolerance of homosexuality:

> *It is not man's duty, as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous wrong; he may still properly have other concerns to engage him; but it is his duty, at least, to wash his hands of it, and, if he gives it no thought longer, not to give it practically his support. If I devote myself to other pursuits and contemplations, I must first see, at least, that I do not pursue them sitting upon another man's shoulders. I must get off him first, that he may pursue his contemplations too.*

Moreover, tolerance does not distinguish between those who are "born" homosexual and those who choose that behavior, nor does it show special or preferential treatment for either homosexuals or heterosexuals. One's sexual behavior is only relevant in matters of personal relationships; therefore, homosexuality is an important social issue, but not one that should be legislated upon. It is relevant in questions concerning personal relationships such as foster parenting and adoption, but is not an adequate criterion for job selection, college admissions or government funding, all of which declare a statement of equal opportunity regardless of sexual behavior.

Thus, sexual behavior remains predominantly an individual matter that merits a tolerant social attitude. If this resembles conformity, it is only because it demands that everyone ignore sexual behavior when it is not relevant so as to avoid subsequent conflict.

Yet, the question, "Why is this moral issue also a political one?" goes unasked by most elected officials and academics supposedly engaged in intellectual debate. A socially tolerant attitude toward sexual behavior demands a political indifference that allows individuals to determine which gender they sleep with and how homosexuals are to be treated in society.

THE IDEAL WOULD BE A SOCIAL TOLERANCE IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS ARE PERMITTED TO RETAIN THEIR VIEWS ON THE ISSUE WITHOUT INTERFERING IN THE BEHAVIOR OF OTHERS.

CLINTON REPORT BY ERIC LONGLEY

Who'll have more power, Clinton or Congress?

SINCE THE FORMATION OF OUR COUNTRY, THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH HAVE BEEN JOCKEYING FOR POWER. SLICK WILLIE IS LEARNING THE HARD WAY.

▲ *Here is President Clinton, lying to an audience during the campaign*

The President and Congress have always had conflict over their respective powers and responsibilities. This conflict can be compared to the conflict between Israel and the Arab states: the situation sometimes erupts into full-scale warfare, and even in the intervals between battles, a formal state of war prevails. But, as with the situation in the Middle East, there is now hope that the contending parties can resolve many of their differences. Partisan discord, with Republicans in the White House confronting Democrats in Capitol Hill, no longer confuses and embitters the underlying institutional conflicts between the President and Congress. Concessions by either side will not benefit officeholders of the same party.

WAR POWERS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Presidents throughout history have claimed-and exercised- the power to take the country to war without the approval of Congress. Congress itself, in the War Powers Act, has authorized the President to wage short wars- sixty days or less- without specific legislative approval. Presidents say this isn't enough: they don't think they can constitutionally be required to ask permission to start longer wars.

The President and Congress came close to a pretty serious conflict over war powers in the Persian Gulf War. President Bush claimed that he could go to war without Congress. The question, fortunately, did not arise since Congress authorized hostilities. But neither side receded from its underlying legal claims.

Opponents of Presidential pretensions have sometimes tried to get their claims to court. Also, former Senator Barry Goldwater, who supported claims of Presidential war power, called in his memoirs for a resolution of the issue by the Supreme Court. Neither side, if it is truly confident in its position, should have reservations about calling in the Supreme Court. Although the Court has often erred, and erred egregiously, it is less likely to err in this instance than if the issue was decided unilaterally either by the President or by Congress.

In foreign affairs generally, apart from the war powers dispute, the positions the parties are not as consistently staked out. Sometimes, as in the Iran-Contra affair, differences between the President and Congress on how to conduct foreign relations lead to constitutional conflicts. It is more frequent, however, for the battles to involve lower stakes.

Congress will try to impose a certain policy concerning our relations with other countries and the President will seek the flexibility to depart from that policy when he judges necessary. Congress, for instance, may prohibit foreign aid to countries whose policies regarding human rights, nuclear proliferation, etc. are regarded as unacceptable, while authorizing the President to suspend such requirements if the national interest calls for it.

If Congress does not seem willing at first to give the President the flexibility he wants, he can usually get this flexibility by lobbying for it, or by threatening to veto a law that would constrain him too tightly. President Bush used a veto threat to obtain more flexibility to exempt particular countries from a law which punished states which had chemical weapons.

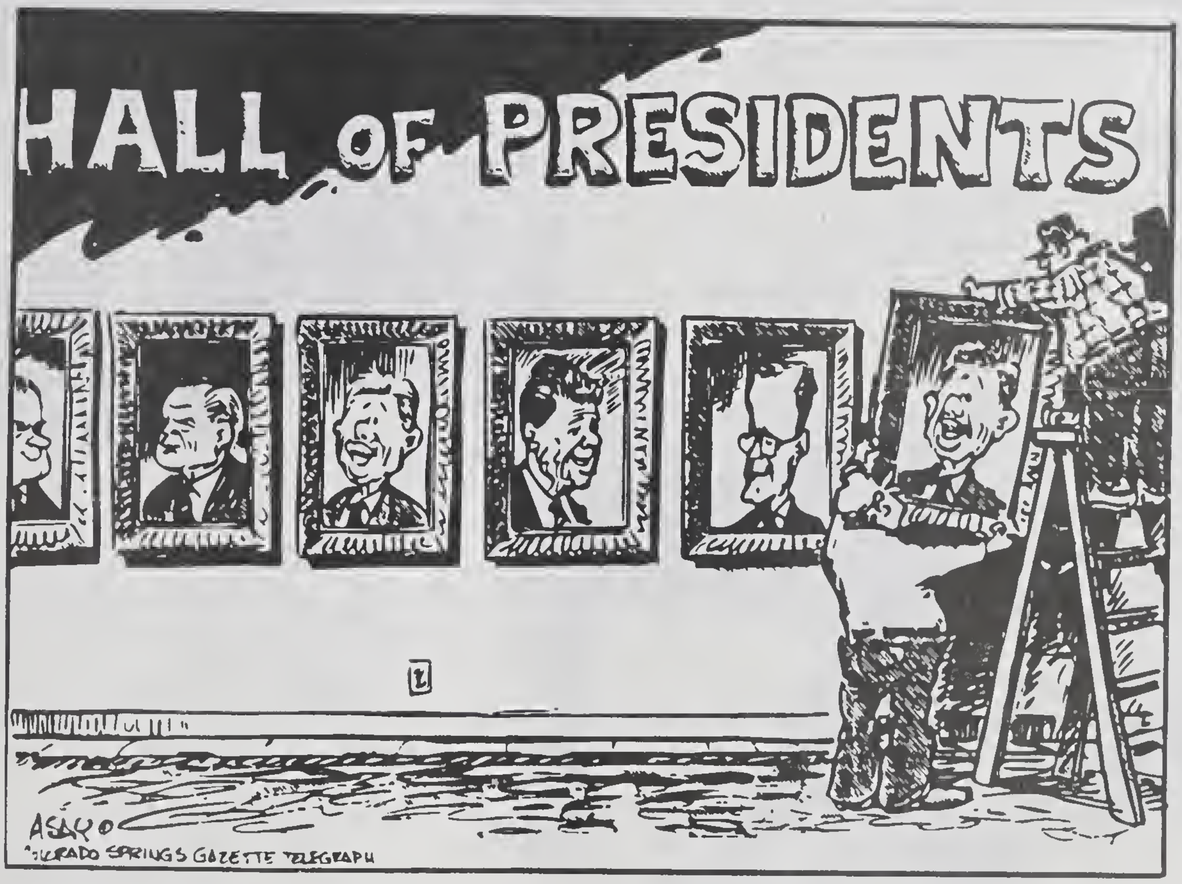
Thus, while not challenging Congress' legal authority, Presidents can still get much of what they want from that body. This seems like a lesson which the President could apply to the war powers area. Congress has never refused Presidential requests to declare war (although the Senate came close in its vote on the Gulf War).

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE.

This is the notion that the president is entitled to withhold information from the courts and the congress concerning the internal workings of the executive branch: advice, discussions, memos, and the like. One instance of this took place under President Bush.

An official in the Department of Justice had written an opinion declaring that the FBI could kidnap fugitives from justice who were holed up in foreign countries. A committee of Congress wanted a look at the memo, but this was refused. Instead, a justice department official briefed the committee on the substance of the memo. The idea is that memos like this should be confidential, or else executive branch officials will be hesitant to give advice to the President or to members of the cabinet.

As a practical, if not as a constitutional matter, Congress should be careful about rifling through confidential internal memos and probing too inquisitively about internal communications. At the same time, there is little need, and some danger, in drawing a veil of secrecy over the whole government process. A law defining the scope of executive privilege, and providing that the President alone can invoke it, could help.



THE LINE-ITEM VETO.

Both former President Bush and current President Clinton have supported the idea that the President should be able to veto individual budget items rather than being forced by Congress to approve or disapprove, in its entirety, a whole budget. The President, the argument goes, should be able to prune the pork from the budget while keeping all the kosher, essential items.

Clinton does not seem to be pushing the idea with much vigor. While the line-item device is sometimes praised too much- the President will face the same pressures as the Congress regarding cuts in truly bloated spending programs- the symbolic value of subjecting spending to stricter scrutiny should not be overlooked. A line-item veto amendment to the Constitution would be as welcome as it is unlikely.

THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR LAW.

Congress has enacted a constitutional but unwise law providing for court-appointed prosecutors to investigate claims that a member of the executive branch has committed a crime. Such prosecutors cannot be fired by the President except in cases of provable misconduct. In effect, the special prosecutors are unaccountable to any elected official, and are free to pursue their agendas, or their vendettas, without regard to authority. And unlike regular prosecutors, a special prosecutor generally is responsible for investigating only a specific individual or group of people. He or she can devote all his resources to the task of finding incriminating evidence against someone. Only recently have people probed but ultimately exonerated by special prosecutors been given the right to recover their legal expenses.

Former Senator Eugene McCarthy, no friend to Presidential power, has objected to the special prosecutor law because it puts the task of investigating executive-branch misconduct in the hands of unaccountable investigators, instead of leaving that responsibility to the House of Representatives, the body constitutionally charged with handling impeachment.

HOW THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH INTERPRETS THE LAW.

Now that Congress and the Presidency are controlled by the same party, at least one area of tension between the two branches is likely to be reduced. While Reagan and Bush were facing a Democratic Congress, there were conflicts concerning how the laws enacted by Congress were to be interpreted and enforced. These conflicts tended to reflect philosophical differences between the personnel in the different branches concerning what the law should accomplish. Because of his control of the enforcement machinery, and because of the deference accorded by the courts to how the executive agencies interpreted the law, the President could often prevail. But when, as now, there is greater agreement on policy between the President and Congress, there will be fewer fights in this area. The abortion gag rule is an example. Congress did not specify whether abortion counseling could be given at government-funded clinics. At first, the executive agencies said it was permitted. Then the Reagan and Bush administrations said it was not permitted, and the Supreme Court deferred to this interpretation, although many members of Congress read the Law differently. The battle was not ended by Congressional action, but by an order by President Clinton rescinding the gag rule.

PRESIDENT-CONGRESS RELATIONS IN GENERAL.

Congress is entitled to expect that the President will enforce its legitimate laws. The President is entitled to expect that Congress will not encroach on his constitutional prerogatives. But there is no formal mechanism for the President to challenge a law he believed to be invalid, nor is there a consistent and predictable method, short of the extreme sanction of impeachment, for Congress to make sure the President obeys the law. Both the President and Congress should be able to call on the Supreme Court for a timely resolution.

The President should rely less on problematic formal assertions of a legal "right" to disobey Congress and instead defend his interests in the legislative process, which he is perfectly capable of doing, as I have shown to be the case in the area of foreign relations. Perhaps a cease-fire, or even a full-blown peace agreement, can be worked out in the perpetual war of attrition between the two branches.

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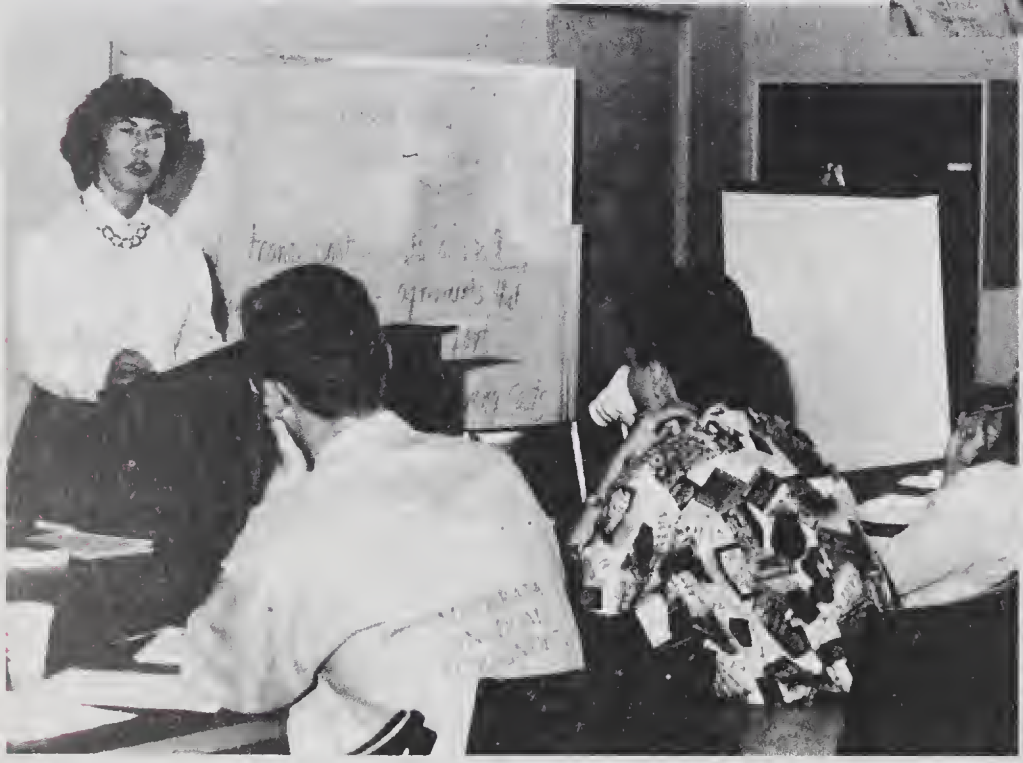

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VI, ISSUE 7

APRIL 7, 1993

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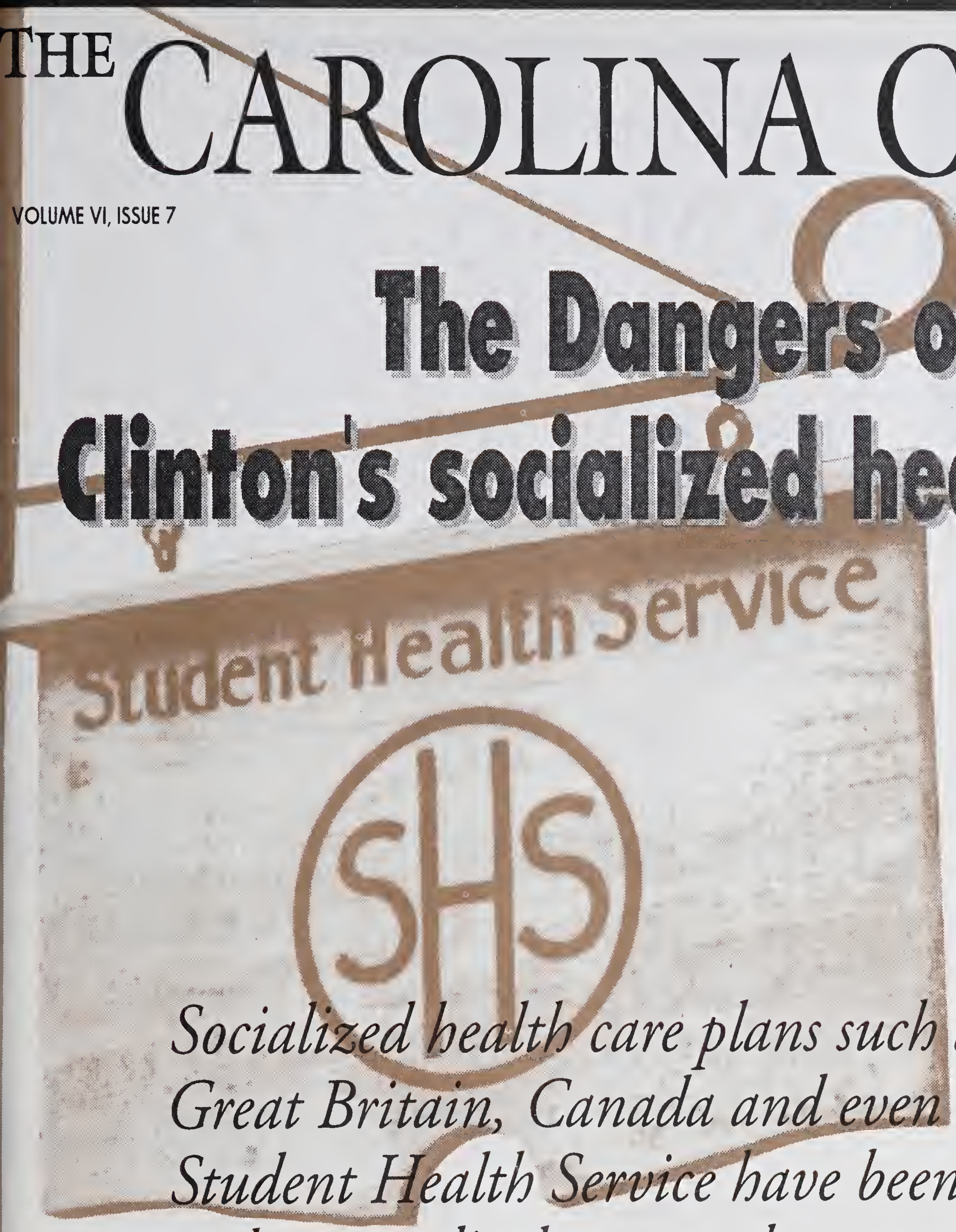
The Dangers of Clinton's socialized health care



Socialized health care plans such as those in Great Britain, Canada and even Carolina's Student Health Service have been proven to hurt medical progress by removing the patient's choice.

The Critic examines Hillary Clinton's ideas and shows why her plan just won't work. Page 14

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Who was Felix Morley, and why is the Institute for Humane Studies awarding $7,500 in his honor?

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC

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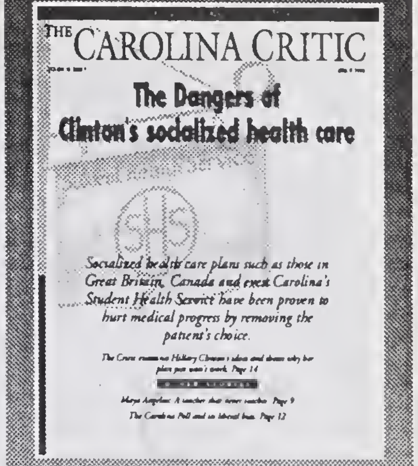

THE CAROLINA CRITIC

The Dangers of Clinton's socialized health care

Socialized health care plans such as those in Great Britain, Canada and even Carolina's Student Health Service have been proven to hurt medical progress by removing the patient's choice.

THE CRITIC COVER

Clinton's health care plan is based on the socialist programs of Canada and Great Britain. Chuck Bridges looks into the problems of socialist health care.

Photo by Molly Vogt

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JENNIFER DURHAM compiled a list so you can check off broken promises as they occur over the next four years.

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50 of Clinton's promises
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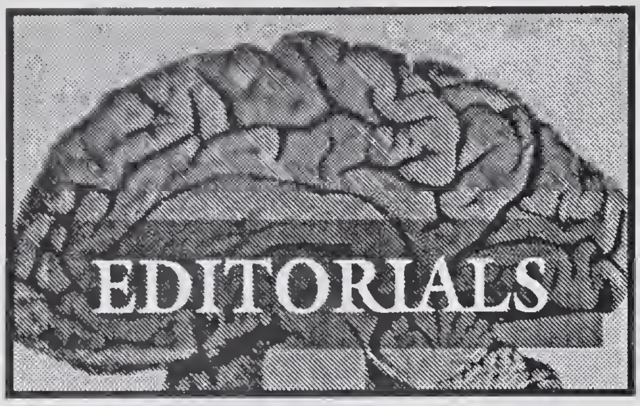

The proliferation of bricks at UNC

It is a known fact that Sanford, NC is "the brick capital of the world," and as a result, North Carolina leads the nation in brick production. Some would contend that our neighboring university in Raleigh has made this possible by its purchase of a large number of these baked goods. Recently, our own fine institution has made its bid to out-brick other state universities. Hopefully, those responsible for this tragic trend will recognize their mistake and act to preserve Chapel HIll's aesthetic beauty for prosperity.

Traditionally, our campus and that of Duke University have been regarded as two of the more eye-appealing in the nation. UNC has received this respect for well-known monuments, such as the Bell Tower and the Old Well; for the centrality of the quad (a.k.a. Polk Place) and its pleasing integration of natural beauty and man-made buildings; for having one of the most "natural" of stadiums with its plush green field and the refreshing skyline of tall pines, emphasized by a Carolina blue background; but mostly for the preponderance of dogwoods, magnolias, plum trees, pines, and oaks nestled among the aged buildings and surrounded by what is fast becoming Chapel Hill's most endangered resource: grass.

For the past few years, the university has risked one of its appeals to visitors by its efforts to brick over much of the grassy area on campus. Many of the brick paths are useful to students and faculty, especially when traversing mud puddles on rainy days. However, there are limits we must place on "bricking" our campus if we are to preserve its aestheic appeal.

Recently, new bricks have been laid in the area between Davis Library, Hamilton, Lenoir, Murphey, and Manning. Only a few months ago this area was mostly grass, with brick walkways and a couple flower beds. Now, all one can see are bricks, as the brick buildings seem to be attached to a ground surface made of the same material. In fact, the walk from Hamilton to the Union, via Davis Library, can now be aptly called "The Tunnel of Red Clay," or if you prefer, "The N.C. State Memorial Garden."

There seems to exist at least one rational explanation for this sudden interest in "renovating" the campus. Many of the grassy areas between the brick paths have proved hard to maintain; either because of heavy traffic across the grass, or because of the erosion of the areas, which has intensified as rainwater drains off the brick paths and washes out the soil and vegetation.

The first problem must be endured; students and faculty are always going to walk on the grass. However, the second explanation for the necessity of new bricks concerns a self-inflicted problem. It is as if the grassy areas have been encircled by the paths, so that rain inevitably runs off the bricks, onto the ground, and washes out the soil and grass. At this point, bricks become necessary.

Although this problem seems to necessitate the present renovations, there is an alternative the university could employ. Rather than conceding that erosion and reseeding are expensive and difficult problems to manage, those responsible could opt to remove a large portion of our present brick paths, particularly those that are not "paths," but make up the clay "plains" between some buildings. In their place, new efforts at reseeding could reinsure the natural appeal of UNC. If not, present efforts could cause many to confuse this red campus with the other one in Raleigh. Surely, our leaders, both administrative and in the collective student leadership, will work to preserve one of the more attractive features of Chapel Hill.

The Daily Tar Heel editor should be chosen by its own staff

Imagine having the citizens of your hometown newspaper vote on the editor of its leading daily.

The Daily Tar Heel implemented its editor selection board process this year to avoid a general student body election. The board consists of eight UNC-CH students and three members of The Tar Heel. Eight members must agree on one candidate before he is proclaimed the winner.

The selection board is a step in the right direction, but because students are still involved in the selection process there are too many opportunities for error.

The Tar Heel needs to choose an editor that will keep the paper in competition with other local dailies and still give the students the campus coverage that is necessary for a student newspaper.

The eight student body members on the committee cannot understand the tremendous dedication and maturity involved in being The Tar Heel's editor. Students on the board might be looking for politically correct candidates who seem appealing in theory but in fact would not progress the paper journalistically.

Only the staff of The Tar Heel can possibly know which member is ready to take on the most powerful position on campus. The student body knows what they want from the paper, but they do not know which candidate is going to give it to them.

Since there are a majority of at large student spots on the board, there is also room for corruption. A weak candidate can "stack" the board with his former coworkers and friends and win the election against the will of The Tar Heel staff.

Yi-Hsin Chang
The new editor of The Tar Heel elected from a flawed process.

The Tar Heel board of directors must screen student candidates of the board, but friends of the editor applicants can slip through.

A year-long editorship should not be decided by eight students that have only known the candidates for one weekend. The staff could be forced to work with an editor that is totally incompatible with the principals of the paper. Whereas if the staff voted on the editor, journalists that have worked with the candidates will decide the leader of *their* paper.

Yi-Hsin Chang was voted editor in chief March 27 by a vote of 8-3. Whether the three votes were from The Tar Heel staff members on the board is confidential. But if they were, wouldn't you want the editor the three Tar Heel members fought for?

The Tar Heel soon will be independent of student funding, which has been the principal argument in favor of the eight students sitting on the board. The Tar Heel needs to propose to the Board of Trustees an editor selection board consisting of only Tar Heel staff so that The Tar Heel can be truly independent.

Don't favor gays

To the Editor:

The hard fact is that homosexual orientations are caused by abnormal environments and/or brain defects.

We should have much understanding for anyone born homosexual, because we are all born with imperfect; but imperfections and brain defects don't justify immorality..

Thinking people have known for centuries that there is no logical or moral justification for homosexual behavior, because such behavior is a bad legal precedent. If we condone homosexual deviations, then we must fairly condone other unusual deviations. What if someone is accidentally born with the desire to have sex with cows or sheep? Some people have such sex. How ridiculous and bizarre are we going to allow the world to get?

People clearly should be penalized for wrong behavior. Homosexual activity is clearly wrong behavior. Penalizing immoral people is obviously NOT discrimination. Penalizing homo- and bi-sexuals is NOT discrimination. Gays do not deserve special rights or "gay rights" (sad wrongs). They have the same rights as normal heterosexuals, but there clearly is no constitutional right to engage in homosexual activity.

Wayne Lela
Downers Grove, Ill

Critic refreshing to Alabama student

To the Editor:

I have just read the February 3, 1993 edition of The Carolina Critic.I found it to be very impressive. The article on political correctness by Greg Konig and "The Critical Eye" feature was very well done.

I am not a student at UNC but I am happy to see material such as your publication circulating among students It is nice to know there is an "alternative" voice to the trendy ultra-liberal newspapers sweeping our campuses. I attend the University of South Alabama. We have two papers. One is liberal/moderate and the other is your typical left wing, whine and cry, doom and gloom, far out, politically correct rag.I must say then it is refreshing to read a college newspaper that gives a conservative view of the issues.

You have got a good thing going with The Carolina Critic. I wish you much success and I urge you to keep up the good work.

Derrick J. Strelow
Senior, History/Pol Sci
University of South Alabama

Letters to the editor are accepted. The letter must be signed, with your year and major listed. Length is not a factor. Please send your letter to:

The Carolina Critic
01 Steele Bldg. CB 5100
U.N.C.-Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

GO AHEAD, BILLY... BUT IN 25 YEARS YOU'LL BE FACING HARASSMENT CHARGES!...

APHORISMS

The beauty of America is that the average man always thinks he is above average.
-Sam Levenson

A cannibal is a man who loves his neighbor with sauce.
-Jean Rigaux

There is nothing for a case of nerves like a case of beer.
-Joan Goldstein

I will not raise taxes on the middle class.
-Bill Clinton, '93 campaign

Under Clinton's plan, he will have to raise taxes on anyone making over $36,000 to meet his budget.
-Dan Quayle, '93 campaign

The love of money is the root of all virtue.
-George Bernard Shaw

Hard work is damn near as overrated as monogamy.
-Huey P. Long

Cab drivers are living proof that practice does not make perfect.
-Howard Ogden

Let's reintroduce corporal punishment in the schools - and use it on the teachers.
-PJ O'Rourke

Prostitution, like acting, is ruined by amateurs.
-Alexander Woolcott

Health nuts are going to feel stupid someday, lying in a hospital dying of nothing.
-Redd Foxx

She doesn't know a good thing when she sees it.
-JPG

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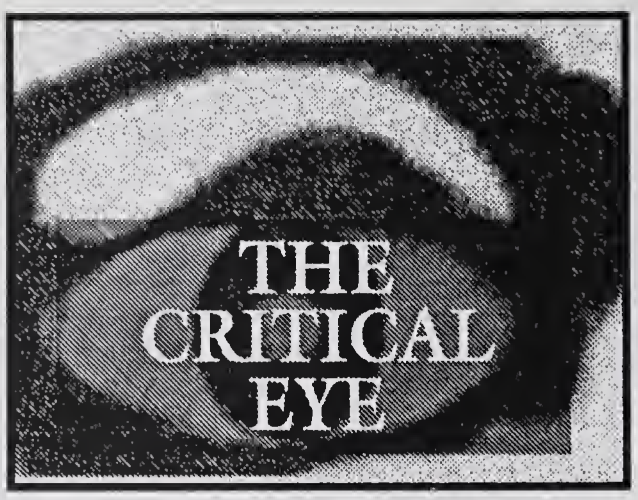
THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VI, No. 7



• We at the *Critic* would like to congratulate the University of California for exhibiting the utmost class and sportsman after knocking Dook out of the NCAA tournament in the second round. We are not going to be as nice:

• The outcome of the game was in little doubt after windbag and part time Deadhead, Bill Walton picked Dook to threepeat as champions.

• Lay off the acid Billy boy.

• Unless Grant Hill stubs his toe again next year we expect he and the graceful and talented (not to mention good looking) likes of Cherokee Parks and Marty Clark to give NC State a run for last place.

• And finally, the top 10 reasons Mike Krzyzweski cried after the loss to Cal:

10-Jason Kidd didn't go to the NBA after high school.
9-The Clinton economic plan
8-Someone told him Bobby Hurley was better looking.
7-Referees and analysts will no longer grab their ankles for him.
6-Satan came to collect his half of the bargain.
5-Hoped to have a bad sportsmanship contest with Bobby Knight.
4-Fearful of becoming another Les Robinson.
3-David Koresh is his long lost brother.
2-Lenoir catered the post-game interview.
1-The Hiemlich maneuver failed.

• We at the *Critic* have uncovered the real reason behind the standoff in Waco, Texas between the Branch Davidian cult and the FBI. It seems that hired gun Lawrence Gilbert and RTVMP chairman Robert Gwyn attempted to restructure the Davidians into Cultural Studies cult.

• It makes perfect sense for one of the leading movie producing states to ax the only production oriented RTVMP department in the state and replace it with something as useful as Cultural Studies. Of course, it also makes sense to a dog when he drinks water from the toilet.

• It also makes sense to heroin addicts when they jab an AIDS infected needle in their arm. Well, you get the picture.

• From the *Wall Street Journal*: A Washington radio station has been playing a parody of "I am Woman" entitled "I am Hillary." Among the lyrics: "I am Hillary hear me roar/ I'm more important than Al Gore."

• From Hillary's ideological antithesis, Camille Paglia: "Women's studies is institutionalized sexism. Women's studies is a comfy, chummy morass of unchallenged groupthink. It is, with rare exception, totally unscholarly. Academic feminists have silenced men and dissenting women. Our best women students are being force-fed an appalling diet of cant, drivel and malarkey." You go girl!

• Speaking of malarkey, we hear South building is about to be renamed the Waffle House.

• No one will ever go hungry considering how many times our top administrators have flip-flopped to appease every special interest on campus. Thank God you guys are college administrators and not leaders of business or else our official language would be Japanese!

• Take a stand on something Chancellor. And ignoring students who want an education doesn't count.

• Yi-Hsin Chang, the newly crowned editor of the *Daily Tar Heel* says her top priority will be to diversify the staff. That's a relief, we would hate to think a newspaper's top priority might be reporting news.

• Save Coker woods. The Tufted Tit-Mouse and the Gnarled Nipple-Rat would really appreciate it.

• Our modern federal government is

spending almost $5,000 a year on every person in America. The average American household of 2.64 people thus receives almost $13,000 worth of federal benefits, services and protection per annum. These people would have to have a family income of $53,700 to pay as much in taxes as they get in goodies. Only 18.5 percent of the population has that kind of money. And only 4.8 percent of the population file income tax returns showing more than $50,000 in adjusted gross income. Ninety-five percent of Americans are on the mooch.

- PJ O'Rourke

• Since we had such a favorable response to our cutting edge PC terms relating to the Duke basketball team in our last issue, we wanted to do some more. However, the Blue Devils are no more and frankly they were just too easy. Therefore, due to the recent influx of guest speakers and nomads we have a much more diverse and multicultural pool of individuals to better establish the meaning of the latest PC terminology:

Arthur Schlesinger - Misquoted-by-DTH-American

Gloria Allred - I-Wish-my-Last-Name-was-Steinem-American

Dinesh D'Souza - Multiculturalism-sucks-American

Molefi Kete Asante - Whitey-sucks-American

Jerry Garcia - Lead-Your-Followers-to-the-Ocean-American

Deadheads - Follow-and-Don't-Hold-Your-Breath-Americans

• I view this in much the same way I view a possible Dean Martin- Jerry Lewis reconciliation: I never really enjoyed their work, and I'm not sure I need to see any of their new stuff.

-Dennis Miller on German reunification.

• President Clinton receives 75,850 pieces of correspondence a day. You think people are calling to say, "hey."

• Clinton is offereing $1 Billion to Russia at a 80% disapproval rate. He told the Russians, "I am with you." They don't careif you are with them Bill, they want our wallets open. Kind of rings a bell.

• Why was the administration so uptight about its toilet paper during the NCAA Tournament? If residents needed some there was plenty outside to use.

* Question: What do rabid feminists use for birth control?

Answer: Their looks.

* Once again our own DTH has sunken to new levels of incompetence in basic reporting. Arthur Schlesinger, who recently spoke on campus, supposedly decided to radically alter his opinion on multiculturalism, according to the DTH. Th headline which read, " Schlesinger says multiculturalism unites America." went totally against the thesis of Mr.. Schlesinger speech and of his book, *The Disuniting of America.* But the DTH made up for its front page headline with a small correction notice buried on the second page.

* Overheard in Sutton's Drug Store by a 15 year old Deadhead during the invasion of the Dad, "Excuse me, but do you have any syringes." When the cashier replied "No", the perceptive Deadhead asked, "Isn't this a drug store?" The cashier might have referred him to the parking lot beside the Dean Dome.

* The Deadheads were seen to be carrying signs which read,"I need a miracle." While we might agree that they could have used a miracle, they could have used a bath more importantly.

* Susie Sexpert delivered her Sexual State of the Union address on campus recently. She's campaigning against erotic illiteracy. Now think about that for a minute, does that mean that you have trouble reading Playboy?

The Critic will be holding a general interest meeting Wednesday, April 14. All interested are welcome to come. Call Mark for more details, 967-5488

01 STEELE BLDG
CAROLINA CRITIC
CHAPEL HILL NC 27599

Percentage of men graduating from college who do not own a business suit: 36

Female graduates who do not own a business suit: 55

Ratio by which farm animals outnumber people in Mongolia: 13-1

Percentage of Mongolians who are illiterate: 90

Chances that an American family does not have a checking account: 1 in 4

Number of Alcoholics Anonymous groups formed in Moscow since 1987: 24

Chances that an American having an abortion will describe herself as a born again or Evangelical Christian: 1 in 6

Miles of ties given for Father's Day each year in the US: 12,600

Miles of underground tunnels and bomb shelters built in Cuba since 1980: 125

Rank of Arkansas, among states where the most toxins are released into the water each year, per capita: 3

Number of years Gloria Steinem says she lived in her apartment before realizing that the oven did not work: 4

Percentage of criminal cases in Chapel Hill that involve drug or alcohol abuse: 80

OPINION **BY CRAIG HENDRIX**

Government wants to tax our behavior

Elected officials now jeopardize our ability to make rational decisions by threatening to remove all harmful influences by overtaxation

RALPH WALDO EMERSON: Republics abound in young civilians, who believe that laws make the city, that grave modifications of. . .modes of living. . .may be voted in or out; and that any measure, though it were absurd, may be imposed on a people, if only you can get sufficent voices to make it a law. But the wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand, which perishes in the twisting; that the State must follow, and not lead the character and progress of the citizen. . .and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it.

—From "Politics," 1844

Those of us who, like Emerson, believe that "the less government we have the better," are rarely cheered by news that Congress is considering yet another tax increase. Sometimes we are more displeased than others, depending on the purpose of the tax—both where it is coming from and where it is going. At times we oppose new taxes just because they are taxes, and at others we oppose them for the ends they are serving.

With this in mind, it is not difficult to find fault with present proposals for the establishment of "sin taxes." The argument, supported by the Clinton Administration and the majority of Congressional Democrats, goes something like this: 1) We have a national crisis in financing health care. 2) Products considered "hazardous to health," therefore sinful products, increase health problems and raise health care expenditure. 3) By taxing these unhealthy practices, we can both reduce the need for medical attention, and finance the remaining health care with government coffers. This argument sounds plausible as there is a corrolation between unhealthy behavior and an increase in medical expenditure; it even hints that some law makers have engaged in a few moments of logical thought.

However, those of us who are not so fond of a paternalistic government find problems with the proposed tax increase when we consider the purpose of government. Was the state justified to serve the people, or are the people to follow the moral guidelines of the state? The Clinton Administration has made its intentions clear: the purpose of government is to lead the country in the right path, i.e., the path it chooses. The sin tax proposal offers evidence of the present trend in government: to determine what is best for its citizens and then to force them to do exactly that. Gobvernment is no longer educating its citizens to do what is best, but forcing them with the coercive pressure of taxation.

The irony of the trend is that it does not originate in classical liberalism or even in the modern liberalism of the welfare state, but in classical conservatism. This latter doctrine places importance in community values and in what is best for the whole of society, while placing lesser importance upon individual rights and choice. Thus, the Clinton Administration will get Amer-icans to kick the cigarette habit, and possibly reduce its alcohol consumption by increasing the price such consumers will pay.

This economic coercion will "save" (in the Puritan sense) America from health risks, while also raising revenue to negotiate our present medical debts. Who needs a national religion to tell us smoking is bad when our government does that very well? Moreover, more people will consistently listen to Clinton's sermon because it will affect their pocketbooks. Most churches cannot convince its congregation to kick unhealthy habits because they do not have clear access to the behavior regulator that governs many of our actions—money.

Furthermore, the future implications of this sort of tax increase are unclear. Presently, unhealthy behavior is limited to smoking and drinking. But many would argue that driving an automobile, eating saturated fats, especially at fast-food restaurants, playing backyard football or snow skiing, or engaging in unsafe sex are as dangerous as smoking and drinking. If the proposed tax does not finance all our health care costs, what type of behavior are we to tax next? Are we to institute a driving tax, a fat tax, a dangerous recreation tax, or better yet, a pro-monogamy tax? They would generate revenue to finance medical costs, and force Americans to lead a healthier life. Perhaps, they would even lead to greater "salvation" of our citizenry and help us realize a heaven on earth. Maybe we should have paid more attention to Candidate Clinton when he addressed the Democratic Convention in New York about his "New Covenant" to save America.

For Americans who find fault with the proposed tax increase and object to a government that regulates the behavior of its citizenry, the sin tax causes concern. Sure, smoking, drinking, eating unhealthy, and engaging in physically or sexually risky behavior are vices that all of us try to curb, some more than others. A partial explanation for why these things are so bad is because they are expensive or cause expensive problems.

But isn't the essence of living weighing the pros and cons of a given situation and making the choice that best suits your interests? Do we really want elected officials to remove all harmful influences, and thus, remove our ability to make rational decisions? It does appear that some of our legislators have lost part of their rational calculation; do we want to guarantee that future generations are just as "insightful"?

"THE SIN TAX PROPOSAL OFFERS EVIDENCE OF THE PRESENT TREND IN GOVERNMENT: TO DETERMINE WHAT IS BEST FOR ITS CITIZENS AND THEN TO FORCE THEM TO DO EXACTLY THAT."

SPECIAL TO THE CRITIC
COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR WITH THANKS TO THE WAKE FOREST CRITIC

OPINION **BY JOHN MERONEY**

Wake Forest professor makes over $100,000 and is "never on campus"

Maya Angelou, President Bill Clinton's inauguration poet reportedly has not taught any classes this year but appears on shows like "The Arsenio Hall Show." Is this the kind of professor our president feels can help our struggling educational system?

PHOTO BY SUSAN MULLALLY

Bill Clinton's choice of Hillary-pal Maya Angelou to write a poem to be read at his swearing-in is an ominous harbinger. If Clinton has any acquaintance with Angelou's literary and academic career, then the President has made it abundantly plain that he has no real interest in addressing our current crisis in higher education.

Angelou has gained attention as a columnist for Playgirl, a poet *(I Shall Not Be Moved, Just Give Me a Cool Drink of Water 'fore I Diiie)*, a screenwriter (*Georgia, Georgia*), and the author of not one but five autobiographies (including *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* and *Singin' and Swingin' and Gettin' Merry Like Christmas*). Her favorite subjects include life as a single mother. Life in Berkeley, her own rape, and traveling to Ghana to "teach African dance and music" to the native Africans. She describes herself in interviews and books as a former madam, prostitute, burlesque stripper, and adviser to Malcolm X.

In 1982, Angelou, whose real name is Marguerite Johnson, was appointed "Professor for Life" by North Carolina s Wake Forest University. Angelou's name and photograph appear year after year— with the title 'Distinguished Professor of American Studies"—in Wake Forest's admissions applications, its annual reports to trustees and alumni, and the alumni magazine—but she has no meaningful responsibilities at the university. She collects an annual salary well into the six figures, yet presently teaches no classes and has no on campus office. The office listed for her in the Wake Forest telephone directory is a storage closet in a building far from the main part of campus. Her phone number gives an electronic voice mail recording that announces only the extension number; calls to it are not returned.

The registar's office says Angelou is offering no courses at all this academic year, and isn't sure when she may be in the classroom again. Her personal secretary, who operates out of Angelou's mammoth colonial mansion in Winston-Salem, unapologetically stresses that the poet is "never on campus," and says she doesn't know whether Angelou will be teaching again in the future. (Imagine the luxury of receiving a salary of well over $100,000 from an employer who doesn't care whether you show up for work and has no idea whether or not you will ever come back.)

In the rare years when Angelou has condescended to offer a course, her lectures have been infrequent and erratic. Angelou herself has said she teaches "whatever comes to mind." Her schedule is sometimes interrupted by appearances on such television programs as "The Arsenio Hall Show" and "The Today Show.' And there is even some ambiguity about what Angelou is *supposed* to teach at Wake Forest, for classes with the "American Studies" name or division are non-existent.

Recently, Angelou told me of a class she has been developing for the past few years called "The Philosophy of Liberation." The thesis of the course, she says, is that "most people do not want change—they want exchange. By that, I mean they just want what their adversary has. If a person wants freedom, he just wants that freedom to be able to put his foot on the neck of the person who gave him his freedom."

When I asked her about her salary in proportion to the time she spends in the classroom, she replied that those who raise such questions "don't understand the politics of a university." Angelou does: Wake Forest could hire four real professors with the money they're paying her! Students are not even permitted to select her courses. Pursuant to special authority granted by the Wake Forest administration, Angelou's classes are *by invitation only*. The registrar informs students that they must "audition" with Professor Angelou for the rare openings.

Three decades ago, President Kennedy, at his inaugural, treated Amenca to the-genius of Robert Frost, whose life was one gigantic poetic achievement after another. Where JFK offered us genius, Clinton gave us a phantom professor with a broom-closet office and an assumed name. More than that, he gave us a clear message that the Wllite House has no interest in facing the problems that are destroying our universities.

Meanwhile, Thomas K. Hearn, Wake Forest's president, had arranged for a large-screen TV to be placed in the student center so Angelou's appearance at the ceremony could be seen on campus. One student remarked that, in fact, this was one of the rare times Angelou had ever been seen on campus at all.

OPINION **BY GREG KONIG**

THE URBAN UNDERCLASS

Conservatives must refocus and offer fresh ideas to solve poverty; or be left behind

CONSERVATIVES HAVE AVOIDED GETTING THEIR HANDS DIRTY, AND HAVE VIRTUALLY LET THE LIBERALS HANDLE THE ISSUE. THE POLITCAL RIGHT NEEDS TO FORM ITS OWN PLAN TO END POVERTY.

When William Julius Wilson published "The Truly Disadvantaged" in 1987, he opened up a new field of study on the urban underclass with a fresh perspective on the debate concerning poverty in America's inner cities. Since the 1960's, conservative commentators have dominated the dialogue concerning the poor. Liberals generally avoided the debate since Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan created a heated controversy by focusing on black's behavior in the impoverished areas, yet they are now researching and debating incessantly, formulating policies to combat long-term poverty and welfare dependency.

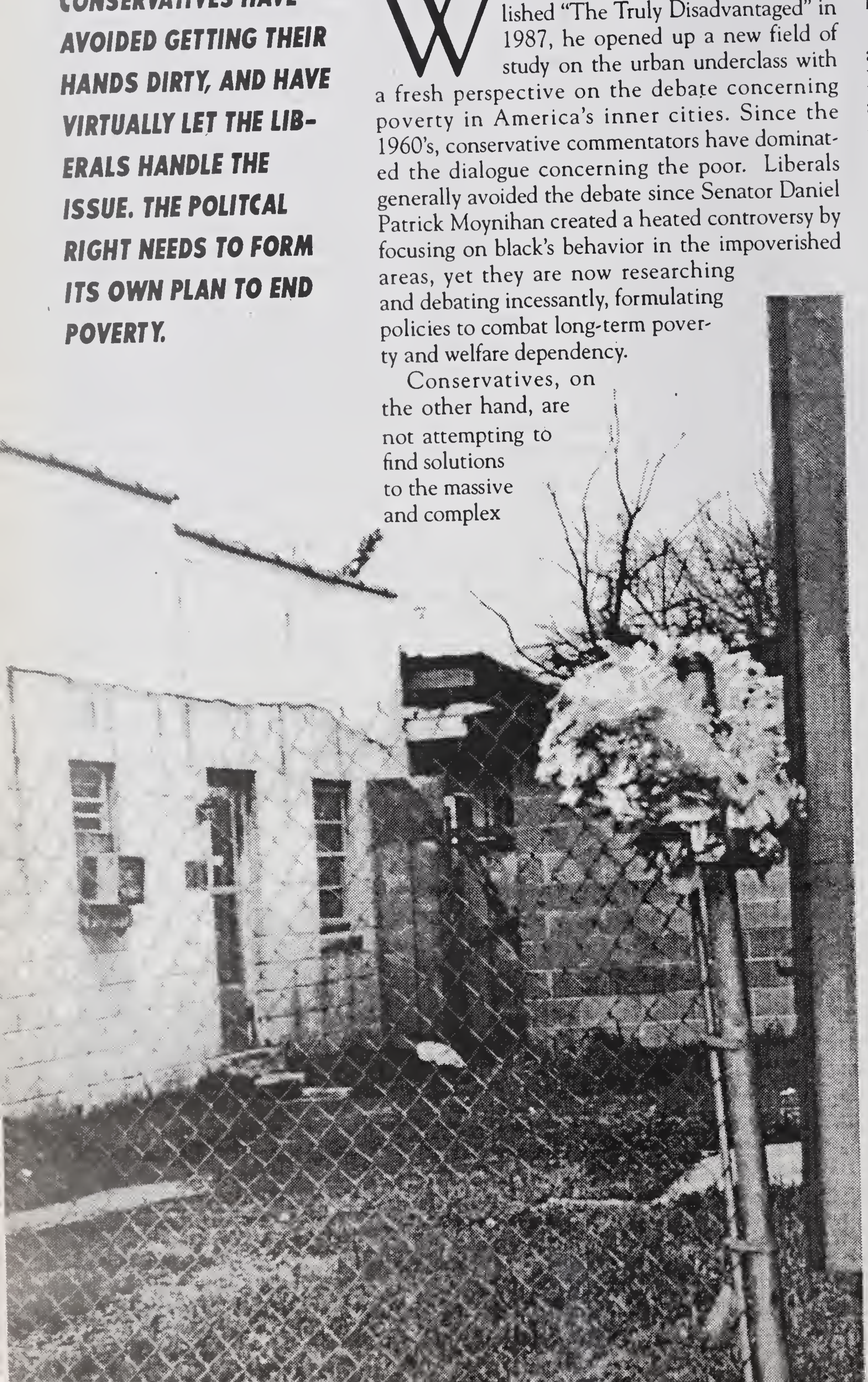
Conservatives, on the other hand, are not attempting to find solutions to the massive and complex problems of the underclass, and are at risk of being left behind on this issue.

The conservative position still draws favorable attention from many in the media and in politics. However, the conservative viewpoint is outdated, and it is only a matter of time before others notice. Since the 1960's, poverty in the inner cities has become a more ominous problem, combining vast joblessness, out-of-wedlock births, crime, drugs, single- parent families, etc. And since then, the conservative focus has bee wrapped up in historical preoccupations tha cloud over the real causes of these problems. The are particularly attached to some form of a "cul ture of poverty" argument.

Lawrence Mead, in his recent book, "The Ne Politics of Poverty" presents an argument tha hinges upon the ridiculous notion that racia groups have different levels of 'cultural capital. Essentially, he thinks blacks are presently exhibit ing attitudes and 'psychology of work' that ar conducive to unemployment, because of the lega cy of slavery and overt oppression. This racist ca egorization is an extreme example, but seems t have a surprising effect upon policy makers— h recommends teaching values and institutin workfare. Does he really believe that we mu force people to take good jobs, and that otherwis they would rather live in impoverished squalor?

A more reasonable, yet still misdirecte approach to the underclass is defended in Charl Murray's culture of poverty argument. In "Losi Ground," Murray discusses the relationshi between welfare and other programs that subsidi the poor to the actual condition of poverty, a finds that one can be better off on the dole tha with a minimum wage job. However, with t new influx of research, most of his findings ha been repudiated. Empirical studies show that on one is impoverished, poverty can perpetuate itse but it is not even conclusive that welfare is wh does this. Unlike Mead, Murray thinks blacks a fully capable of getting and retaining jobs, but thinks they will do so only if they are rescued fr some degrading culture of poverty. This enta teaching values (a notion similar to Mead's) a eliminating all welfare programs.

Murray's analysis is problematic, because he looking at the symptoms, and not the causes. misses the root of the problem when he focuses behavior such as out-of-wedlock births and co lates it to welfare receipts. The poor existed bef



CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

welfare programs existed, and they will continue to exist if welfare expenditures are eliminated. Granted, there is much fraud and waste in these programs, yet eliminating them does not solve the problem. There is much more to it than that, and that is where the liberals have stepped in.

Wilson hypothesized that poverty is directly related to black male joblessness in the inner city. This unemployment and separation from the labor market causes many other of the more recognized problems such as drugs, crime, welfare dependency, and single-family households. The difference in Wilson's analysis is that he explains joblessness through structural factors. Interestingly, he discounts the idea that racism or discrimination have anything to do with the problems blacks face.

Instead, he explains that deindustrialization has shifted the economy from goods-producing to services-producing, and blacks are disproportionately affected by the loss of manufacturing in the cities. Also, decentralization of manufacturing out of the inner cities to the suburbs or different regions of the country leaves behind blacks in the inner city. Because they represent a high proportion of blue-collar workers, a large percentage are left with no job.

Actually, Wilson has since been criticized as being too simplistic and overly general— more factors work to cause black male joblessness. They deal with education, and with different racial factors such as immigrants causing a slack labor market. Yet this just shows how far behind the conservatives are... they have been left behind. This is especially ironic for many because they've allowed liberals to pick up on what is basically a macro-economic identification of the problem, while they have been interested more in the behaviors and attitudes of the poor. Some might see this as unfortunate role reversal.

Conservatives have virtually conceded an entire issue to liberals because of their disinterest in getting to the root of the problem. Of course, one might think that because the underclass is only one to three percent of the population, it is not worth he trouble. However, in the long term, olving the underclass problem could save he taxpayers money from the added economic incentive and growth from the trengthening of the inner city. Thus, it is rucial that conservatives participate. That means dismissing the outdated notions conerning those who do not work in our counry, and getting involved in the debates oncerning them.

First, conservatives must move beyond behavior vs. structure. Empirical evidence is highly in favor of the structuralist argument, besides accounting for a few exceptions. Teaching values, or even work skills, to poor young black males in the inner city will not get them a job if there aren't any to begin with. And it appears there aren't.

Second, conservatives must work to retake control of the debate on joblessness through careful research and analysis of the race vs. space debate. They must look for solid approaches to identifying the problem and potential solutions through both the demand-side and the supply-side of the labor market— what mechanisms specifically are in place that restrict black male entrance into the labor market?

They must also think carefully about the jobs-to-people vs. people-to-jobs debate, and consider which types of policies would work to solve the problem of poverty, which has become increasingly isolated and concentrated in large inner cities. Should policy-makers try to create job growth in the inner cities or should they try to facilitate mobility in order to get people to jobs that have relocated? These are obviously difficult and complex questions.

This means that even a new conservative lead-dog on the issue of poverty has not gone far enough. Jack Kemp's proposals to create enterprise zones and empower people through self-ownership of public housing are limited and inadequate solutions that would not further facilitate the upward social mobility of poor inner city blacks.

Every time enterprise zones have been tried, they have failed miserably. Tax incentives will not move any business back into a place that has lost its economic base, thus other policies would have to be extensive in order to create growth and help to make enterprise zones beneficial to the populations unable to find jobs. And if you want empowerment, give someone a steady, good-paying job and that's all the empowerment they'll need. Housing, etc. will then take care of itself.

Thus, conservatives must refocus and concentrate more on the issue of the underclass and urban poverty, and strive to offer alternative solutions to get people employed. If this goal could ever be accomplished, almost all of the behaviors that conservatives are presently so fixated upon will fall back to the national averages.

They must look at the current state of poverty for what it is and make a concerted effort to end it— right now; and not be left behind.

▼ *Grilled cheese for one dollar? This photo was taken during the Grateful Dead escapade through Chapel Hill. Although many groupies are by no means poor, many do make their money by begging on the streets, and selling worthless goods.*

CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

OPINION **BY JENNIFER DURHAM**

Liberal bias in poll distorts results

IS THE BIANNUAL CAROLINA POLL BIASED FROM THE BEGINNING AND ARE ITS QUESTIONS LOADED TO ENCOURAGE CERTAIN RESPONSES?

When Joel Brinkley spoke to a class in the University's School of Journalism and Mass Communication in the Fall of 1992, he conceded that he and most of his comrades in the media did not habitually vote for conservatives. But Brinkley assured students that ideology had little effect on the way reporters delivered the news.

Why, then, do many Americans complain that the media display obvious liberal bias when it reports the news? Evidence surely exists to support this claim, but why do some have so much trouble finding it? A glance at a typical story usually reveals a relatively objective account of the event the reporter covered.

The bias problem lies somewhere else. When a member of the media decides what constitutes "newsworthiness," he or she demonstrates a bias. This bias often stems from the assumption that an omnipresent government can and should help a particular problem. Some other common suppositions the media makes are: 1. Problems certain groups identify usually constitute actual problems, and 2. Most members of certain groups (minorities, women, etc.) pursue the same goals. For example, when the media report that the government has been doing very little to solve a perpetual unemployment problem, they assume that government action can and should rectify the problem.

One finds many such hidden assumptions in the questions pollsters ask their respondents, and in the answer choices. The formulators of the University's own Carolina Poll, have, in recent history, written many questions based on the above assumptions.

Since the late 1970's, the Journalism School has conducted the Carolina Poll twice a year in conjunction with the Institute for Research in Social Science (IRSS). Reporting students and graduate students call almost 600 people across North Carolina and ask for their opinions on current issues. Currently, Professor Philip Meyer oversees its operation. According to Meyer, faculty from the JOMC school and the IRSS formulate the poll's questions, with the latter acting as a broker between other faculty members.

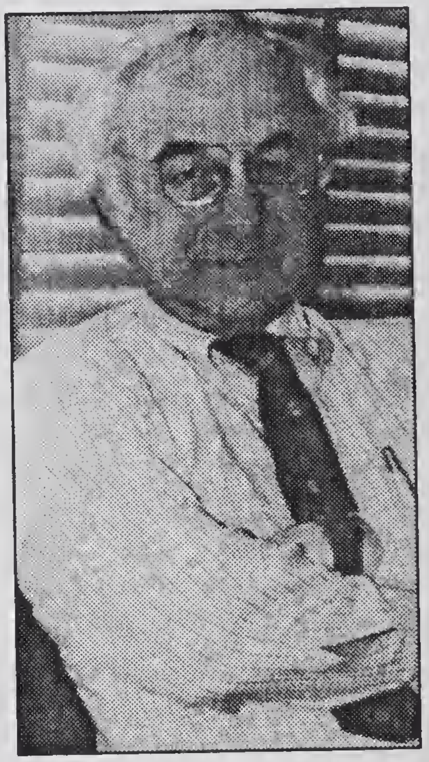
According to Beverly Wiggins of the IRSS, the Carolina Poll incurs two main expenses and sometimes a third. The IRSS must purchase the telephone sample (approximately $500) and pay the long distance telephone bill (approximately $1500). This year the Journalism did not have enough students and paid people $200 to finish the job. "IRSS is state funded, and it comes out of our budget," Wiggins said. With just $2200 of taxpayer money, pollsters can learn pertinent information about North Carolina residents, right? Wrong.

When I asked a Wake County man some of the poll's questions about homosexuality, he said I was asking him loaded questions.

Consider question #24 from the Spring 1993 Carolina Poll: "Do you think government is doing enough to prevent attacks against gays or lesbians, or should government be doing more? The following answers were: 1. Doing enough, 2. Should be doing more, 3. Other (volunteered) and 4. Don't know/no answer.

A typical anti-government answer of the people I polled was that the issue was none of the government's business Yet these pollsters had to choose "other."

Question #13 from the Fall 1991 poll reads as follows: Here are two statements which people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of these statements comes closer to your own point of view? The choices: 1. Protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of curbing economic growth and 2. Economic growth should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.



CRITIC PHOTO BY ANNA YARUR

Journalism Professor Phil Meyer

Oversees the Carolina polll

The assumption that lie
under this question is tha
the environment must suffe
if someone, i.e. the govern
ment, does not place restric
tions aimed at preserving th
environment on businesses
What about those wh
believe that a less-regulate
economy helps foste
improved technology tha
will help solve future envi
ronmental problems? Neithe
of these answers fits int
their answer choices. Agai
the pollster must classify
under another miscellaneou
category.

Another weakness com
mon to Carolina Poll que
tion formulators is that the
concretely define problem
for the respondent when
significant number of peop
disagree that the proble
actually exists. For example, formulato
prefaced a series of questions in the Fa
1991 poll with the following statement: I'
going to read you a list of environment
problems. Tell me if you personally wor
about this problem....Question #21 as
about global warming. Isn't it unfair f
pollsters to define global warming as a pro
lem when many scientists don't?

Finally, examine question #35 from t
Fall 1992 poll: What about women? Do y
think women have too much influenc
about the right amount of influence, or t
little influence in American life and po
tics? To whom do the formulators refer he
Gloria Steinem or Phyllis Schlafly?
respondent wanting to argue that only fe
nists have too much influence is out of l
because the question assumes that
women pursue the same goals.

I cannot argue that the formulators
the Carolina Poll consciously injected lib
al bias into their questions, or that all of
questions reflected liberal bias. What I
argue is that their own assumptions cau
them to formulate some questions in a
ticular manner which is very obvious
those who disagree with those assumptio
In the recent polls, I found no questi

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with a solution to the spotted owl controversy [we suggest the following: deport spotted owls to the new federal parks and recreation sites, where officials will surely grant them political asylum].

33. Oppose increased reliance on nuclear power. [The government can't tax it as much as coal or natural gas.]
34. Charge higher fees for nuclear waste disposal. [And increase the incidence of illegal dumping? Good call!]
35. Establish a Democracy Corps that would send American volunteers to countries that need their help. [I'm afraid that the U.S. would find itself close to the top of that list.]
36. Sign a bill that would allow people to register to vote when they get their driver's licences. [And if you're too lazy to actually vote, the Democrats'll do that for you, too.]
37. Forbid drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge [we detect the Vice President's influence on this one].
38. Establish a "Rebuild America" fund which would spend $20 billion a year on a national information network, transportation, environmental technology and conversion of defense [$20 billion? Pocket change].
39. Support the North American Free Trade Agreement, but with tougher environmental and worker retraining rules.
40. Oppose federal gas tax increases.
41. Sign the Brady bill, which would require a five-day waiting period on handgun purchases.
42. Cut White House and Congressional staff 25 percent.
43. Ban assault rifles and restrict access to multiple-round clips.
44. Phase out the jobs of 100,000 federal workers. [Part of the economic stimulus, we presume.]
45. Put 100,000 new police officers on the streets of America. [Wow, what a coincidence! Maybe we just retrain the 100,000 federal mail room clerks we just fired and give 'em a beat.]
46. Establish national standards in education in core subjects, along with a national examination system.
47. Reform foreign aid to save $2 billion. [If we're so in debt, why don't our aid checks bounce? and who'd charge us if they did?]
48. Compel special interest groups to register with the Office of Government Ethics within 30 days of contact with a federal official [Go ahead, laugh, we are].
49. Allow cities to redirect 15 percent of their federal aid to meet community needs. [Isn't that what aid is for anyway?]
50. Restore funding to United Nations population stabilization efforts. [Hell, do better than that, just send 'em Dr. Kervorkian.]

CANDIDATE CLINTON
BOLD CHANGE!
NEW IDEAS!
VIGOR!
LEADERSHIP!
CAMPAIGN PROMISES
PRESIDENT CLINTON
NOT GONNA DO IT....
WOULDN'T BE PRUDENT!
NOT AT THIS JUNCTURE!
BUDGET DEFICIT

Carolina Poll

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

based on the assumption that limited government is a better alternative than big government, and in many instances the answers did not allow for such a viewpoint. I have already shown some of the questions and answers I found based on the opposite assumption.

A good opinion survey should not consist of questions based on a variety of viewpoints. Instead, it should contain neutral questions whose answer choices reflect a true variety of viewpoints. The task of creating neutral questions with fair answers, an objective which Carolina Poll formulators have not recently reached, requires the input of at least two or three people with truly different viewpoints.

The Carolina Poll contains two types of questions: those which can truly gain a feel for the opinions of North Carolinians and those based on assumptions that don't allow for the full reflection of the complexities of issues. If the state must waste more than $2,000 of our money on the Carolina Poll twice a year, and it shouldn't, it should make sure all of the questions and answers allow for a true reflection of the opinions of North Carolinians.

Remember him?

Sorry to scare you.

THE CRITIC IS DEDICATED TO PROMOTING COMMON SENSE IN THE LIBERAL POLITICAL WORLD THAT SURROUNDEDS US. WE WILL HAVE A MEETING WEDNESDAY APRIL 14.

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CAROLINA CRITIC
CHAPEL HILL NC 27599

PUBLISHER'S PHONE (MARK): 967-5488
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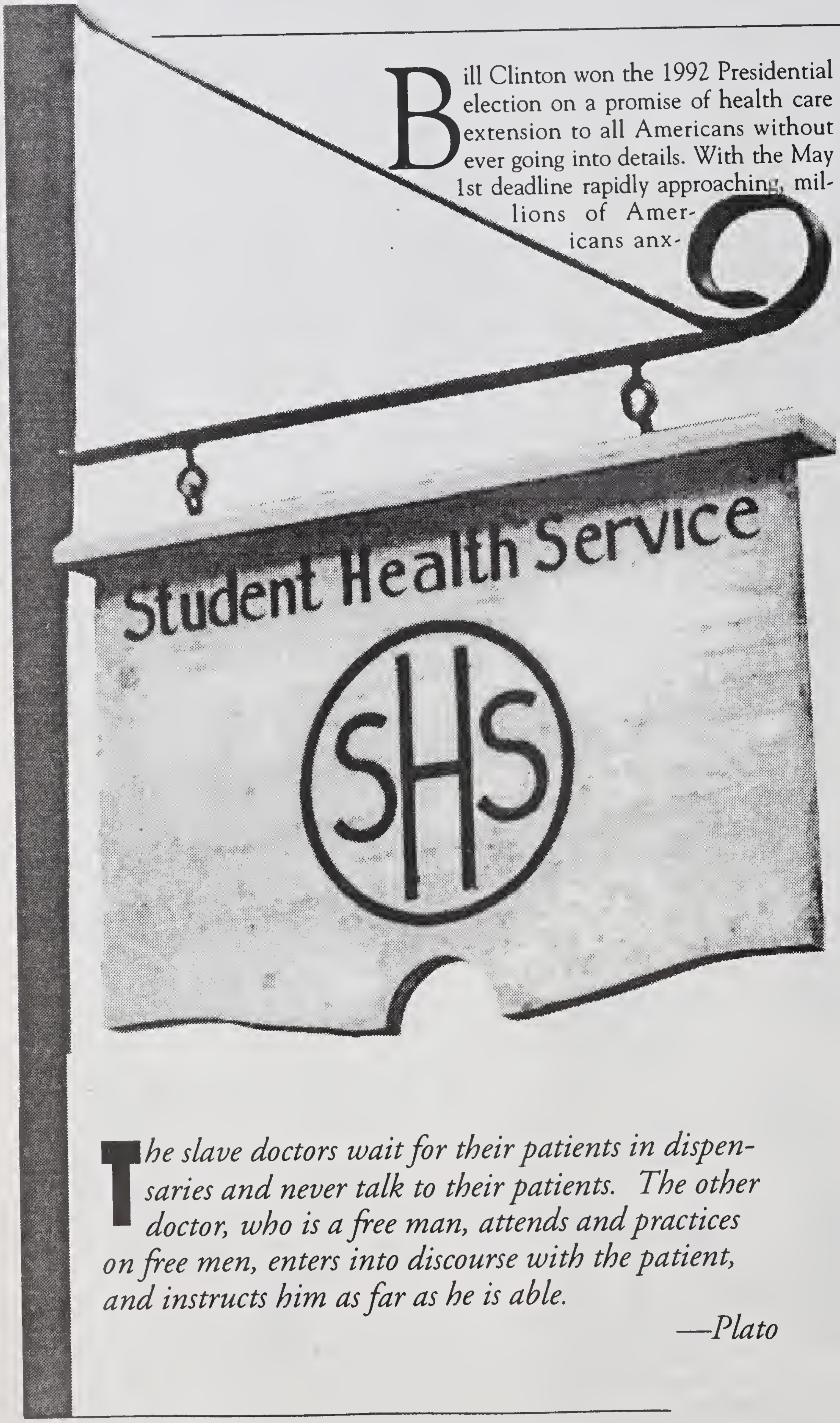
NEWS & FEATURES **BY CHUCK BRIDGES**

Clinton health care plan headed in wrong direction

Clinton's health care plan seems vaguely similar to our own Student Health Service, and to many students that seems frightening.



Bill Clinton won the 1992 Presidential election on a promise of health care extension to all Americans without ever going into details. With the May 1st deadline rapidly approaching, millions of Americans anxiously await to hear the proposals of the Health Care Reform Task Force headed by First Lady Hillary R. Clinton.

Questions and debate focus on the extent of the proposed reform. Much of this debate focuses on the idea of a uniform national health care system. Will this be a socialistic system and is it too idealistic? Who will benefit and who will lose? And most imporantly, who will pay?

"The major defect of the Clinton plan to institute national health care is that it attempts to combine the conflicting strategies of a free-market system and socialized medicine," said the vice president and director of domestic policy studies of the Heritage Foundation in an essay published in January.

"Price controls don't mix with competition," Dr. Stuart M. Butler stated in his essay titled "Th Contradictions in the Clinton Health Plan."

Under the Clinton plan, a National. Healt Board would develop a national health budget covering all health spending. The budget woul then be divided into global budgets for states an perhaps groups of doctors.

Under the plan most Americans would hav their choice of local managed care networks, systems of doctors and insurers. These network would receive a capitation fee from employers an the government. Other Americans, at the behes of their employers, would be enrolled in compan health care plans, which could severely limit th medical services allowed to policy holders. Th plan would also address drug companies by eliminating traditional tax breaks to these companies.

Butler goes on to point out that, as note above, employers would yield great discretion to the type, variety and degree of services th employees would be entitled to under the comp ny coverage package. This elimination of patie choice would cut to the very heart of the medic profession's innovation and discovery of new tec niques because consumers would not be able pursue treatments or surgeries that might deemed extravagant or unnecessary by the go ernment. This is truly frightening.

With the institutionalization of health care, with all government activities, insurance, medic and doctors' groups will surface and lobby the go ernment on their constituents' behalf. This

> *The slave doctors wait for their patients in dispensaries and never talk to their patients. The other doctor, who is a free man, attends and practices on free men, enters into discourse with the patient, and instructs him as far as he is able.*
>
> *—Plato*

what happens whenever the government interferes with activities normally regulated by the free-market. Absent the regulation of the market to set price and other features of a product or service, lobbyists attempt to define those measures by buying Congress.

There are weaknesses in the current insurance plan which the Clinton administration's proposal would attempt to address, one of which is employers control over their employees' health insurance. Many companies substitute benefits like insurance for wages. Employers can also change carri- ers, increase deductibles and reduce cover- age.

The primary strength of and motivation or support of Clinton's proposal is universal coverage. Workers would have insurance provided by their companies, the self- mployed would receive a tax deduction 00 percent the cost of insurance, and the nemployed would be included in publicly- ponsored purchasing groups.

Consequently, prices would be strictly ontrolled under this new "health care sys- em." Of course, in a country so firmly root- d in the capitalist system, price controls re a sensitive subject regardless of how oble the cause may be.

The Clinton plan is a step towards ationalized health care for Americans, ith only vestiges of a free market remain- ng. A look at socialized health care as eveloped in Great Britain and Canada rovides some interesting insights as to the ospects of a similiar system here.

"Many Canadians seek health care in the nited States," said Dr. Jeffrey S. Morris in speech given to The Heartland Institute. orris is a surgeon who practiced in anada for seven years and now lives in leveland. The Globe and Mail, Canada's tional newspaper, goes on to report that e Premier of Quebec traveled to the U.S. have a malignant tumor removed from s back.

"If the health care system in Canada is so od and so equitable," Morris asked, "why the country's leaders go to the U.S. for alth care while everyone else must stand line?" In 1990, Morris said, the Ontario alth Insurance Program paid $214 mil- n to U.S. doctors and hospitals for ser- es provided to Canadians. He also cited ny other cases of Canadians seeking dical treatment in the U.S., such as the patients sent from the medical society Windsor, Ontario, to Detroit in 1991 for n heart surgery.

reat Britain's health care system has ibles also. Chris Moore, a freshman who up in England, said, "you have long waits" with socialized medicine. "It's not an option for the general public to get certain kinds of treatment," the biology major said. "If you're brought in with your arm hanging down by a thread, you're going to be seen immediately, but if you need elective surgery you'll have to wait," Moore said.

Socialized medicine can even be found right here in "The Southern Part of Heaven." Students here at UNC have a unique opportunity to see a form of socialized medicine in action. Ours is the UNC Student Health Services (SHS).

Director of SHS, Judith R. Cowan, MD, said that SHS is entirely paid for by its users. It receives no state or federal tax money. Approximately 75 percent of SHS's budget, $4.5 million, comes directly from student fees and the remaining $1.5 million is paid by students for such services as X-rays, after-hour service, specialty clinics and in-patient service. Cowan went on to say however that there is an attempt to reduce the amount of out-of-pocket cost to the student by making available a student health insurance supplemental. Clinton's health care proposal is similar to SHS. Money spent out-of-pocket would be kept to a minimum, while fees (taxes) and insurance costs are forced up.

According to Cowan, four out of the last six years a requested increase in student health fees was denied, making it difficult to remain in budget. For instance, a mere 2 percent salary increase would mean over $100,000 in increased cost. "We are blessed with a very highly qualified staff," Cowan said.

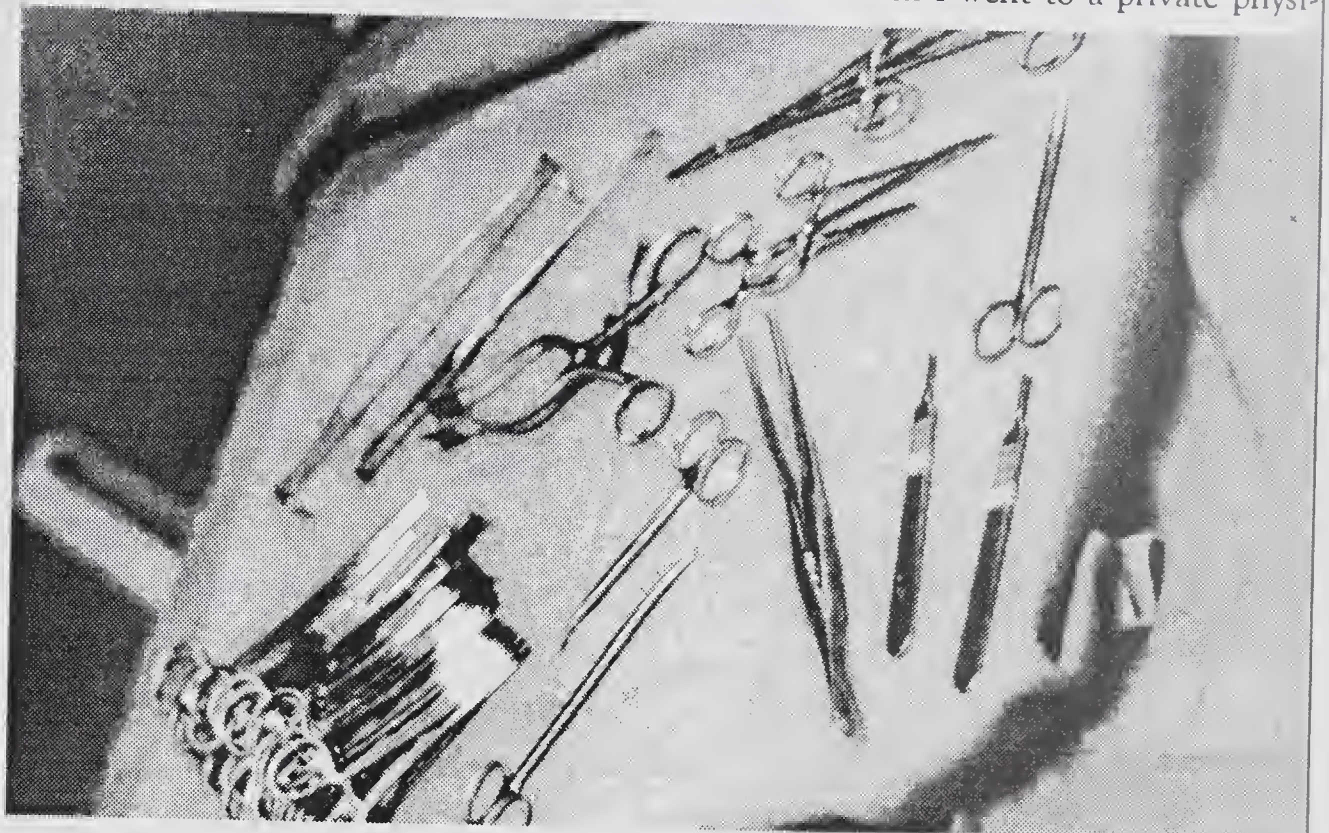
Is the SHS staff "highly qualified"? Are they knowledgeable, available, and friendly? Would you prefer this system for the rest of your life? Some students would respond with a resounding "no" and wonder if, when competition is removed from the medical profession, the American public may not be so blessed. Sophomore Chris White said of SHS, "I think it is just like socialized medicine. We're all paying for it, but we don't get much choice about it."

An anonymous football player also has gripes with Student Health. "They don't have any incentive to help," he said.

He said: "I pulled my hamstring four times and until I went to a private physician I was not diagnosed properly. They were 100% better. They tried new things and worked with me. Student Health advised me to give up."

Other students report similar incidences of misdiagnoses or no diagnoses at all.

Student Health is a microcosm of the way the proposed Clinton health plan would operate and yet many students have serious objections to Student Health. If a limited service like Student Health has such vocal detractors and Canadians and English leave their own country to escape their nationalized health plans, how will the Clinton team provide a similiar, viable service to the United States?



CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

THE MAIN PROBLEM WITH CLINTON'S PLAN TO INSTITUTE NATIONAL HEALTH CARE IS THAT IT ATTEMPTS TO COMBINE THE CONFLICTING STRATEGIES OF A FREE-MARKET SYSTEM AND SOCIALIZED MEDICINE.

COMPILED BY JENNIFER DURHAM

50 Clinton campaign promises

With the Clinton Administration running full steam, most Americans will expect the president to deliver on a few of his campaign promises and others will hope he fails to deliver on the rest of them. In order to help our fellow UNC students reconcile the Administration's actions with Bill's words, we at the Critic have compiled a handy list of his promises, proposals and suggestions.

1. Nominate supporters of abortion rights supporters to fill vacancies on the Supreme Court [never mind legal background or an objective interpretation of the Constitution].
2. Support Washington D.C.'s quest for statehood. [Senator Jackson, Governor Barry?]
3. End taxpayer subsidies for honey producers [way to trim that budget, Bill].
4. Repeal the ban on homosexuals in the military. [Money that we would have saved by cutting military spending can now be used to build separate facilities for straight men, gay men, straight women and gay women. Wow! what a peace dividend.]
5. Use the Internal Revenue Service to collect child support payments, and institute a national "deadbeat" data bank.
6. For every dollar the administration cuts from the defense budget in research and development, he'll increase civilian r&d by the same amount [and probably a lot more].
7. Increase funding to understand behavior that places people in the high-risk category for contracting AIDS. [Why does Bill need to know how to shoot up heroin? Oh, that's right, his wife.]
8. Increase the number of women and minorities that hold top positions in the government [regardless of their qualifications].
9. Allow parents to choose which public school their children attend. [Hey, you're lucky to get this choice. Don't push it and ask to send your kid to school with Chelsea.]
10. Increase the high school graduation rate by the year 2000 to 90 percent, from 71 percent. [Proposed Solution: pass out more condoms and allow students to have sex for P.E. credit.]
11. Stiffen the economic embargo on Haiti [so more Haitians will want to come to the United States].
12. Institute a 36% tax bracket for families with gross adjusted incomes exceeding $200,000 [Bill changed his mind and now its just families with incomes].
13. Step up fines for corporate polluters by more than $10 billion in four years.
14. Require top appointees to pledge not to lobby their government agencies for five years after they leave [perhaps George Stephanopolous inspired this one].
15. Oppose an independent Palestinian homeland. [If I were a Palestinian, I'd take this as a serious snub coming from a man who wants to protect the spotted owls' homeland.]
16. Link trade privileges with human rights/liberalization improvements in China. [Yeltsin hopes that this one passes.]
17. Increase minimum wage rates to keep up with inflation. [Fact:Increasing the minimum wage rate increases inflation.]
18. Forbid companies from permanently replacing workers who go on strike.
19. Create a standard claim form for all insurance companies. [Maybe they should master simplifying the tax forms first.]
20. Spend more on education and training for welfare recipients. [Exactly how much education and training does it take to be a welfare recipient.]
21. Use closed military bases to provide housing for the homeless [replace jobs with jobless].
22. Give Haitians a chance for political asylum in the United States. [But they have to promise to take Jerry Brown first.]
23. No net loss of wetlands.[Under the broader definition of "wetlands", the Franklin Street bar scene will qualify now.]
24. Provide people with "smart cards," which will be coded with personal information. [If they're so damn smart what do they need the card for?]
25. Crack down on foreign competitors' unfair trading practices [hello, protectionism].
26. Require welfare recipients to take jobs after two years of receiving payments. [a novel idea, but shouldn't people try the job before welfare?]
27. Do away with tax breaks for companies that raise drug prices faster than Americans' incomes increase. [Yea, give 'em an excuse to raise the prices even more.]
28. Reduce NATO troops in Europe to between 75,000 and 100,000.
29. Increase federal funding for AIDS research and treatment. [Ignore the fact that cancer still kills more people.]
30. Require employers to provide employees with health insurance.
31. Create new federal parklands and recreation sites. [Translate: Economic stimulus for the RV industry.]
32. Bring together environmentalists, loggers and other interests to come up

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HE CAROLINA CRITIC

LUME VI, ISSUE 8

APRIL 28, 1993

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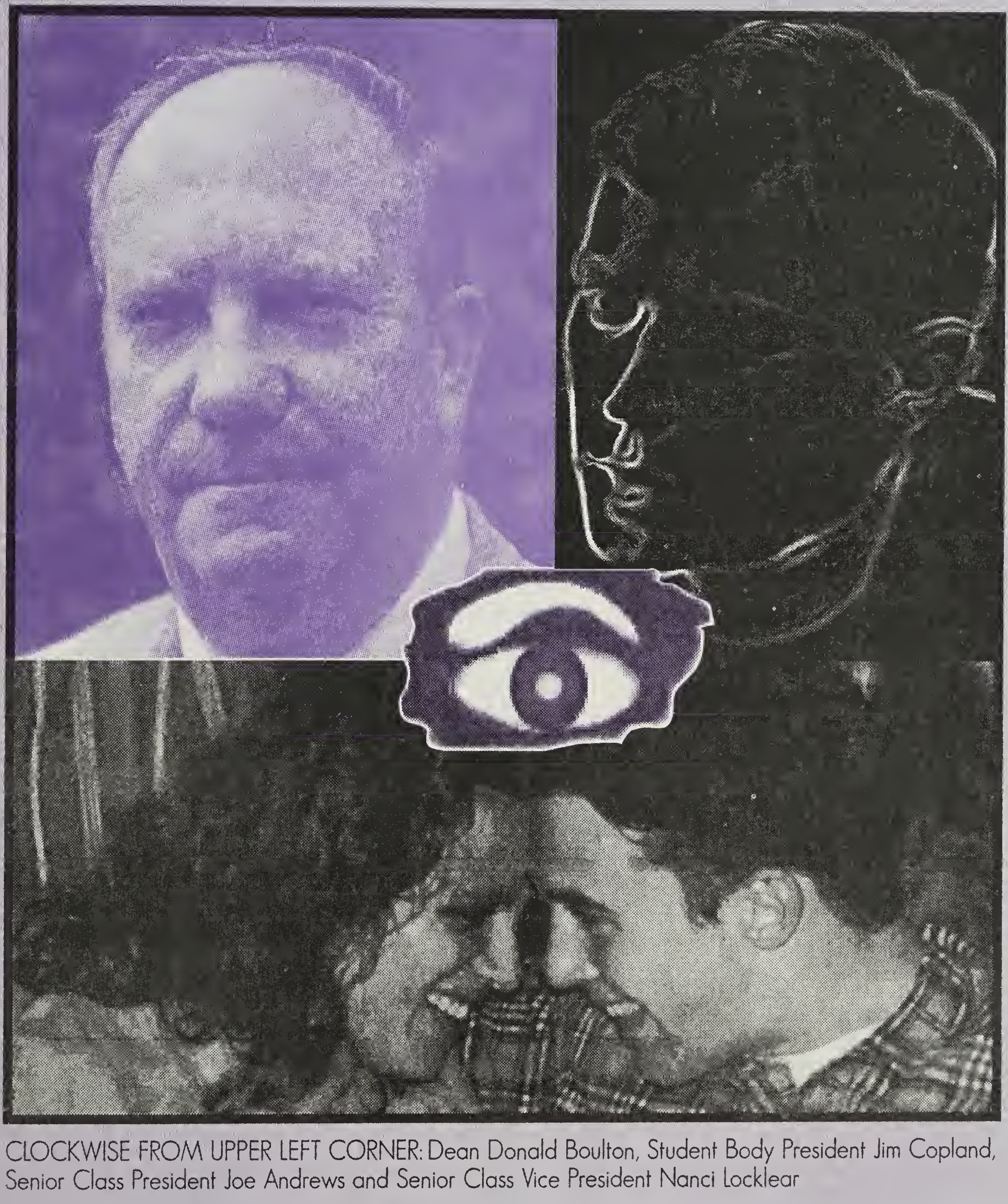
A LOOK AHEAD: 1993-1994



CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER LEFT CORNER: Dean Donald Boulton, Student Body President Jim Copland, Senior Class President Joe Andrews and Senior Class Vice President Nanci Locklear

"Two thumbs up."

At the seminar:
—David Nickoll, Williams College, and David Yagobian, Antioch College

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IHS The Institute for Humane Studies
at George Mason University

THE CAROLINA CRITIC

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THE CRITIC COVER

Dean Boulton, Jim Copland, Joe Andrews and Nanci Locklear are only a sample of campus leaders featured inside.

Boulton, Andrews and Locklier photos courtesy of The Daily Tar Heel. Copland photo by Molly Vogt.

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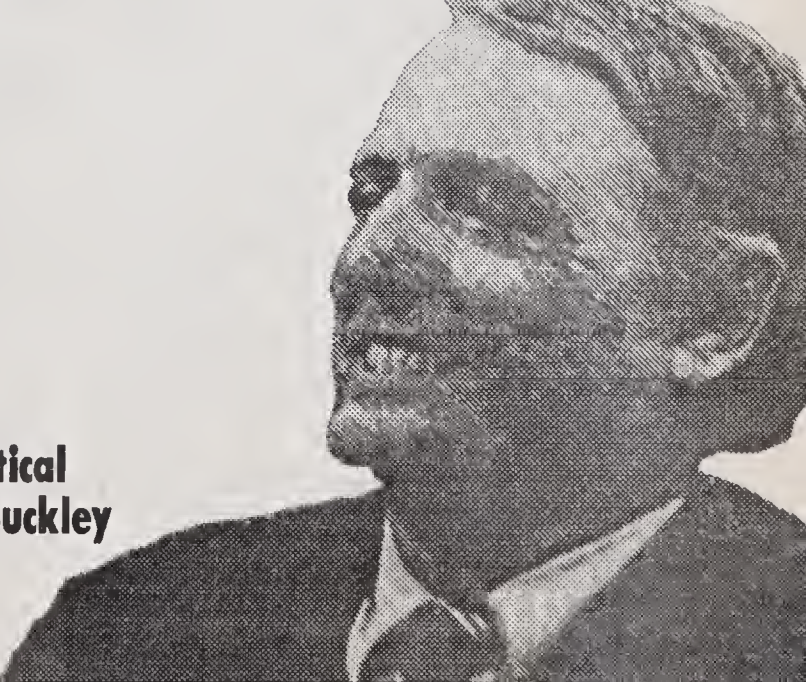

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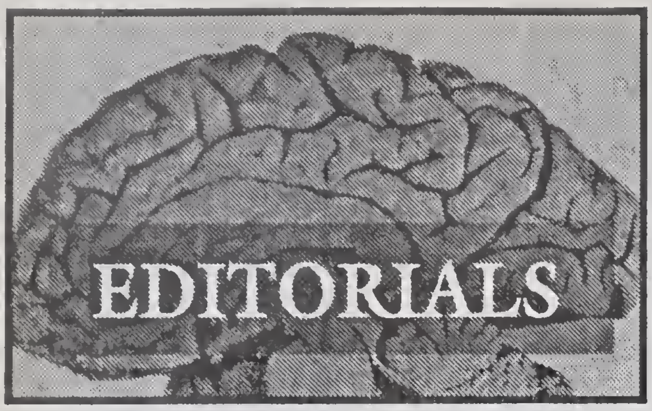

EDITORIALS

DTH almost right about Rev. Jackson

Could *The Daily Tar Heel* actually have given some thought and time to producing a piece for its editorials? It seems to be a real possibility after reading the paper's editorials regarding the Reverend Jesse Jackson's speech and the anointing of the Wilson site by a pastor from Vance County. But try not to be to quick to jump to assumptions while the editorial board may have been critical of these events, their reasoning lacked any rational criticism of the status of the BCC movement to most students on this campus.

Jackson came to campus, and part of his speech encouraged students to become involved in the struggle (a term used loosely since it seems to be a foregone fact that the building will be built) for the BCC at the Wilson site. His tone suggested that some of the best days of his life were spent in jails in Greensboro, and students here should give it a try, and not miss this opportunity to spend some quality time on the inside of a prison. Forget classes, forget education, this is a chance to relive the good old days of the Civil Rights Movement. Clearly, seventeen students followed his advice by moving their sit-in into Chancellor Paul Hardin's office and subsequently were arrested.

Well, naturally *The DTH* did not criticize this aspect of the Reverend's speech. It chose, instead, to suggest that Jackson did not further the cause of the BCC but simply highlighted his own Rainbow Coalition's drive to organize student athletes. Nevermind his press-mongering goal to be involved in anything and everything to which he can possibly get his name attached. Nevermind his encouraging impressionable students to get themselves arrested. Nevermind that he spent more time talking about how many buildings are named for whites as compared to how many buildings are named for blacks. Clearly these are the most important aspects in the struggle, not the state of race relations on this campus or the importance of the education that takes place in these buildings that are dominated by dead white males.

Regarding the anointing of the Wilson site, *The Daily Tar Heel*, as to be expected, completely missed the point. The Reverend Leon White, associate of Ben Chavis who is the new director of the National Association for the Advancement of (Liberal-per Rush Limbaugh) Colored People, declared the site of the future BCC holy. Let's just set aside for a moment that this was a front page headline when fewer than forty people attended and let's ignore the fact that this was purely a media production. The Reverend White said, "This is our land...Let no one build anything else on this land without giving up your life for it." One more outstanding suggestion from the national African-American community.

The DTH, predictably, chose not to find fault with this extremist point of view but with the fact that he represented the church. The editorial said "...the BCC will truly serve as an outreach to all cultures, then it's an insult to bring Jesus into the foray." How open-minded. How accepting. How politcally correct. All cultures, to *The DTH*, clearly means all those cultures that have the same political agenda as *The Daily Tar Heel*, not that small, unnoticeable percentage of the population that happens to be Christian.

This leads to one concluding question: Will *The DTH* fight to keep the BSM Gospel Choir from using BCC facilities? What a true dilemma for its editorial board.

BCC group uses racism as a club

In recent months, campus radicals have been out in full form. Each day we are told of demands for a black cultural center, followed by demands for where this center will be placed, and were even so blessed as to have the kingpin of race "relations", none other than Reverend Jesse to come and purge us of our backwardness. The Reverend also came prepared with some demands of his own; that the athlete's not participate in order to publicize the plight for a Black Cultural Center. Given the implications for students who are on scholarship, this clearly cannot be taken seriously. What is to be criticized about the movement is not necessarily what the movement stands for but the manipulative use of race as a club with which to beat the administration and any dissenting students into submission.

CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

It seems ironic that although 58% of students polled by *The Daily Tar Heel*, thought that a free-standing black cultural center will prevent integration of whites and blacks on campus, that the only discourse that has transpired on the subject has been between campus radicals and the administration. What ever happened to academic freedom? It seems that the message has been, "you are free to shut up and agree, or you know what we'll call you?" That's right, the "R" word. Given the intensity of political correctness on this campus, that one word alone is powerful enough to stifle any intelligent debate which drives all opposition underground to fester and seethe and widen the chasm between the races. It would seem that given the academic setting from which this controversy has blossomed, a perfect atmosphere for debate and discussion would evolve. It is in the hallowed halls of the classrooms and lecture halls that this issue ought to be explored, not by marching all over campus with racially loaded signs and self-righteous demands. The explanation that has been given as to the reason for the center was to educate people, presumably white people about the black experience and culture. However, given the means of obtaining this "educational" facility, I fear that the very people that the center is aimed toward, the other 92% of the student body, will view it not as an opportunity for enlightenment, but a center for crazed radicals of all races.

The purpose of a university is to provide an environment in which all students can explore the magnitude of educational opportunities that exist. This must be an atmosphere of satiation through natural intellectual curiosity not intimidation and fear. It is this intimidation and fear that has been at the root of the radical movement on campus. However, in the end, it is not the self-righteous radicals or the Chancellor that are ultimately to blame. The radicals are only reliving a fantasy of a day gone by and the Chancellor has to think of the reputation of the university. The one's to bear the responsibility for this situation are you and I. We have remained silent and refused to challenge this self-righteous campaign of threats and intimidation, and now complain about the results. In the years to come, when the troops of the self-righteous erect their fortress of racial separatism, we can only hope that time will heal the gashes in race relations that this movement has carved. Maybe then students can again uninhibitedly explore all this great university has to offer.

Who's responsible for the Waco fires

THE CULT MEMBERS SEEM TOTALLY BRAINWASHED, AND STILL PLACE THEIR BLIND FAITH IN A FALSE SAVIOR OFFERING HOLLOW PROMISES OF SALVATION!
...AND THAT CONCLUDES OUR REPORT FROM THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE!
GORRELL

The fires outside Waco had not even died to embers before Attorney General Janet Reno was saying, "The buck stops with me." Good for her; it's rare to see any government official take responsibility for anything other than sponsoring Earth Day or National Lasagna Month. But does the buck actually stop with her? Who, after all, is her boss? Who chose her to be attorney general? And who approved her nomination? What type of department does she oversee that precipitates the carnage that saw the death of 88 people?

Shed no tears for most of them. Anyone stupid enough to follow a moron like David Koresh into the wilds outside Waco let alone dumb enough not to run from an apocalyptic fire pretty much deserves what he or she gets.

But there are 17 children under the age of 10 dead, and someone has to answer for it. The government can't put all the blame on Koresh because those children were alive on Day 50 before the government tanks moved in, and they were dead on Day 51 after the FBI ordered those tanks to knock holes in the buildings and pour tear gas inside. Non-lethal tear gas, the FBI was quick to point out, but tear gas nonetheless that provoked precisely the conflagration Koresh had been predicting for months before the standoff. Anyone with a lick of sense would have known widespread death or a mass suicide-murder pact was possible.

No, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the FBI bungled the operation from the beginning. Eventually they grew impatient and tired of looking impotent before the eyes of the world, and they charged in with tanks and tear gas against a pinhead who was holding 17 small children hostage and known to be out of touch with reality. The result was predictable, as predictable as the torch that burned Los Angeles after the first Rodney King verdict.

Now Janet Reno, who moved with stunning alacrity to bathe her boss in absolution, and Congress are promising a full investigation. How many committees, subcommittees and panels will issue reports is uncertain, but be convinced they will be as eager to get at the truth as the Warren Commission. What we're being asked to believe is that two branches of government headed by the same party will arrive at and publicize the whole truth. Look back for a moment and be honest about how much confidence you have in Congress to police itself. Remember the Keating Five? Now we're expected to believe Congress, giddy with excitement over the first liberal president in 12 years, will be thorough and responsible in investigating the administration's choice for attorney general, a women it happily confirmed just weeks ago.

Would Congress have allowed Nixon's Justice Department to investigate? Or Reagan's? Hardly.

So who will investigate the country's chief law enforcement officer? The men and women who work for her? It's hardly likely any report is going to lay too much blame on her, no matter where the buck is supposed to stop. And after she moved so quickly to isolate her boss, there's no likelihood he will accept any culpability.

There are 17 young children dead, as well as four agents who were killed the first day, and someone must answer for it.

Here's a suggestion: It's an opportunity for Congress to put to use one of its favorite tools, one it has used to spend millions of dollars of tax money to hound officials of administrations it was at odds with for 12 years. Appoint a special prosecutor, give him the power to subpoena, give him a staff and office space and tell him to issue a report — and indictments, if necessary — when he's done.

In fact, a candidate springs to mind. Currently he's a Distinguished Fellow at the Heritage Foundation and a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institute at Stanford; he has a degree from Yale and a law degree from the U.Cal-Berkeley; he was a deputy district attorney in Alameda (Calif.) County; he was secretary of legal affairs and later executive assistant and chief of staff to the governor of California; he was director of the Center for Criminal Justice Policy and Management at the University of San Diego; professor of law at USD; and then U.S. attorney general. Impeccable credentials.

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
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Volume VI, No. 8

THE CRITICAL EYE

• According to the *Wall Street Journal*, after a recent speech at Wellesley College on the merits of Afrocentrism several students were chastised for questioning the validity of the speakers assertions. The speaker, Yosef A.A. ben-Jochannan, was challenged on the following points:

• Socrates was a figment of Plato's imagination (Evidence of Socrates existence comes from many different sources including his contemporaries).

• Plato was taught some Egyptian "mystery" system of philosophy by sages (There is no evidence that such a mystery system existed and no literature concerning Greco-Egyptian philosophy appeared until 500 years after Plato).

• Aristotle sacked the Library of Alexandria and stole his philosophy from ancient Egyptians (There is no evidence that Aristotle ever went to Egypt and even if he had it seems unlikely that he ransacked the library since it wasn't built until after Aristotle had assumed room temperature).

• The Rev. Jesse Jackson recently visited our campus to encourage racial harmony and promote multicultural Utopia. After speaking, the liberal advocate of tolerance flew to Hymietown for another engagement.

• Jackson's visit did serve to encourage 17 students to get themselves on TV. The group, dubbed the UNC 17, as we all know was arrested in a staged media event to further alienate would be BCC supporters. Listen up guys, the trick is to *gain* support for a cause not piss people off by calling them racist and ignorant.

• From Dennis Miller's recent HBO special on Ted Kennedy: If he's such a ladies man, why does it take him nine hours to open a woman's car door?

• On Barbara Streisand's call to boycott Colorado for failing to give special rights to homosexuals: Other than telling you what to do with your life, Barbara Streisand doesn't want to have anything to do with you. Try calling Barbara's agent to set up an appointment to discuss the plight of the common man. You'll have a better chance of finding Amelia Earhardt.

• On Manuel Noriega finding Jesus in a Dade County, Florida jail: I don't want to rain on your parade but every other guy in there is named Jesus.

• *National Review* tells us that at the recent Vancouver summit Boris Yeltsin urged Bill Clinton to move toward a market economy.

• Sol Wachtler, Chief Judge of New York's Supreme Court, is pleading insanity to extortion charges. His plea has caused an interesting problem because it seems that prisoners who have been denied appeal by Judge Wachtler in the past are appealing his decisions. One plea being used: "Personal circumstances surrounding his life may have inhibited his ability to honestly evaluate my plea."

—*The New York Times*

• A colleague of sex statistician Kinsey, Lester Kirkendall, said in the mid-80's that sex between adults and children "will become legitimate after our sense of guilt diminishes."

• From the *Florida Review*: When potential victims of crime are armed they kill between 2,000 and 3,000 criminals each year while wounding an additional 9,000 to 17,000. Private citizens mistakenly kill 30 innocent people each year compared to 330 innocent people killed by police.

• Clinton thinks people are victims. Victims of a Republican administration - you remember how George Bush liked to sneak out of the White House at night to sell crack and get teenage girls pregnant.

-PJ O'Rourke

• Also from the *Florida Review*: Two secret service agents assigned to protect Bill Clinton during the campaign requested transfers because of the bitter fighting between Bill and Hillary. Maybe that explains Bill's swollen jaw.

• From our friends at *The Michigan Review*, just remember Bill Clinton is only a heartbeat away from the presidency.

Critic miscalculated *Phoenix* appropriations

To the Editor:

In my recent essay on *The Phoenix* ["Devolution of the Phoenix proves market failure of Congress" (2/3/93)], I claimed that the total costs of the Scapegoat computer system were $63,000 over ten years. My figures had been based on the projected costs of leasing the system through 1999 (as was originally requested by the *Phoenix* staff in 1989). I have since learned (i.e. been reminded) that Student Government stopped leasing the system and purchased it outright in October of 1992, bringing the total final costs to $32,000. I apologize for this error and any misleading implications it may have caused.

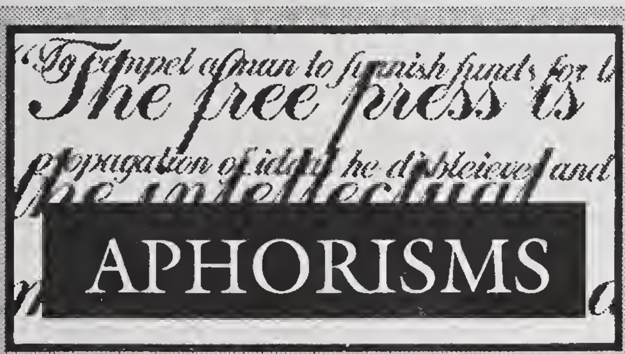
In a letter to the Editor in the 2/29/93 issue of *The Critic*, Phoenix Assistant Editor Brendan Smith worried that I had provided inaccurate information about funding levels for *The Phoenix*. As he pointed out, last year's Student Congress appropriated The Phoenix $5,000 (almost all of which disappeared halfway through the year). Still, prior to 1992, Student Congress typically funded *The Phoenix* much more than that (often well over $10,000 for non-Scapegoat funding). Funding levels have since gradually declined, partly to encourage the paper to fulfill its promise of eventual self-sufficiency. Regrettably, *The Phoenix* collapsed under its own weight.

Much of *The Phoenix's* student activity fees account was recently freed up for their use, so perhaps *The Phoenix* will survive after all. Still, *The Phoenix* must not forget its past. Without a reliable advertising base and sound financial management, the newspaper will fall again, potentially exposing the students to financial loss and/or liability.

Andrew I. Cohen
UNC Graduate Student

EDITOR'S NOTE: *I, personally, apologize to Mr. Cohen. We received his original correction concerning the costs of the Scapegoat system but failed to print it in the last issue. As a result, everyone on* The Critic *staff has promised to name their first born male child after Mr. Cohen.*

—M.A.B.


To compel a man to furnish funds for t
The free press is
propagation of ideas he disbelieves and
the intellectual

APHORISMS

If I had a hammer, there would be no folksingers.
-Anonymous

He's a fine friend. He stabs you in the front.
-Leonard L Levinson

I have given two cousins to war and I stand ready to sacrifice my wife's brother.
-Artemus Ward

There's a fine line between fishing and just standing on the shore like an idiot.
-Steven Wright

All flower children were as alike as a congress of accountants and about as interesting.
-John Mortimer

When people are free to do as they please, they usually imitate each other.
-Eric Hoffer

A good listener is usually thinking about something else.
-Kin Hubbard

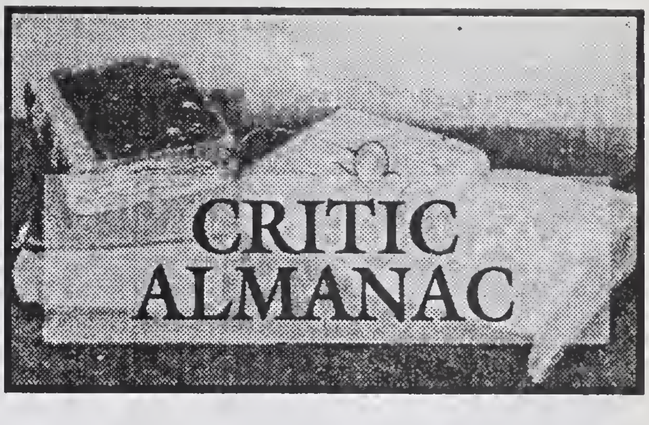
Familiarity breeds contempt and children.
-Mark Twain

Football combines the two worst features of American life: violence and committee meetings.
-George Will

If the French were really intelligent they would speak English.
-Wilfrid Sheed

Anyone nit-picking enough to write a letter of correction to an editor doubtless deserves the error that provoked it.
-Alvin Toffler

So what if she is heinous, I don't remember shit.
-JPG



CRITIC ALMANAC

Percentage of women who are victims of rape or attempted rape during their adult lives: 44

Number of women who are beaten at least once by their husbands: 2 in 3

Percentage of undergraduate women who are raped while in college: 25

Percentage of women who work in pornography or as prostitutes who were sexually abused as children: 80

Percentage of Americans who know the Clinton economic plan would raise federal spending by $250 billion: 45

Savings as a percentage of after tax income in Japan: 18.1

In Germany: 14.1

In the United States: 4.1

Percentage of 100 companies that had a worker convicted of selling drugs in the workplace: 40

Number of instant lottery tickets sold in the U.S. each year: 6 billion

Percentage of Texans who have had serious gambling problems: 4.8

Amount of money brought in yearly by slot machines in the top 14 Las Vegas casinos: 966 million

Sources: Wall Street Journal & FBI

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PROFILE **BY CRAIG HENDRIX**

REDEFINING AMERICAN POLITICS

The Uncompromising Life of a Conservative Radical

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

"I FEEL I QUALIFY SPIRITUALLY AND PHILOSOPHICALLY AS A CONSERVATIVE, BUT TEMPERAMENTALLY I AM NOT OF THE BREED" (TO TIME IN 1967).
—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"NO OTHER ACTOR ON EARTH CAN PROJECT SIMULTANEOUS HINTS THAT HE IS IN THE ACT OF PLAYING COMMODORE OF THE YACHT CLUB, JOSEPH GOEBBELS, ROBERT MITCHUM, MAVERICK, SAVONAROLA, THE NICE PREP-SCHOOL KID NEXT DOOR, AND THE SNOWS OF YESTERYEAR."
—NORMAN MAILER ON WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

William Frank Buckley Jr. has been credited with uniting a coherent and influential body of thinkers who fit the rubric of modern American conservatism. In the early 1950's, ideologues who gathered under the political banner of conservatism were typically segregationists and isolationists, i.e., they did not support a military resistance to the Third Reich. These two views hinted at racism, anti-Semitism, and even fascism. Only a few years out of Yale University, Buckley was able to make modern American conservatism an intellectually respectable political philosophy. As a popular moral essayist, he has successfully used the English language to raise the literary quality of popular American political discourse.

Buckley's political career arose directly out of his vigorous liberal arts education. One of ten children in an Irish-Catholic family, he was pushed to study by his father, Will Buckley, Sr. He enrolled his son at St. John's Beaumont, a private and prestigious Catholic school in England. The English influences he picked up at an early age would become apparent both in his language and elocution and in his confrontational debating style.

In 1943, he enrolled at the University of New Mexico, only to be summoned to serve in the United States Army before the end of his first year. He earned the rank of Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Infantry before he left in 1946. Although his term was short, he left the Army with a profound respect for the ideas of others, even those opposed to his own. "When I went to the Army, I learned the importance of tolerance, and the importance of a sense of proportion about all matters—even in regard to religion, morality, etc." This tolerance of others with differing political views would enable Buckley to make personal friends with public figures unsympathetic to conservatism, such as John Kenneth Galbraith and Norman Mailer.

When Buckley enrolled at Yale University in 1946, he was a member of the largest class of freshmen to date, numbering around 1500. Although his declared major was political science, he wa most interested in debate. Selected to the debat team as a freshman, his controversial views earne him both scorn and praise from many students an faculty before the end of his first year. He attracte a great deal of attention for both his views on academia—that Yale was teaching a secular and socialist bias—and for his debating style—that of usin sarcasm and biting humor to put his opponents at disadvantage. His arguments became well-know when he served as chairman of the Yale Daily New his senior year. He reorganized the editorial boar and succeeded in adding a conservative viewpoin on all issues. He would soon chronicle his experience at Yale in his first book, *God and Man* at Yale.

Prior to his senior year at Yale, Buckley met Pa Taylor, a hallmate of his sister Patricia Buckley a Vassar College. The two were introduced b Patricia, who immediately thought they were a perfect couple. "Pat looks like a queen, she acts like queen, and is just the match for Billy," she told the family. They were engaged in July, 1949, and wer married the following summer. In September, 1952 their only son was born, Christopher Buckley.

After the publishing success that arose from Go *and Man* at Yale in 1951, Buckley worked for th CIA in Mexico for two years. In 1954, Buckley coauthored McCarthy and His Enemies with a clos friend at *The Yale Daily News*, L. Brent Bozell Buckley recognized the gross exaggerations in M Carthy's accusations, but nevertheless, defende McCarthyism itself as long as it served to limi national security risks. He argued that communist should be dismissed from the U.S. government i there was sufficient evidence that they supporte Soviet foreign policy. To act otherwise would b fatal in the immediate post-World War II era Many liberals agreed with Buckley and Bozell an some went so far as to criticize the two for bein too restrained on the subject. Buckley and Boze were further lauded for rejecting any dismissal o the grounds of "loyalty risk" to U.S. interests; the argued that communists should be expected to pro

BUCKLEY AT A GLANCE

1925	Born in New York City
1943	Enters University of Mexico
1944-46	Serves as Second Lieutenant in U.S. Army
1946	Enters Yale University
1950	Graduates from Yale; marries Patricia Taylor
1951-2	Works for CIA in Mexico
1955	*National Review* founded
1959	Published *Up from Liberalism*
1960	Founded Young Americans for Freedom
1961	Founded New York State Conservative Party
1962	Begins weekly newspaper column "On the Right"
1965	Runs for mayor of New York City; wins 13.4% in a three way race
1964	Begins weekly television series "Firing Line"
1969	Appointed by President Nixon to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information
1972	Resigns from Advisory Commission on Information as protest against Nixon's leftist drift
1973	Appointed by President Nixon to the U.S. Delegation of the United Nations
1976	First Blackford Oakes' novel, Saving the Queen,
1990	Steps down as Editor in Chief of *National Review* to become Editor at Large
1992	Published *In Search of Anti-Semitism*
1992	Published *Windfall*
1993	April 20: Gives "Reflections on Current Contentions" speech at UNC-CH

mote communism (and the Soviet foreign policy it entailed) out of their duty to do what is best for the United States. Thus, to dismiss them for being disloyal to their country would be insufficient if they were doing what they thought was best.

For the next couple years, Buckley wrote for several periodicals, but left them unsatisfied. He decided to launch his own magazine; one that would unite conservative thinkers into a coherent body of opinion. He had met Will Schlamm in 1954 while working on McCarthy. Both worked effectively to publish 7,500 copies of the first issue of *National Review* on November 19, 1955. NR quickly became the nation's best-selling journal of conservative opinion. In April, 1993, the subscription list topped 200,000; that is, 209 of every 100,000 households receive NR.

In addition to *National Review*, Buckley began a column, "On the Right," in 1962 which is presently syndicated in over three hundred newspapers and appears in the fortnightly NR. He helped organize Young Americans for Freedom, now known as the Young America's Foundation, an organization that assists college students in funding noteworthy speakers on the Right. In April 1966, Buckley began "Firing Line," the longest running talk show under the original host today. He has written numerous books—polemics, Cold War espionage novels, sailing novels, a produced play, and a couple children's books—ran unsuccessfully for mayor of New York in 1965 on the Conservative Party ticket that he helped form, served on the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information and the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations under President Nixon, was a key influence on Ronald Reagan, and continues to tend a regular lecture circuit which concentrates on colleges and universities. Buckley enjoys an active leisure life that includes his passion of sailing and playing the harpsichord. He has made four transoceanic trips and has played the harpsichord in public performances.

Despite efforts of the popular media, Buckley has not been able to keep the label of "conservative" upon his halo for very long. While playing a large role in redefining the modern conservative movement, Buckley has always retained the right to dissent from anyone, even those on his staff. He caused a tremendous uproar within the conservative tent when he came out in support of the decriminalization of marijuana in 1972, primarily after being convinced by his son's use of marijuana and LSD, and his own experiments (for example, he sailed twelve miles off coast in 1972 to sample the herb because he didn't feel right talking about something he was unknowledgable of). In 1975, he published his views in *Execution Eve*. He adhered to the arguments of the libertarian sect within the party and argued that individuals have such a right so long as it does not infringe upon another's rights.

In two decades his position on the 'war on drugs' has progressed to the legalization of all drugs according to certain guidelines; for example, dealers convicted of selling to minors would face the death penalty. This view incorporates the moral concern that has always been a feature of Buckley's classical conservative strain. He no longer argues for the legalization of drugs just for the sake of individual rights. He feels that the best policy to decrease drug use is through legalization.

Not only will this decrease problems with prison and court room overcrowding, but from a moral standpoint, it allows everyone the right to decide for themselves how bad drugs are for the individual and society. Ultimately, he believes drugs are dangerous, and that people would realize this themselves, and then apply the power of social pressure and censure to drug users. Thus, drug use would decline in the long run. The recent downward trend in tobacco sales supports such an argument.

Everyone familiar with Buckley has seen the respect and admiration he shows for his political adversaries. While he is not personal friends with all of them, he is attentive in hearing their ideas and supporting arguments. As he relates from his early experiences in the Army, "I found that there were actually few prerequisites to the good friend: he had to have a good sense of humor, a pleasant personality, and a certain number of common interests."

Perhaps a greater tribute to his warm character lies in the favorable obituaries he writes, even for his political foes. While acknowledging their ideological differences, Buckley always compliments them on their enthusiasm and dedication to the improvement of our political and moral foundations. An example is in order. Buckley wrote the following at the death of Samuel M. Levitas, the executive editor of *The New Leader*, a socialist publication in January, 1961: "He was proud—modestly, unboastfully proud—of . . . his democratic socialism that meant for him above all a hatred of tyranny and a love of freedom."

Presently, Buckley is working on an espionage novel (featuring Buckley himself in the character of many of his novels, Blackford Oakes), and an essay on Catholicism.

-END-

The Private University and ‘Academic Freedom’

BUCKLEY HAS PUSHED FOR WESTERN CULTURE TO RECOGNIZE THAT SCHOOLS MUST PROMOTE SOME VALUES OVER OTHERS EXCEPT THAT ALL IDEAS ARE EQUALLY VALID

PHOTO FROM WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.: PATRON SAINT OF THE CONSERVATIV

By Craig Hendrix

Yale University provided the stimulus for Buckley’s first polemical effort, *God and Man* at Yale. His active challenge to the values inculcated at Yale peaked in February of his senior year when he was invited to speak at the Alumni Day celebration. Instead of submitting the typical speech that praised everything at Yale, Buckley crafted a highly critical assessment of the status of Christianity and capitalism in the Yale curricula. He assailed the “laissez-faire theory of education” and the pretense of academic freedom, challenging the doctrine of John Stuart Mill as applied to private education that held that a marketplace of ideas would best yield the truth. Thus, as all ideas received equal weight, socialism and atheism were taught on par with capitalism and Christianity.

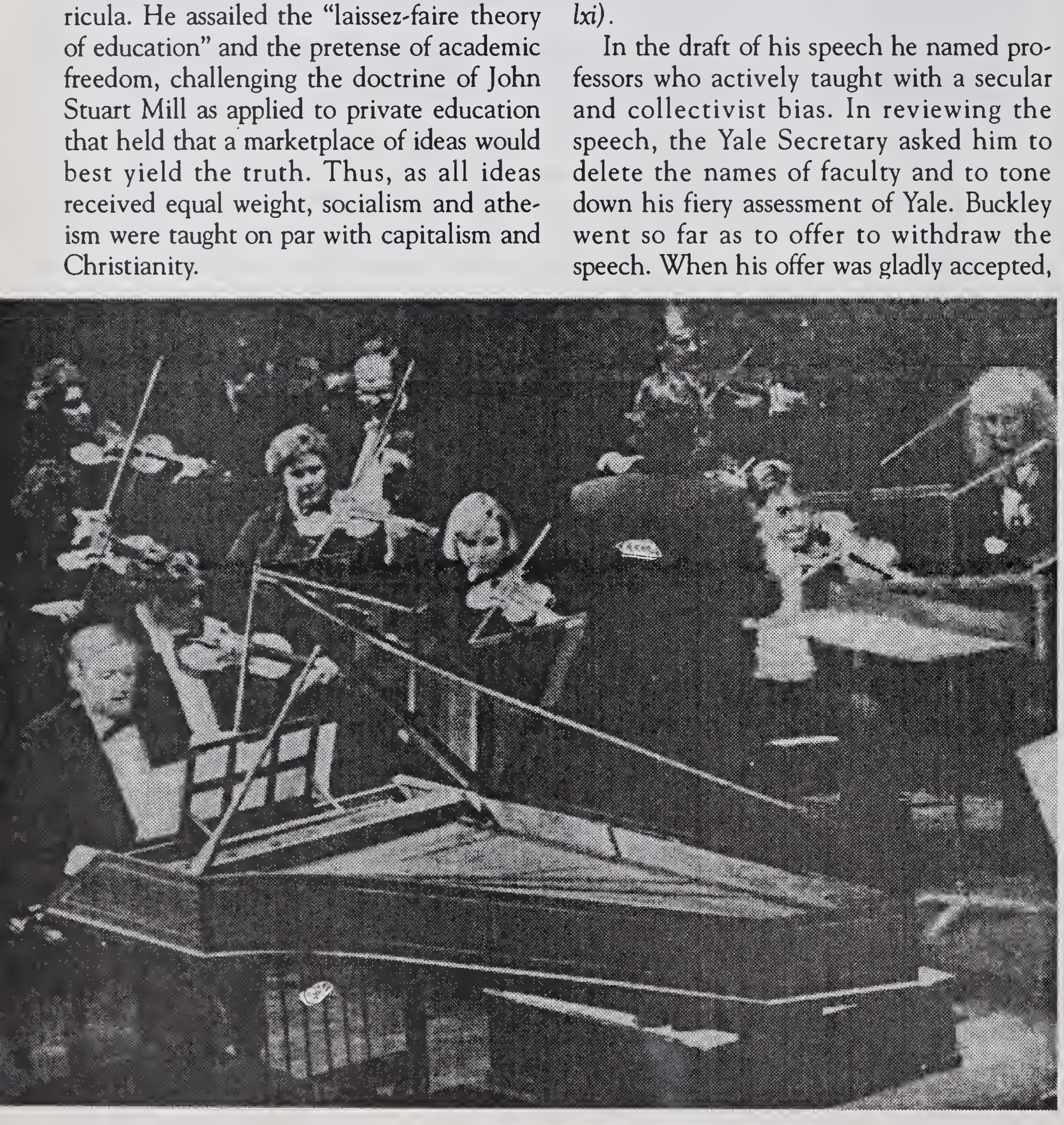
This consequence of the laissez-faire theory of education posed a serious threat to Buckley’s view of American values:

> *I myself believe that the duel between Christianity and atheism is the most important in the world. I further believe that the struggle between individualism and collectivism is the same struggle reproduced on another level (God and Man at Yale, lx-lxi).*

In the draft of his speech he named professors who actively taught with a secular and collectivist bias. In reviewing the speech, the Yale Secretary asked him to delete the names of faculty and to tone down his fiery assessment of Yale. Buckley went so far as to offer to withdraw the speech. When his offer was gladly accepted, Buckley became infuriated and considere it a show of intolerance of the university f traditional values.

Although Buckley never gave th speech, the incident served to launch h career as a critic of the established orde Less than a year later, he published *God an Man* at Yale (1951), which reinforced h argument in the Alumni Day speech. H asked the university to abandon the do trine of academic freedom and declar “active Christianity the first basis enlightened thought and action” and “com munism, socialism, collectivism, gover ment paternalism inimical to the dignity the individual.” He suggested a curriculu based on the writings of such thinkers a John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, Ada Smith, David Ricardo, Jesus, and St. Pau which was to be free of any socialist or ant Christian bias.

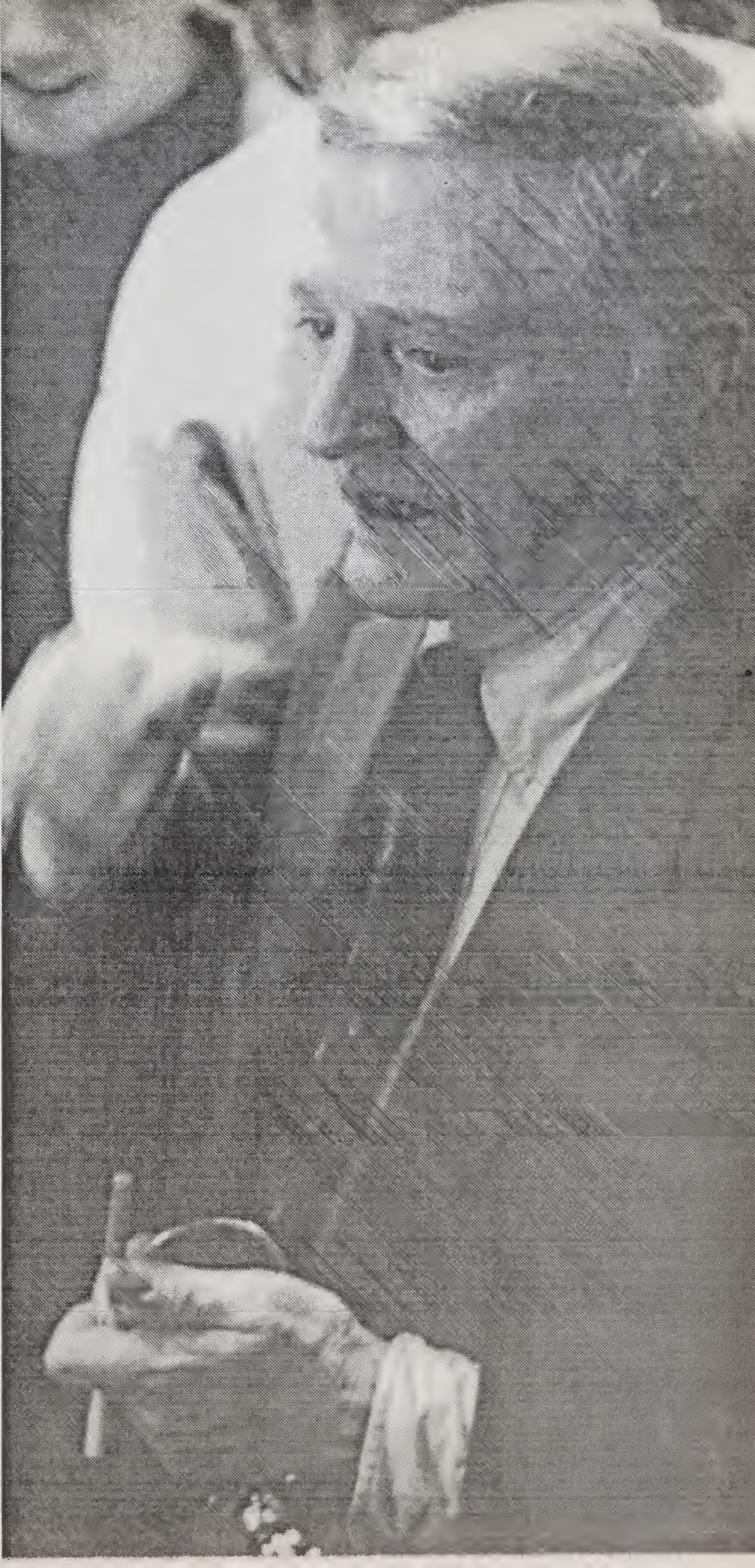
In effect, Buckley was rejecting the edu cational philosophy of the modern univers ty. He argued academic freedom was hypocrisy because in practice Yale did no equate all ideas; it had a secular and socia ist bias that undermined what Buckley con sidered traditional Western values. “Yal does subscribe to an orthodoxy: there ar limits within which its faculty member must keep their opinions if they wish to b ‘tolerated’” (151). Furthermore, academi



◀ *Buckley and the Phoenix Symphony*

PHOTO FROM WINDFALL: WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Buckley spoke to a packed audience at Memorial Hall on the UNC-CH campus on April 20. This picture was taken by The Daily Tar Heel *at the reception at The Chi Psi fraternity following his speech.*



freedom depended on a blind faith in the epistemological optimism of Mill's marketplace of ideas. Contrariwise, Buckley argued that the purpose of the university was not to teach how to discover truth, but how to defend the received truths of Western culture. Although he recognized that Christianity, individualism and free enterprise were imperfect ideals, he asserted they were the best source of truth we have.

To combat the moral relativism generated by Yale's "academic freedom," Buckley offered two novel solutions. First, he realized that one mission of the university was to advance knowledge and that just teaching the past would inhibit such attempts. Thus, he proposed to separate teaching from researching; only those who expressed Western values were to teach, others, particularly scientists, could focus solely upon research.

Second, to determine what exactly was to be included in the curricula, Buckley suggested that the purchasers of Yale's 'product,' the alumni and parents of present students, should play a role in choosing courses and faculty. "Every free citizen in a free economy . . . must defer to the sovereignty of the customer" (185). This market application would correct the perceived injustice of allowing the minority, the liberal professors, to set the standards for the majority, the conservative alumni and parents. In this manner, he suggested adding the sphere of private education to the imperial reign of the market.

The lasting influence of Buckley's stirring of academic debate is noteworthy. One can trace a slippery path from *God and Man* at Yale to Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* to Dinesh D'souza's *Illiberal Education*. The focus of the debate has shifted somewhat from private to public universities, and now to all universities, in general. However, the message of the champions of Western culture has remained intact: schools must promote some values over others, except for the value that all ideas deserve equal credit. Buckley, Bloom, and D'Souza all agree that creeping moral relativism has deteriorated the quality of education. The cause for concern is "not because you cannot get a good education at Harvard, but because you can graduate from Harvard without getting a good education."

-END-

National Review unifies conservatives

TO ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
NATIONAL REVIEW'S Special Award for

OTO FROM PATRON SAINT OF THE CONSERVATIVES

▲

Priscilla Buckley, Suzanne La Follette, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, and Buckley poking fun at hitorian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr in 1956.

▲

Buckley appeared on the cover of Time *magazine in 1967.*

BUCKLEY CREATED THE NATIONAL REVIEW TO SOLIDIFY THE DIVERGENT VIEWS OF ECONOMIC LIBERTARIANS, CULTURAL TRADITIONISTS AND THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS INTO A COHESIVE PHILOSOPHY

By Craig Hendrix

In 1955, William F. Buckley Jr. founded one of the most widely read political magazines, *The National Review.* The magazines's success can be attributed to Buckley's skill in unifying the conservative movement in the late 1950's. Facing the global instability of the post-war, he felt that the foundations of Western civilization were being challenged at home and abroad and saw his efforts as an attempt to save an endangered civilization. He brought together three groups of polemicists who had previously been uncooperative with one another: (1) the economic libertarians, or classical liberals, who advocated free market principles, limited government, and individual freedom and were influenced by Adam Smith, Ludwig von Mises, F.A. Hayek, and Milton Friedman; (2) the cultural traditionalists, or classical conservatives, who sought to preserve inherited religious traditions and Western values and who traced their roots from Edmund Burke to John C. Calhoun, to the Nashville Agrarians of the early nineteenth-century; (3) and the anti-communists, led by Whittaker Chambers, James Burnham, and Max Eastman, who felt that defending the United States from the encroachment of communism was the first cause.

Essentially, Buckley picked elements of each group for himself, and worked aggressively to arbitrate disputes between the three on his staff. The composite values offered in NR include free-market principles, an absolute right to free property, local governmental autonomy, the protection of local customs, the advocation of private charity over government aid, and an interventionist, non-compromising position on the Soviet Union. The resulting ideology was a distinct departure to the traditional conservatism of the early twentieth-century, and constitutes essentially what is known today as modern American conservatism.

In the premiere issue, Buckley outlined the magazine's purpose to combat communism, liberalism, and secularism:

Let's face it: Unlike Vienna, it seems altogether possible that if National Review *did not exist, no one would have invented it. The launching of a conservative weekly in a country widely assumed to be a bastion of conservatism at first glance looks like a work of supererogation, rather like publishing a royalist weekly within the walls of Buckingham Palace. It is not that, of course: i* National Review *is superfluous, it is so for very different reasons: It stands athwart history, yelling Stop, at a time when no one is inclined to do so, or to have much patience with those who do.*

The writing staff of NR has constantly changed throughout the 37 years of its publication; however, the quality of the material has always remained unmatched by any other opinion periodical. Its contributors have included: Bozell, Burnham, Chambers, Eastman, John Chamberlain, Dinesh D'Souza, George Gilder, James J. Kilpatrick, Russell Kirk, William Rusher, Ralph de Toledano, George Will, and Garry Wills, just to mention a few.

John Judis, Buckley's biographer and a liberal who is unsympathetic to NR's causes, argues that the importance of the magazine to America's political history during its publication cannot be underestimated. "The role of *National Review* was to create, almost out of nothing, the conservative movement. Before *National Review*, there were conservatives, but there was not a body of ideas that created the basis for the conservative movement."

Perhaps George Will best characterized Buckley's influence on the rise of conservatism in the last forty years in his speech at NR's 25th Anniversary dinner in November, 1980:

. . .all great Biblical stories begin with Genesis. And before there was Ronald Reagan, there was Barr Goldwater, and before there was Barry Goldwater there was National Review, and before there was Nationa Review there was Bill Buckley with a spark in his mind, and the spark in 1980 has become a conflagration.

In addition to piecing together a core of ideas fo conservatives, Buckley and his *National Review* pre sented their political views in what has been since labeled the "Buckley" style, i.e. the articulate pre sentation of the argument with numerous polysyllab ic words, biting satire, and an unmistakable cockiness that leaves his opponents bewildered and ultimately, unable to successfully assail Buckley's original postulate. He made it clear from the inception of *NR* that this style was to become a regular part of the periodical. "Middle-of-the-Road qua middle-of-the- road, is politically, intellectually, and morally repugnant. I want some positively unsettling vigor, a sense of abandon, and joy and cocksureness that may, indeed, be interpreted by some as indiscretion." In his 1963 work, *Rumbles Left and Right*, Buckley added:

> *[W]e are all increasingly anxious in America to be unobtrusive, we are reluctant to make our voices heard, hesitant about claiming our rights (188). When our voices are finally mute, when we have finally suppressed the natural instinct to complain, whether the vexation is trivial or grave, we shall have become...incapable of feeling (191).*

As he wrote in the 1984 Re-introduction to *Up From Liberalism*, "So: Forgive that which unnecessarily irritates. That which necessarily irritates is not to be forgiven, but rather to be contemplated."

-END-

▼ *Great minds come together: Former President Ronald Reagan and Buckley are close friends.*

Up from Liberalism attacks liberal emphasis on government enlargement

By Craig Hendrix

Buckley had two concerns in writing *Up From Liberalism!* (after Booker T. Washington's Up From Slavery) in 1959. First, modern liberalism was rooted in epistemological relativism. Second, by advocating the government's encroachment into the life of the individual, it was hostile to free market principles. Specifically, he assailed the assumptions of Keynesian economics, which he also felt had become accepted in many of America's political circles.

In his most complete political philosophical statement, Buckley denounces the moral relativism of the tolerant liberalism hegemony that denies absolute belief in anything, and therefore, cannot make an active virtue even of its tolerance. This open-minded modern rationalism was undermining a natural order affirmed by the moral and intellectual traditions of Western civilization. He offered this explanation as to why American college students are generally apathetic to political debate. Student apathy was:

> *A reciprocal infidelity that Liberalism itself invites. Liberalism cannot care deeply, and so cannot be cared about deeply . . . There is nothing there of ultimate meaning to care for, though there is much there to despise. The large majority of students, angled as they are toward Liberalism, are silent, reflecting the great emptiness of their faith.*

In proposing that there was a superior set of values, Buckley was looking towards the "good" society and not the "fair" society, or at times, even the "free" society.

Moreover, liberals had become so preoccupied with the "method" of democracy that they had ignored the depletion of individual freedoms and states' rights caused by the enlargement of government power. They had mistaken the means to a just and virtuous society, i.e. democracy, for the end itself.

> *The salient economic assumptions of liberalism are socialist. They center around the notion that the economic ass can be driven to Point A most speedily by the judicious use of carrot-and-stick, an approach that supersedes the traditional notion of conservatives and classical liberals that we are not to begin with dealing with asses, and that Point A cannot in a free society, be presumed to be the desired objective of tens of millions of individual human beings."*
>
> Up From Liberalism (1959)

Furthermore, they extended their arguments for academic freedom to promote a socialist economy and secularist culture.

Although Buckley expresses a skeptical view of human nature and doubts as to whether the human condition is perfectible, he retains the hints of optimism of a fish in an aquarium. He may not get out, but he can sure have a good time trying.

Thus, he preaches that ". . .one must fight, if only to have fought" and that ". . .while the will of man is limited to what it can do, it can do enough to make over the face of the world..."

This persevering attitude can be mostly attributed to his devout beliefs in Catholicism. His religious beliefs are clear in most of his essays and books. He further promotes religion in his continual emphasis on individual morality. Thus, when he first met Ayn Rand, she greeted him with: "You are too intelligent to believe in God!"

-END-

OPINION **BY CRAIG HENDRIX**

Angelou's depiction of life too somber

ALTHOUGH MAYA ANGELOU'S SPEECH ON APRIL 13 RECEIVED A STANDING OVATION, SHE PREACHED CONSTRAINT AND DWELLED ON OUR NATION'S PAST MISTAKES

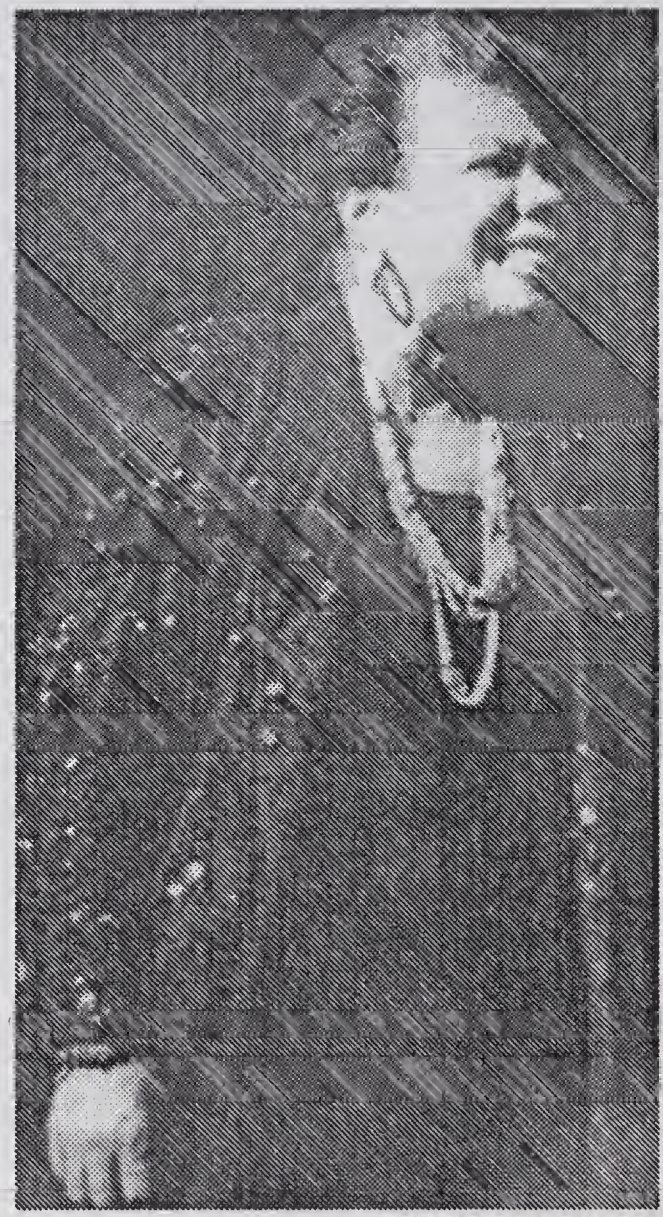
Maya Angelou has been leading a sort of double life in the press as of late. On the one hand, she gained an enormous amount of positive publicity in the mainstream press for her poem, "On the Pulse of Morning," which she read at President Clinton's inauguration. On the other, she has drawn criticism in conservative circles for everything from the contents of that poem to her questionable performance as a professor at Wake Forest University.

None of the recent criticism that she has received surfaced at her April 13 appearance at Memorial Hall entitled "An Evening With Maya Angelou." Angelou carried a dynamic personality on stage, and the motley audience reacted warmly to her speech. She spoke very expressively in prose, poetry and song, all of which energized the audience's emotion.

Some of the people who waited at the microphones, which were set up for the question and answer period, sought to replicate Angelou's expressiveness. Tears almost slipped from one woman's eyes as she praised Angelou, and another woman sang to her. One man asked the poet a question in French. After the event, gushing praises of Angelou flowed from audience members. She received three standing ovations from a relatively large crowd. Angelou could do no wrong.

What was all the fuss about? Emotion ran high for the hour and 25 minutes Angelou spent on stage, but, unfortunately, reason was nowhere to be found. The speech stirred the crowd's emotions to the point that the event resembled both a giant therapy session and a religious revival.

Throughout the speech, Angelou argued that people must liberate their minds and spirits through poetry, specifically African-American poetry. Midway through the program, Angelou finally hinted to audience members what they should liberate themselves from: "It is imperative that you see that they [your ancestors] paid for you, or you wouldn't even be here today. Once you realize that, you can realize you have the right to pursue excellence." How might one achieve such liberation? "I entrust this great poetry to you for your liberation...Go to the Black American poetry. You need to know somebody was there before you. Somebody was lonely before you. Distraught, distressed, despairing before you. Humiliated...blamed and maimed before you. And yet, miraculously, somebody got up," Angelou said.



CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

Other than this, Angelou didn't offer an explanation as to what currently constrains us to the point that we need to be liberated.

One audience member, during the question and answer period, had to make sure Angelou's liberation of the human spirit didn't involve "a more dangerous existence for the animal kingdom as a whole." Angelou responded that liberation is a general condition to which everyone must aspir and must work for, not for himself or herself, but for his or her own kind.

Questions alternated between intelligent inquiries about racism in other parts of the world and emotional thank yous.

So, what, exactly, was wrong with Maya Angelou's speech? There is nothing wrong with encouraging people to appreciate black poetry, and if the audience took Angelou's speech on that level, the speech was fine. We lack integrity if we don't encourage people to appreciate as many facets of our culture as possible. But there is a difference between encouraging appreciation of and liberation through poetry. While both principles encourage people to move forward, the latter insists that something must constrain them.

Angelou spent a great deal of the evening dwelling on past and present constraints, such as slavery and racism, without ever getting to the part about pursuing excellence. Americans should understand the experiences of those who built this nation, and reading black poetry plays an important role in that understanding. But how does our past constrain us to the point where we must 'liberate' ourselves? Are we all to walk around wondering whether we have read enough poetry to feel liberated from past constraints? Our past should be viewed not as a constraint, but as a building block. Some minorities might understandably find this more difficult, but people must resist the temptation to dwell on past injustices. People must abandon Maya Angelou's 'I am a constrained victim' mentality in favor of an 'I am a capable human being' philosophy.

What is it that Maya Angelou finds so constraining, anyway? Her exorbitant income, or her multiple successful literary works? Appearances on "The Arsenio Hall Show," or the chance to read her poetry at President Clinton's inauguration? Citizens of most other countries, and even in this country, would be happy to place themselves under Angelou's constraints.

So, if you ever find yourself spending an evening with Maya Angelou, make sure you don't take her too seriously. Enjoy the poetry she reads and laugh at her humor. But remember, life is not as bad as Maya Angelou depicts it. Listen to her as a poet, but not a philosopher. As residents of the most free nation in the world, we should not walk around whining about liberation today from forces that constrained our ancestors. The trials of our ancestors established freedom in this nation. Why can't we, and Maya Angelou, enjoy the freedom they won for us?

-END-

ANALYSIS **BY DONALD PHILLIPS**

A LOOK AT THE UNC LIBRARY SYSTEM

New hope for library woes

As stated in the October 14, 1992 issue of *The Carolina Critic*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) did not rank in the *U.S. News and World Report's* Top 25 colleges and universities. Instead, UNC-CH landed in quartile one (the highest) of the "Best of the Rest" along with 25 other national universities. Many people were outraged and instantly blamed budget cutbacks in the library system for the fall in rank. But, as addressed in that issue, the library situation was not the sole reason for the "decline". However, the library system is finding it difficult to meet the increasing financial demands that are required to maintain its status as a major research center. At the right is a sample of some of the highlights of the October 14th article, as well as a look at the current library situation.

Although the statements at the right look grim, there is a strong movement to aid the UNC library system.

Currently UNC ranks among the top 20 research libraries and has holdings of over 3.9 million volumes. The system also has extensive holdings in special research collections such as : The Southern Historical Collection, The North Carolina Collection, and The Rare Book Collection. Dr. Joe Hewitt, current University Librarian (as of July 1— Director of Academic Affairs Libraries and Associate Provost for University Libraries), states that there is a hopeful mood about the state budget. Hewitt says that "we still need the state money for our base of support."

Obviously the State of North Carolina cannot contribute everything. UNC's Libraries are completely public, which is unusual for a major research center. Often in private institutions, stacks are "closed" to students or to the public. Many times only professors and graduate students have access to certain holdings. Not only is UNC's Library open to all students and faculty, it is also open to the public at large.

The key to the library system's success is contributions by the private sector (alumni, students, businesses, and friends). Gift money (endowments) have given UNC hope. The Heart and Core, the library's fund raising appeal, states that "the Library has set an ambitious goal as part of The Bicentennial Campaign for Carolina. By 1995 we will build an endowment of $10 million. Invested prudently, the endowment fund can be expected to pay out income of about $500,000 per year in the early years, and the income will rise in later years as the endowment grows. " This endowment can smooth the ups and downs of state appropriations, build collections, and "bring badly-needed flexibility to the budget". Hewitt adds that "this will give us our margin of excellence."

This proposal will give contributors a chance to participate in something that is giving the University a cutting-edge, something that is worthwhile for them as well as the Library. Hewitt states that "its easier to raise money for athletic teams that are winning than those that are losing." Thus, contributors will feel good about giving to the UNC Library, a winning academic program.

Approximately $8 million in endowments will be used for new acquisitions and $1 million will be used to preserve books and other works. About 1,800 students from the class of 1991 have pledged $200 per person (approximately $350,000) for the Library. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) will add to the seniors' gift by providing $87,500 making the total contribution approximately $437,000. The Class of 1993 has pledged $365,000 with over $300,000 of that being raised. The NEH will also give the Library $750,000 if at least $3 million in private gifts are raised.

Although, the University Library System has experienced a decline in recent years, the future appears promising. However, the problems are not over. Money is always needed to maintain and preserve the University of North Carolina and its Library system as a top-notch, cutting-edge research institution. Regardless of the *U.S. News and World Report* 's so called "top 25" there is a commitment at this University to use its limited resources to pursue the higher goal of excellence in education and support the UNC Libraries.

UNC-CH LIBRARY FACTS AT A GLANCE

- Out of the top 51 schools (total of "top 25" and the 26 quartile one "Best of the Rest"), 33 are private while 18 are public. Only four of the "Top 25" are public.–- since UNC-CH is a public university, most of its funding comes from the state. The well established private institutions listed in the "Top 25" are heavily endowed and may not face the same financial restrictions and/or rigors of a state controlled, supported, and regulated university.

- According to Jack Shipman, University Bibliographer and Head of Collection Development, The University of North Carolina is not the only system suffering library woes; "generally the universities' libraries are suffering."

- Pam Kelly (*The Charlotte Observer*, Tuesday, September 8, 1992) states that in recent years, inflation and the dollar's devaluation against foreign currencies have drastically pushed up the price of books and academic journals, many published abroad." Shipman notes that "a great deal of the materials purchased come from oversees to begin with." This calculates to 41% of books and 32% of serials. Thus, Shipman adds, "because the dollar drops, we pay more."

- The major problem facing the UNC libraries is the increase in cost. However, the main contributor to the increase in cost is periodicals, not books.

- According to Library Issues (September 1992) "the average price of a periodical subscription, as reported in Library Journal, rose at an unrelenting rate of 11.7 percent from $93.45 in 1990 to $104.36 in 1991." The consumer price index showed that there has also been an increase of 108.7 percent in periodical prices from 1984-1991.

- Serial costs at UNC-CH increased 61.9 percent from fiscal years 1987/88 to 1992/93.

- Costs have risen while budgets have remained relatively the same. Thus, cuts were made in the serial subscriptions of the University. Book acquisitions were cut by one-half.

- From The Heart and Core : Carolina's Library states that "since 1985, the Carolina Library's budget has bought fewer books each year. For the Library, book prices increased 30 percent and journal prices increased 72 percent. State funding for the Library increased only 4.9 percent–about one percent per year.

- Carolina has gone from 10th in book purchases in 1985 to 51st in 1991. Also, "The Association of Research Libraries ranked UNC 15th in size among 107 research libraries during the 1985-86 school year." This ranking fell to 22nd in 1990-91. Book budget money has had to be used to pay for the enormous serials prices.

OPINION **BY ROBERT SMITH**

A Sweet Caroline named Joe?

THE SWEET CAROLINES RECENTLY BECAME THE CAROLINA BLUES AND CREATED QUITE A CONTROVERSY CONCERNING GENDER ROLES AND COLLEGE FOOTBALL RECRUITMENT

Over the past three years at Carolina, I have witnessed a conglomeration of overblown issues, causes and symbols. We are all familiar with the statues in front of Davis library that elevated name-calling to new heights.

The current BCC controversy is thrown in our faces everyday with people calling each other racists faster than David Koresh went to Hell. In other words, happenings tend to get overexposure if they are deemed contrary to the politically-correct agenda of the university and *The DTH*. Such is the case of the Sweet Carolines (who are now the gender neutral Carolina Blues).

After reading *The DTH* editorial, a few months ago, I was shocked to learn about innocent young women who were oblivious to their own exploitation by the athletic recruiting department (note the sarcasm). Implications were made to suggest that,in the athletic department's zeal to attract the best football recruits, numerous women, namely the Sweet C's, were perpetuating some free-sex-if-you-come-to-school-here attitude.

Anxious to learn more about the goings on within the recesses of Kenan Field House, I made an appointment to speak with Director of Recruiting and overseer of the Sweet C's, Bruce Hemphill. According to Mr. Hemphill he has never been so popular with the media. "I have been interviewed more in the past two months than in two and a half years as Recruiting Director," says Hemphill who was recently phoned by *USA Today*.

When asked if the issue has been blown out of proportion, he points out that all of the attention came about due to the name change itself.

Certainly it seems ridiculous for national newspapers to be calling over something as stimulating as a name change. In fact, the name change only served to springboard *The DTH* and paranoid feminists into a frenzied purge of the rampant sexism within the athletic department (once again note the sarcasm).

According to Hemphill the Sweet C's have never barred male applicants from joining. Of course the chances of someone named Frank joining an organization called the Sweet C's is about as likely as a love triangle involving David Duke, Maxine Waters and Mike Kzyzewski; not a pretty thought. Therefore after twenty years in existence, the Sweet Carolines are now officially the Carolina Blues.

What exactly does the name change mean you ask? In truth the name change means absolutely nothing unless you are an annointed thought police officer. According to Recruiting Director Hemphill, "we are in an era of sensitive issues," and in keeping with the changing times the Sweet C's want to become more diverse.

Kristin Hill, a member of the Sweet C's, says the name change itself is unnecessary and hopes that a "token male" is not made into a Carolina Blue for diversity's sake. Hill is also angered by The DTH comments because they never asked what went on within the Sweet C organization. She says her organization has never been a dating service, and just for the record recruits are never left alone with Sweet C's.

It seems *The DTH* and paranoid feminists erred twofold in their criticisms. First of all, they assume that football recruits are nothing more than big hormone glands following the whims of their genitalia, and that a prospect will come to school here because the escort that shows he and his family around is cute. Such an assumption is absolutely ridiculous.

Secondly, the Sweet C's are stereotyped by DTH stories and other groups as being manipulated and used by the athletic department. Without getting bogged down in Kantian ethics, such an assumption is at best partially true.

The Sweet C's are used the same way an orientation counselor or C-TOPS person is used: to familiarize students or prospective students with UNC. Perhaps *The DTH* should infiltrate C-TOPS and find out what really goes on during those walks around campus.

For feminists who would take issue with the idea of the Sweet Carolines, I offer you these numbers which you probably already know:

- *According to CBS News, women still make $0.74 to every $1.00 a man makes.*
- *One quarter of all undergraduate women will be raped before they leave college.*

These two statistics alone ought to show how trivial arguing against a group that voluntarily serves the University really is.

As for the recruiting program, Director Hemphill proudly points out that UNC has been recognized by the College Football Association for five years running for graduating over 70% of its players (83% this year). Virginia is the only other ACC school that can boast such an achievement.

If a male actually joins the Carolina Blues, please let us know if the integration process does not go smoothly, and most importantly please inform *The DTH* of any sexual harrassment.

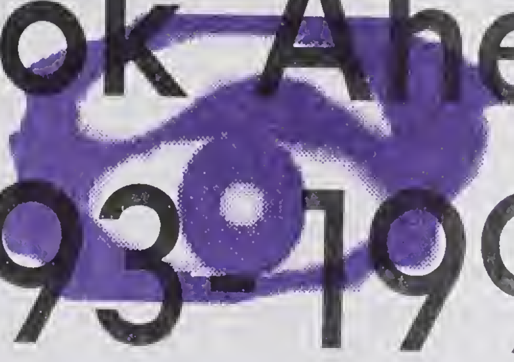
-END-

Remember him?

Sorry to scare you.

THE CRITIC IS DEDICATED TO PROMOTING COMMON SENSE IN THE LIBERAL WORLD. JOIN THE CRITIC. CALL MARK 967-5488

A Look Ahead: 1993-1994



The Carolina Critic decided, in anticipation of an eventful upcoming year, to interview a variety of administrative and campus officials to get their views on the future.

Copland emphasizes diversity and student empowerment

JIM COPLAND STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT

COURTESY OF THE DTH

▲

Copland is seen here celebrating his victory in February. He took office in April.

CRITIC: How have you gone about handling the appointment process and your appointments to this point?

Copland said his campaign had been rooted in the promise of giving student government back to the students and opening up Suite C to the entire student body. In appointing his top positions, Copland admitted that he was looking for hard-working individuals, who would work well with him. He selected Dacia Toll as Vice-President upon recommendation of his review board and because while they both thought along the same lines they shared differing opinions on certain topics. He also chose Dacia because while she proved her skills for management as business editor of the DTH, she had not been previously involved in student government. "Kevin Hunter and Kim McCutcheon were both selected because of their diligent work in simiar, if not the same roles, previously. McCutcheon, who was previously clerk of Student Congress, was appointed as Secretary of the Student Body while Hunter, who was appointed as Student Body Treasurer in the last days of Moody's tenure, was elected to remain in that office because of the mpressive turnaround which that office witnessed nder Hunter," said Copland.

When Jim set out to find people to fill the numerus other positions in his office, he wanted to insure hat all students were made aware of the process and ad ample opportunity to respond. Copland sited he 5,000 inserts in The Daily Tar Heel as one xample of his administration's commitment to the udents. He went on to note that the response had been impressive with over 150 applications turned. Jim said that unlike other campus organitions which make a preliminary cut of the applint pool, his transition team, as well as the student body officers, were in the process of interviewing all 150 applicants.

Jim said there were four things that he was looking for in members of his administration. First and foremost was someone in whom he could put trust. Copland said, "Sometimes this is going to be a blind trust." Individuals who are selected as members of the Copland cabinet and staff will represent student interests on a variety of boards and committes and the trust issue will be vital to maintain good working relations between the student body and these administrative committees.

Secondly, Jim emphasized the importance of diligence. He said he was quite aware of the time commitments that he was asking students to make and he wanted to make sure that the individuals he selected would be diligent in their efforts to carry out their responsibilities. The initial application was designed to give students a rough estimate of the time commitment involved and allow applicants the opportunity, before interviewing, to assess their own time constraints.

Next, Jim noted that the applicants' ability was also weighted in the process. He said that he was looking for students who had a basic knowledge of the various committees but not necessarily from the point of view of student government. Copland noted "Students who are actively involved in campus activities such as the Student Environmental Action Coalition or SAFE escort have a good understanding of those aspects of student life and could really serve those interests well in student government despite the fact that they have not done so previously."

Finally, Jim said that his administration sought a certain degree of diversity in its ranks and wanted to avoid a "clubbish" administration. He admitted that certain boards or committes, such as Minority Concerns, were naturally inclined to be more diverse than others but he said that they had been surprised by the talent of the individuals across the board who had applied. Copland added that searching for diversity was hardly a difficult task.

CRITIC: Where do you stand on the BCC issue and how did you come to your current position?

Copland stated that he presently supported the Coalition for a Free-Standing BCC but had only become actively supportive since the Student Body Presidential run-off. "Becoming involved with members of the BCC movement gave me a new sense of awareness and concern for the students' struggle", said Copland. He feels that the University has a unique opportunity to show its diligence and creativity in dealing with race relations by allowing the construction of the BCC. He went on to add that not only would the building serve as an inspiration to other campuses, it would also attract more black students and faculty to the campus. Jim said that the Wilson-Dey site seemed like the only viable alternative to where the building should be built. "The construction of an eight story sciences building would detract from the historic nature of the quad, while the BCC would be better suited," Copland observed. Jim continued to say that the Wilson-Dey site could support expansion so that additional classrooms could be added in the future.

CRITIC: Do you think that Chancellor Hardin has handled the BCC issue and the surrounding situation effectively?

Copland said that the Chancellor probably did not realize the response that he would get when he came out against a free-standing BCC last spring. Jim went to say that Hardin could have established a better process from the outset by delegating decision-making authority on the issue. Instead, students are frustrated with a bureaucratic process that is too slow. Now there is a student versus administration atmosphere. Jim concluded by noting that he respected the Chancellor immensely and felt that the he was caught between a rock and a hard place in many instances.

CRITIC: Could you briefly tell us a little bit about your expectations for next year in regard to the Bicentennial celebration?

Jim began by stating that he sincerely hopes that the BCC conflict has been resolved before the celebration begins. Otherwise, he felt that the protests could mar the celebration to some degree because it would be sending the wrong message. "If the University resolves the situation and agrees to the construction of the BCC, it will serve as an example of the University's creative approach to addressing the issue of race relations," Jim pointed out.

Jim said that the Bicentennial was an incredible opportunity for the University to market the idea of student empowerment, which is unique to our campus. Of all the campuses in the system, Chapel Hill is the only one which has control over its student fees and has its SBP as a voting member of the Board of Trustees.

As far as activities, Jim said he was looking forward to working closely with the Bicentennial Planning Committee and to assisting with the programs that it undertakes. He noted a particular interest in the planned Leadership Conference at the University, as well as possibly holding a lecture series similar to the Critical Issues in Higher Education series in conjunction with the Bicentennial Committees.

CRITIC: What about the other issues that dominated your campaign platform such as the environment? How will you administration address this issue?

One of the things which Jim said that he would try to do was influence the administration to adopt the policy of using recycled paper that Governor Martin introduced. He also was looking at getting the University involved in the Environmental Protection Agency's Greenlight Program, which would improve energy efficiency on campus. "In the long run, this will save the University money," Jim added.

CRITIC: You also talked a lot about security in your campaign. What are your plans to improve campus security?

Jim began by admitting that this past fall's rapes and violence had really brought the issue to the forefront for the entire University community. "In effort to deter this sort of crime, I hope to push for continued improved lighting, more campus call boxes and increased routes for the Point to Point shuttle."

He said that he liked that the honor court could handle rape cases so that students who may want to remain anonymous can seek justice. He continued that it was also more comfortable for people who might have been date raped. "Individuals, who have been date raped may not want to go to school with the accused rapist but they may not want to send them to jail," said Copland. He continued, "We hope, however, to improve the honor system to make it more victim sensitive."

CRITIC: Of particular concern to out-of-state students was the proposed increase in their tuition specifically. Can you tell us what the current status on that legislation is and how your administration is going to handle it?

The Government Performance Audit Committee was the board which had originally proposed the large out-of-state tuition hike, which Jim said also would affect graduate students. This increase was an effort to improve the state's financial efficiency, but Jim said that he felt the burden should not be born by out-of-state students alone but should be more equitably spread out. "Everyone is feeling the crunch but the current plan would be too biased against out-of-staters and ignores their valuable contribution to the University community."

His administration was going to push for the passage of a bond referendum in Raleigh which would provide the needed resources for a number of University construction projects including the new Business School facility and buildings for the Dental School. While Governor Hunt's proposed budget cuts took only 1% from the Board of Governor's budget, Jim said that they unfairly targeted Chapel Hill.

CRITIC: What about your Academic Affairs Committee? What are some of the issues that they will be addressing?

Jim was enthusiastic about the Committee's participation in the upcoming University reaccreditation process under the Southeastern Association of Colleges and Schools. Jim will actually be sitting on the Steering Committee which will be the first time that a student will have been involved in this process. "The committee i seeking to examine the overall quality o teaching at the University.

Jim continued to note several other projects which he had hoped to tackle durin the next year. His staff will begin workin on the Student Course Evaluation targetin professors and the departments. He is als going to overhaul the Student Code, whic Jim said needed some major revisions.

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LATRICIA HENRY VICE PRESIDENT OF THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT

BSM vice president angered by institutional racism at UNC-CH

CRITIC PHOTO BY ANNA YARUR

LATRICIA HENRY CLAIMS THAT THE UNIVERSITY'S SLOW ACTIONS IN REGARD TO A FREE-STANDING BCC INDICATIVE OF ITS WEAK COMMITMENT TO BLACK STUDENTS

CRITIC: What are some of the BSM's specific plans for next year?

Latricia said that the Movement hoped to "hype up Kwanzaa," the African holiday celebrated in December. She also noted that the group planned to emphasize the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday as well as Black History Month next February. Henry went on to say that the BSM would continue in the fight for a free-standing BCC as a member of the Coalition for a Free-Standing Black Cultural Center by encouraging its members to take an active part in the activities surrounding the issue.

CRITIC: How do you respond to the fact that a Daily Tar Heel poll of students last November showed that over 50% of the student body felt that the BCC movement was too militant?

Latricia was not really surprised at the figure and said that the militancy that other students perceived within the movement was necessary to force the administration to react to the demands of the BCC movement. Henry noted that the movements' actions were also geared to make the administration respond in certain ways. Henry admitted that it didn't do the movement any good if the administration responded against the BCC and therefore the movement worked to force the administration not only to react but also to react positively to the BCC.

CRITIC: Most people agree that some degree of racism still exists on this campus but disagree as to the level and as to whether or not it is institiutionalized?

Henry believed that racism most certainly still existed on campus and she felt that it was even still institiutionalized within the administration. Henry felt that the University's weak committment to blacks in general on the campus was proof of the subtle types of racism which still persist. She went on to point out that the University was more than willing to applaud black athletes who bring revenues into the school but it was not quite as quick to recognize the accomplishments of African Americans in classrooms and elsewhere in the University community.

CRITIC: It seems that the Black Student Movement and the Coalition for a Free-Standing BCC would have us believe that the struggle for civil rights in the sixties and the fight for the BCC today are both rooted in the same moral imperative. While most students can recognize the moral imperative to the civil rights struggle in the sixties, many cannot make the connection to the BCC struggle. What if any is the moral imperative to the BCC?

Henry responded that in the same way that the sixties struggle was for recognition,recognition of blacks as equal sharers in the American Dream, the struggle for a free-standing BCC was an effort to have black culture recognized. Henry went on to say, "I am ticked off that there are 123 buildings on this campus named for whites and one named after a Klansman, and you refuse to allow me to have a building named after one black person. Every last one of these buildings was built by black people. That's what I'm talking about when I talk about recognition."

She said that blacks today often are not recognized for their contributions, citing the work of the janitors and groundskeepers of the University, who are predominantly black.

CRITIC: It seems as though the BCC controversey has polarized the campus and relations between whites, who don't support the BCC and blacks, who do, has become strained. As a result, we have two groups of peole with little communication between them. It would seem that if we could get to know each other as individuals, we might be able to strengthen relations. Is it possible for black students and white students to get to know each other simply as individuals ?

Latricia stated that,of course, individuals could get to know each other on a one-to-one basis but in order for there to truly be a relationship the white would have to understand the history that is a part of blacks, as individuals. Henry said,"If my make-up is my history and my culture, then in order to get to know me, you would have to get to know my culture, as well."

CRITIC: Then you see the race factor, as playing such an integral role in who you are that it would be dificult for a black and a white to get to know each other well without the white being sensitive to the history of blacks in this country.

Henry objected saying that "I think the culture factor is much more important, the race factor has nothing to do with it." She continued noting that this was not only the case with African-Americans but with other minorities as well. "Through my work with the BCC, I have gained a total respect for other cultures", noted Henry.

CRITIC: Instead of the BCC establishing itself in order to recognize black achievers, shouldn't the BSM, instead pressure the University to recognize these black achievers within the confines that the University already recognizes every one else? For example, the BCC will have its own Hall of Fame to recognize black athletes. Why is this necessary when the University already recognizes its athletes in the Dean Dome?

Latricia felt that the University had exhibited a historical bias toward blacks and that often the University only tells you "what they want you to know." She continued to say it would be impossible for blacks to correct all instances of racism on campus and "that that transcends beyond me."

CRITIC: Then aren't you saying to the University, "You're never going to recognize black Americans' achievements in the clasroom and elsewhere like you do everyone else's, so I'm not even going to fight to try? Instead, I'm just going to build my own little monument and give up trying to influence the way the rest of the world thinks about African-Americans."

Henry said that the two goals were not mutually exclusive but that a BCC "would force the University to recognize our culture all at once." She went on saying, "By the University allowing this building to be built, it recognizes every thing in it." Henry continued explaining that in instances where the University does recognize blacks, it often is not enough. Referring again to black basketball players and the recognition that they receive, she noted, "Who goes down there (to the Dean Dome) to see it (the basketball hall of fame area where UNC players are recognized)? Nobody. But if it's sitting right there on the corner of campus and you happen to have a class in the BCC, then every time that you go in there, you'll see it."

"Wanting your own building to recognize your own people does not mean that you shy away from the bigger goal because with this building the University is forced to recognize our culture all at once."

CRITIC: But it's not like the University has statues for white basketball players out here (on the main quad) and has put all the black players back at the Dean Dome. It's not that the University is recognizing one group's contribution more than the other.

Latricia countered asserting that, "if you want anything to be recognized on the main quad of campus then you force the University to do that ." She went on to say, "Don't down me, because I'm forcing the University to recognize me in the mainstream. Because they're not recognizing anybody else, I mean, hey, they're doing both of us wrong but that doesn't make it any more right."

CRITIC: But I don't see them as doing a disservice to the white community by putting the white basketball memorabilia and recognition at the Dean Dome.

Henry said however that she did see it as a disservice. "If I were Eric Montross, a jersey down there in the last corner of the Dean Dome is fine but if I made more of a contribution than that, then don't refuse to acknowledge me on campus", Henry stated.

CRITIC: In your mind, have the goals of the civil rights movement been accomplished, partially accomplished or not accomplished at all?

Henry felt that if the singular goal of that movement was to insure blacks the right to vote, then yes, it had accomplished its goal. But, she continued saying, "If the goals were for blacks to achieve equality, then no because blacks still aren't equal."

CRITIC: In regards again to the BCC, the separatism question always comes up. That was one of the arguments against the BCC that Chancellor Hardin originally gave but he has since backed off and yet in that same poll that I cited earlier by the DTH over 50% of the students polled felt that the BCC would promote separatism.

Henry responded, "It is only promotes separatism in the mind. Separatism is just a fear and if you personally have a fear of separatism then no you're not going to come in (to the BCC) because you're scared. Henry saw students as imposing there own separatism by refusing to enter the BCC in it s current location.

She stated, "The BCC is located across from the most widely used snack bar in the University but if you come out of that door and you look in the BCC and then you walk out the Union door, then you are being separatist." Henry went on to say that the BCC itself was not separatist and that she would not be shocked to see whites in a free-standing BCC because "I feel like you ought to be there anyway."

CRITIC: Is there room for diversity of opinion on the BCC question, within the BSM?

While Henry was adamant that anyone could be a member of the BSM regardless of their stand on the question, she did note that, "they'll (other members of the BSM who support the BCC) probably want to talk to you and they'll want to get you to realize that the BCC is good." However she said if a person still does not support the BCC, "basically, it's one of those things; I'll agree to disagree."

CRITIC: White students who don't support the BCC are frequently labeled ignorant and bigots by members of the BCC movement. In your mind, is that necessarily the case or is that just someone spouting rhetoric?

Henry responded saying that she felt it was an individual's own prerogative to support or not support the BCC but that she would feel compelled to address that person's concerns. She went on to say, "Afterwards, if you still don't support the BCC, that's your opinion. You don't have to be racist to not support it. Although, I feel that racism can tie in due to the fact that you don't want my culture recognized."

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Working to improve the University's image

DONALD BOULTON DEAN OF STUDENTS

CRITIC: Could you tell us a little bit about your responsibilities as Dean of Students and, in regard to next year, what we can look forward to, from the administration's perspective?

BOULTON: As an administrator, I am in charge of the division of student affairs, with its several departments. So when I think about next year, I'm thinking about staff planning. I'm thinking, "OK, what do we need to do in housing, we've got orientation, we've got all these programs that we're working on." So, I think that way when I think of next year.

CRITIC: How many students are we looking at for next year in the incoming freshman class?

BOULTON: We will always have 3200 freshmen. We had one year when we kicked it back to 3000, but now we're back to 3200 on a regular basis now.

CRITIC: Is there any particular reason for that number?

BOULTON: Well, I think that you understand what we need to do is to try to keep a steady undergraduate base of about 13,600 because that's what we're forecasting in budget form. Anytime we have plus or minus more than a 2% change, they (the General Assembly) don't fund us. So you have to look at your total enrollment, and we always forecast what our enrollment will be, so that they can fund us on their (the General Assembly) formula. And that's where your money comes from, so that you can try to teach for that group. Then you've got set enrollments for each of the professional schools, and for the graduate school, so your total enrollment of 23,500 or 23,600 is made up of a variety of factors.

CRITIC: How do you see race relations on this campus? Good, bad, improving?

BOULTON: I would say that there are a lot of tensions in society. There's tension that was out on the street last night. There was ension in L.A. over the weekend. Tension s in our society in a variety of forms. There's a lot of what I consider to be overt hate, whether it's gay-bashing, whether it's ate rape, or whether it's racial tension. And that racial tension is not always between black and white. It happens to the Hispanic, it happens to the Chinese, Asian... depending on where you are, and where the critical mass is, so, to not have it on a college campus is impossible. What I say to people, is that we ought to be working harder at a better community on a college campus, and ought to be able to achieve it better than in society at large for several reasons.

COURTESY OF THE DTH

They didn't get drafted to come here. You came for reasons that were, I consider, to be lofty and good reasons. So our level of expectation of our community ought to be higher. And we ought to be working harder to celebrate diversity. So I would say to freshmen, come prepared to join us in that exciting task of learning what it's like to live with diversity and celebrate. I'm not worried that it's here. I'm concerned that it's everywhere in society and we need to work at it at all levels.

So often, we say, 'oh - they may not come here.' Well look, every one of my colleagues who does what I do, had a meeting in February in Williamsburg, 'what did you think of this?' I mean, we were talking from Florida to Virginia and to Texas, and only the names were different. The problems were intense whether it's Mississippi or UVA. So, I think that we should remember that, as we talk to incoming freshmen tell them to come prepared to celebrate diversity. Join us in making our community a better place.

CRITIC: Another topic that was big on campus this year was the tenure policy. Does the administration have any plans to address that as far as changing its requirements for tenure, with maybe more emphasis on teaching?

BOULTON: I don't think very many people in this world understand the tenure process. They don't even know what 'tenure' means, except somehow people say it's a lifelong contract. Well, it really isn't. But I'm saying, if we do anything, we've got to do a better job of educating the public.

CRITIC: As to what?

BOULTON: What is tenure, why is it necessary, and why is it good.

CRITIC: Has the faculty had an opportunity to review the tenure policy?

BOULTON: I believe that they're causing it to be looked at. But that would come from the faculty council and from the faculty leadership.

CRITIC: We fell out of the Top 25 in U.S. News and World Report. Is that a major concern for the University?

BOULTON: We went to 26 or 27 based on dollars and some numbers. We always, from an administrative standpoint, are interested in those rankings. And I suppose, if somebody thinks you're doing a good job, you say 'thank you.' But I also recognize that those rankings are really not what count. A better measure for me, of how we are doing, is the level of achievement that our students reach, which is not by themselves alone. You don't get a Rhodes Scholarship without a combination of excellent teaching and excellent students. And we've got both. Sometimes we kid ourselves, and we run ourselves down. You look at the chemistry department and see how many of our students, from the number one chemistry department in the country, go on into graduate programs, and how well they do. That is a measure of how good your faculty and students are together.

When I talk to a group of employers who say 'we come here whenever we've got jobs to offer, because you've got a good group of students who have, through their courses, enabled themselves to stand on their own two feet, express themselves...' just like you're doing now. You can write, you can express yourself, you can handle yourself well in an interview. Well, something must be right here. Something must be going on that is OK. We have, probably, one of the strongest liberal arts curricula in the country. People know that. Employers know that. That's why they keep coming back here. They tell us, 'if we have only one place to go, we're coming here.' Those are measures, that, as far as you the student are concerned, you would rather have than U.S. News and World Report.

I saw that movement from 25 down to 26 and 27 and thought 'hey, so what?' We're still getting more money given to us from students and elsewhere to the library, but every library is being hurt.... We're trying to close that gap, but we still have an excellent library. Our resources are there.

The biggest concern I have at this institution, where I think we are really behind the eight ball, is in the whole computer infrastructure. We could use $100 million right now to bring us up to par. Not much is said about it, but students are beginning to make decisions based on our lack of the computer infrastructure. The more computer-literate your students are, when they're choosing a school, the more they're going to be asking 'what have you got for me?' That's our biggest weakness, frankly.

CRITIC: Another major concern for some students on campus has been the proposed increase in out-of-state tuition. And, the students, especially those of us from out of state, are not excited about that. What is the Administration's stance on that?
BOULTON: In this state, currently, we do not get to keep the revenue we generate. Whatever any of the 16 campuses generate in the way of tuition goes into the general fund. I would like for us to have a new system, where all of us would get to keep the tuition that we generate.

Having said all that, we have had a bargain for too long. When I first came here we were getting almost 80% of our funding from the state, now it's more like 36,35%. If indeed your state funding each year becomes less and less of your total budget, who makes up that difference? One, you get it from gifts, and two, research grants. Gifts, grants and services, what else can be done? There isn't any other place to go. So, if the product that you're buying (an education) costs $10,000 a year and, as a state resident, you're only paying 7-8 percent of the total cost of your education, something is wrong with that.

Who benefits most by your education? I would say 80 percent of it, you benefit by. If we're generous, we'll say society benefits 20 percent. OK, now, at least in my opinion, you want to invest at least, well, let's just say if you invested in 20 percent of the cost, paid 20 percent of the cost. Right now, you're paying 8 percent. What they've done, you see, is to move you up to 80 percent, or moving up the ladder toward the total cost of the education. But, as far as I'm concerned, the unfairness of it is that everybody ought to be moving that way. It doesn't matter whether you're in state or out of state.

I look at it as marketing to out-of-staters, and wanting you to stay in this state and contribute. Now if you look at it from that standpoint, we're doing a pretty good job of that. A lot of people who come here, stay here. I call that a good investment.

But an in-state person has to begin paying somewhat more, but at the same time you bring that up, you've also got to have an increase in scholarship funds. Because you cannot close the door on people who can't afford it. So you do what most private schools do through fundraising for scholarships, and those that have it pay for those who don't. To me that makes sense. How much are you willing to invest in yourself? How much should the state subsidize you?

CRITIC: In the "Critical Issues in Higher Education" seminar that was here two weeks ago, one of the speakers spoke on the politicization of the classroom, and how you've got everybody espousing some sort of relativism. Everything is relative to your perspective. Then, in the classroom, you don't necessarily have to seek out truth.
BOULTON: In other words, you're using your classroom for propaganda...

CRITIC: Maybe not that blatant, but..
BOULTON: But that's what it means.

CRITIC: Yes. So, do you see that, first of all, as being something that the University has to deal with? And, secondly, do you see that as a problem?
BOULTON: You know, some of these peopl are making a lot of money in the process o bashing higher education and selling books I operate on the assumption that all huma beings are political, small 'p.' That's wha we are. So, to remove it from the classroom in some kind of classroom cleansing, wel the only way to do that is to take th human beings out of it.

For the most part, I don't believe that's major problem. I really don't. I know wha they're talking about when they talk abou the so-called political correctness in th English department, or something, we hav determined that. In these times, you've go to decide what you're good at. And, for crying out loud, don't try to do what you're no good at.

We have to focus on the talent we hav and go that direction. One could argue tha we are not doing the job about cross-cultural education. Well, if that's what we want t improve on, we've got to find some peopl who are good at it.

CRITIC: You mentioned cross-cultural education.
BOULTON: African-American, for example. Asian-American. Who are the expert in those areas?

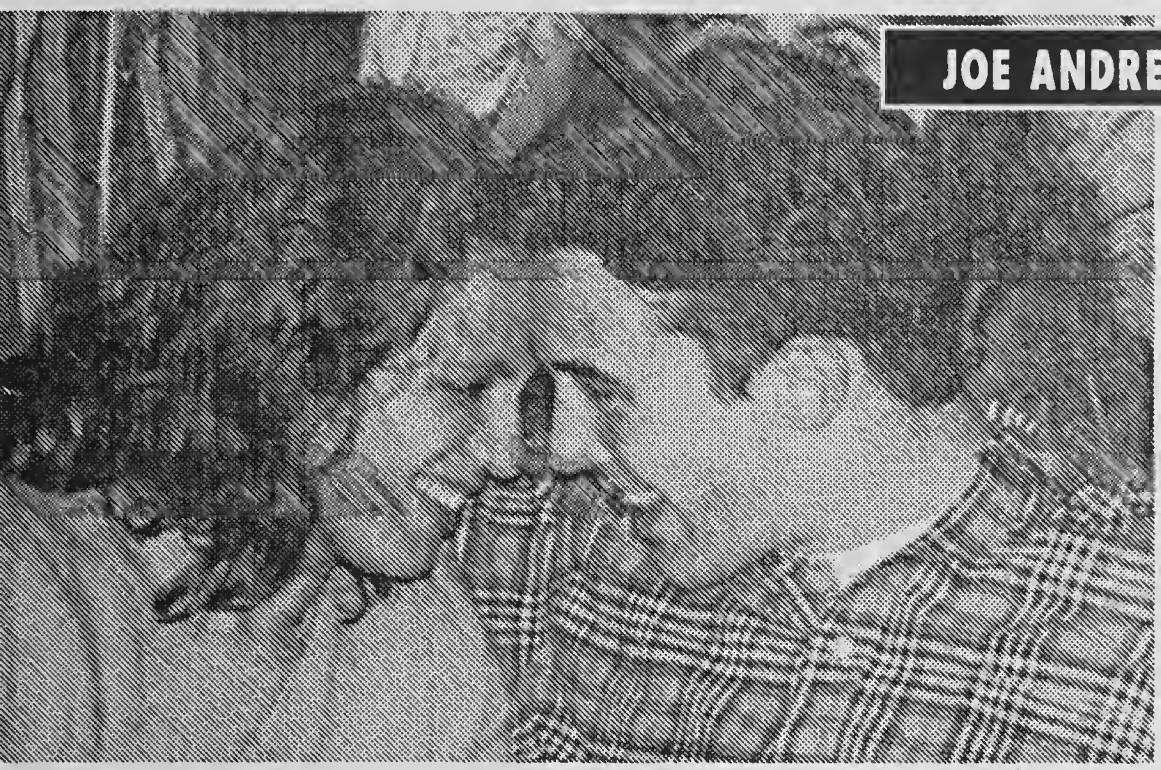
CRITIC: Do you see something like th BCC as helping to further that cause o cross-cultural education?
BOULTON: Not in recent times. It hasn' furthered anything. But, when we first started the program, yes. But since it becam political, and has been strongly agitating, i you will,...lobbying for the free-standin black cultural center, you have cross-cultural educations going on, but perhaps in negative way right now.

We should have programs going on, an we do have some.

CRITIC: Along those same lines, how d you feel about protesters that support th free-standing black cultural center having sit-in, skipping class time, and going to al these protests. It seems like classes hav taken kind of a back seat to the protests.
BOULTON: Well, my view is that, if yo have a goal in front of you, you've got to b very careful in the strategies that you use i order to achieve the goal. If your strategie are causing you not to achieve the goal, yo change them. The current strategies hav been destructive, not constructive. So don't know that they're furthering th cause. But, it's a free country.

-END-

Andrews seeks to lay foundations for future



JOE ANDREWS SENIOR CLASS VICE PRESIDENT

FEW PEOPLE ON CAMPUS ARE AS BUSY AS JOE ANDREWS. AS PRESIDENT OF THE 1994 BICENTENNIAL SENIOR CLASS, ANDREWS IS CHARGED WITH A HOST OF RESPONSIBILITIES AND DUTIES, INCLUDING SPEARHEADING SENIOR CLASS ACTIVITIES. ALONG WITH VICE-PRESIDENT NANCI LOCKLEAR, ANDREWS PLANS TO REDEFINE THE OFFICE OF CLASS PRESIDENT AND LAY A FOUNDATION FOR FUTURE CLASSES.

By Marqui Willoughby

CRITIC: What are you going to do for jobs?
ANDREWS: We are going to try to implement something called the Student Resource Network. What that's going to do is primarily attempt to try to get students to help each other with job information, whether it's internships, deadlines, or contact names all over the country or brief descriptions of what they've actually done in their internships in the past or summer jobs.

So, what we are going to try to do is set something up with University Career Services and we're going to talk with them in the next couple of weeks about maybe figuring a way so that when students go over there to use their services they can fill out some type of questionnaire that inputs their information about jobs or internships. Also, there is something they have called IMPACT over there, and we've talked about expanding that. It's kind of a parent-student matching service.

After Nanci coordinated Parents' Weekend, a lot of parents voiced their enthusiasm about being willing to help out as contacts or whatever. So, we want to expand so parents can have a greater impact on students and provide more information in general.

CRITIC: Is this a more expansive job program than Paty and Mitchell's?
ANDREWS: Yes they did a lot of different things this year. We think there should be completely new resources next year because right now there are a lot of students complaining about not having any kind of jobs or they apply for 50 jobs and get nothing. So, we're going to make sure there are completely new resources and databases implemented.

It will be a good foundation for future classes. We want to lay this down because of the Bicentennial year and try some new ideas.

CRITIC: Who are the front-runners for next year's graduation speaker?
ANDREWS: We are not really at liberty to discuss that. The Bicentennial Observance Committee is primarily taking care of that because it's such a special year. We get to voice our opinion, but basically they make the final decision. We've been asking a lot of seniors lately what their ideas are for speakers. We're really trying to get an international speaker. We are going to have a lecture series coming to campus. It's going to be many prominent national speakers in all areas, political and other types of activists.

CRITIC: What are some of your other priorities?
ANDREWS: Of course, the big one is that we're going to do a lot with the Bicentennial idea because next year will have a lot of recognition all around the world, and it's going to get a lot of media attention. So, we want to make sure we lay down some new ideas as a foundation for the future. At he same time, we're looking at diversity as a big concept. Not only in our selection of marshals—I'd say half of them are minorities. In addition to this, it will give us a good network to reaching out to seniors all over the campus.

During Senior Week we plan to have more diverse events, not just going to He's Not Here or having something in the Pit. We will try to have huge types of things like maybe a concert co-sponsored by the Bicentennial Observance Committee or maybe a battle of the bands with all types of bands representing all areas of interest. Something that is going to appeal to more people and not just bring out a select clique of people.

CRITIC: How do you feel about the BCC issue?
ANDREWS: Well, what we're going to do with the BCC this year is try to maintain an apolitical stance but at the same time one of my ideas for a class gift is going to address a lot of those concerns. I will be pushing for something called United Campus Coalition next year. We're going to set up a UCC advisory board very soon. We're already getting and soliciting students

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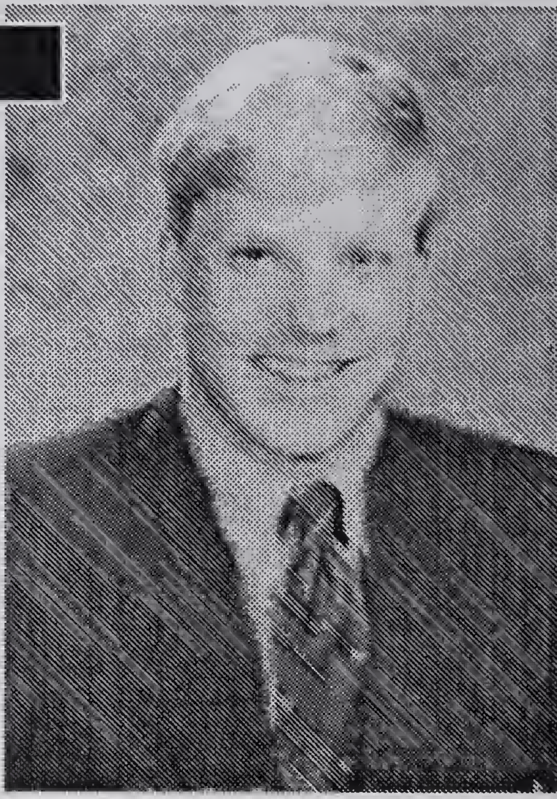
Moran preparing UNC for 200th Anniversary

KEVIN MORAN STUDENT BICENTENNIAL PLANNING CHAIRMAN



CRITIC: What exactly is the Student Bicentennial Observance Planning Committee, and what does it do?

MORAN: Technically, the Student Planning Committee serves as the student arm of the Bicentennial Observance Office, the administrative office that is coordinating all of next year's Bicentennial programming. Our primary responsibility is to help students become involved in the Bicentennial. Until now, this meant that we were working with student organizations and University departments that are immediately concerned with student activities to help them find ways in which they could participate in Observance events. Much of this work simply involved brainstorming. Committee members got together with representatives of various groups and worked with them to develop concepts for projects that they might like to sponsor during the Observance. Now that we are less than half a year away from the Bicentennial, however, more of our work is geared towards actually producing our various student projects. Additionally, we act as a type of information service. The Bicentennial is so big, and entails so much, that it's hard for many people to grasp what is actually happening. It's important that we let students know what's going on, and when it's happening, so that they can get involved.

CRITIC: What activities has the committee planned for next year?

MORAN: We've got tons of stuff going on next year! Everything from graduate research colloquia to band concerts, cultural festivals to student leadership symposia, essay contests to student life festivals. We've made a conscious effort to have as broad a spectrum of events as possible, so that our programming will appeal to, and include, as many people as we can. To date we have programs representing the academic, social, artistic, cultural, athletic, leadership, and service elements of student life. In addition to the entirely student run programs, we are also involved in organizing student participation in the almost eighty campus wide programs being coordinated by the Observance office.

One interesting and important aspect of our programs that I haven't mentioned yet, is that they are all connected by the common focus of "Community." The committee felt strongly, that our Bicentennial programs should be more than just an odd assortment of events put on for no other reason than the fact that it was the Bicentennial Observance. Recognizing that the notion of "community" has played an important role in UNC's development ...indeed, that the entire idea of public higher education was originated here to serve and foster community...and that "community" continues to be a critical issue on campus, we decided to use it as a focus for our programs. We want to highlight and celebrate the significance and development of community at UNC during the past 200 years, as well as remind people that the continuing success of our University in its next century depends upon our ability to challenge ourselves and continually build a better, broader, and stronger campus community.

CRITIC: How were your programs selected?

MORAN: All decisions on projects are made by the students of the planning committee. And to be honest, there aren't really that many decisions to be made. The only major requirement that we have in selecting projects, is that they will have something to do with the Observance. Fortunately, we haven't turned a single group away that wanted to do a Bicentennial project. A couple of times we've had to work with groups to make their project proposals a bit more realistic...but that's usually because the projects would have been too expensive to produce. We also have worked to make the projects fit in the framework of our "community" focus.

"THE BICENTENNIAL IS SO BIG, AND ENTAILS SO MUCH, THAT IT'S HARD FOR MANY PEOPLE TO GRASP WHAT IS ACTUALLY HAPPENING."

—KEVIN MORAN

CRITIC: Speaking of finances, what is your budget and where is it coming from?

MORAN: That's kind of a tricky question to answer exactly. The Bicentennial Observance office has set aside a certain amount of money from its budget to be used to help fund student programs. Although the committee itself doesn't have the money in a bank account, it basically determines how the money is allocated. It is hard to put an exact number on how much money we have available; but I would say that we have roughly between $40,000 and $50,000. One has to remember, however, that the numbers are deceptive. The student committee and the Bicentennial Observance Office are both strongly commited to helping students participate in the Bicentennial. Many times, we are able to find resources for student projects that are not purely monetary in nature. So, in the end, students will be getting a great deal more help than just the dollar amount.

CRITIC: Will there be any activities specifically aimed at the Bicentennial Class (class of 1994)?

MORAN: We are working with Joe Andrews, Nancy Locklear (the newly elected senior class officers) and their marshalls right now on that very subject. Joe and Nancy are going to be strong officers, and they have already clearly expressed their interest in participating in the Bicentennial in any ways that they can. As a committee, I would be surprised if we sponsored any event that was exclusive to a single group...such as the Senior Class...for the simple reason, that we want our programming to be accessible to the entire University. But on projects that will affect the entire campus, such as commencement, we will definitely be working closely.

CRITIC: Will there be anything special about commencement? How will it be different? Is Clinton speaking?
MORAN: Actually, Clinton will hopefully be making an address at the opening ceremonies on October 12, and not at graduation. We're not sure who will be speaking at commencement yet. Certainly we hope it will be someone exciting. But that's one of the things that the committee is currently working on with the Senior Class. In fact, all of the commencement plans are still in the works. It will definitely be a special event. After all, not only will it be commencement, it will also be the Observance's closing ceremonies. There are still a number of ideas floating around about how the event can be enhanced. Perhaps there will be special commemorative diplomas or a special pre-commencement Bicentennial Ball. Who knows? Maybe we'll even get fireworks. The one thing that you can be sure about, is that it's going to be an exciting end to an exciting year.

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Andrews

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in all classes in the University of all ethnic and racial backgrounds to get their perspectives and bring them together on this advisory board along with faculty and community members to meet and discuss them.

I've been thinking for several years now about it, and if we didn't win the election, it was something I was going to do all next year. I sent out questionnaires last year and got very positive feedback.

We could have up to $400,000 to work with next year. So, we can set up an endowment fund where the UCC will be funded virtually forever. It would not be funded by Student Government or the University. It would be completely separate. This could be a new foundation to address these concerns on campus.

CRITIC: How do you plan to maintain an a political stance?
ANDREWS: First of all, I'm not Student Body President so I'm not representing the student body, I'm representing the senior class. Among the seniors there is a lot of diversity. There's a lot of people that don't agree with what they're (the BCC) doing and there're a lot who agree. So, on representing them, we've decided to take an apolitical stand because it wouldn't be fair for us to come out as representatives of the class. There cause can be promoted through the BCC.

CRITIC: Do you see yourself as redefining the role of class president?
ANDREWS: I recognize all the great accomplishments of all the previous classes, but I really think that as seniors we are really setting a leadership example for the rest of the University. We are virtually going to redefine and expand the role of the senior class—so, as you said, a more visibly active leadership role for the whole University. There are so many more projects and joint ventures that we could address if we really put our energy toward it and not just fall for the same old off stuff that we've been doing.

CRITIC: How do you plan to be available to the senior class?
ANDREWS: We're going to be very available in that we select marshals that we feel are going to want to be highly visible. We want everybody to know who the leaders are and we want them to be very visible on campus. Word of mouth promotion is going to be very big. That's so effective through organizations like the BSM.

I'm gong to be very available to anybody. I'm going to be in this office a lot, and we're going to even set this up like a home so we can enjoy being here more. I'm going to try to be much more visible and much more active.

CRITIC: Do you plan to work closely with Student Congress?
ANDREWS: Yes and no. First of all, there is a big misconception that we're a part of Student Government. People check us off in that category. We're privately funded. We've decided to set up a special liaison committee between us and Student Government in addition to Jim (Copland) and I meeting on about a bimonthly basis.

Several of Jim's staff will be serving on this UCC advisory board, so we're going to be getting some perspectives from them. Any kind of lobbying efforts that we feel we can be more effective together, we're going to definitely do that together. Jim and I realize that working together can be much more effective to what we want to accomplish.

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Critical Issues sparks campus debate

BESIDES VISITS FROM WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., MAYA ANGELOU, ED MEESE AND NADINE STROSSEN, CHUCK D, AND DR. RUTH, A CRITICAL ISSUES FORUM WAS ASSEMBLED ON THE TOPIC OF EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURALISM'S INFLUENCE ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES.

The Chapel Hill campus was the fortunate host of a diverse range of respected guests in the past several weeks, and, indeed, throughout the past year, largely due to the efforts of the Carolina Union Activities Board and the Carolina Union Forum Committee.

Those who were able to see a few of the four events held from March 29 to April 1 were exposed to several of the current and historical controversies that attempt to shape the direction in which higher education is headed. Various arguments were presented by leaders presently defining the intellectual trends that will impact universities into the next decade and the next century.

On Monday, historian and Kennedy administration official, Dr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. discussed "Multiculturalism: the Unraveling of America." Schlesinger attempted to capture the current social climate in a historical analysis of America's multi-cultural society, and its relationship to the responsibilities of the public educational system.

Dinesh D'Souza, author of the now infamous *Illiberal Education*, and Gerald Graff, author of *Beyond the Culture Wars*, acted out a raucous and rather superficial debate on political correctness and multiculturalism on Tuesday. The debate, which touched on affirmative action and feminism, was loaded with entertaining moments, but left out much of the force of the ideas presented in their respective books.

Wednesday saw a more productive panel, showering those who attended with a wealth of considered viewpoints on race relations on campus, in academia, and in U.S. society. The three speakers, Afrocentrist Mosefi Asante, author of *The Afrocentric Idea*, Linda Chavez, author of *Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation*, and Sam Fulwood, author of the forthcoming book, *The Rage of the Black Middle Class*, argued at length about the pros and cons of the competing philosophies of assimilation and accommodation.

The keynote speaker, Lynne Cheney, former chair of the influential National Endowment for the Humanities, spoke Thursday on the politicization of teaching in the university and its effect on.

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Dinesh D'Souza, left, debated with Gerald Graff as part of the series ▶

CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

Politically Correct vs Politically Incorrect

By Greg Konig

"One should never forget that Socrates... was put to death, and that the love of wisdom survived, partly because of his individual example. This is what really counts, and we must remember it in order to know how to defend the university."

This quote was by the late Allan Bloom, from his immensely controversial book The Closing of the American Mind, which discussed the need to defend the Western liberal tradition of learning at the universities. What does he think the university needs to defend itself against? Relativism and subjectivism. These concepts are the antithesis to the belief that "The aim of college universities, the goal, the end, is truth", espoused by Cheney as the central point of her lecture. It is these concepts of relativism and subjectivism that are at the root of the politically correct movement. Cheney comments that whatever the original goal, its results are that it keeps education from being as open, free, and extensive as it should be. This central tenet of truth is what those who object to the P.C. movement hold on to.

Cheney summarized the conceptions of growing numbers in academia and college campuses which often espouse the relativism and subjectivism that chokes learning in the humanities and other fields. The idea is roughly: 'there is no truth. Everything that we think is truth, is actually shaped by political interests. Truth is really only a tool for advancing the power of this group or that group... we might as well embrace politics when it comes to knowledge, and incorporate agendas that will advance our viewpoint in the scholarship and teaching'. This view is prevalent and growing.

Incidentally, those who fight for and against the P.C. movement are not divided amlong partisan lines, or racial or ethnic groups. However, those who have endured many of the consequences of being "politically incorrect" have been those defending views from the right side

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of the political spectrum.

For example, Linda Chavez has had lectures canceled at several campuses since her book was published because the universities could not allow her to talk about her views on Hispanic assimilation, she has needed police escorts at several, and was once physically assaulted. The prospect that things of this nature are occurring frequently across the country should be terrifying to anybody. Her point of view was too controversial for the temperamental climate that exists because of the P.C. movement. And it is especially ironic considering most studies show that the vast majority of Hispanics living in this country agree with her. What is it about subjectivism and relativism that cause these sorts of things to happen?

Those who believe that all knowledge is ultimately political tend to promote an intellectual orthodoxy that shuns opposing views, most of the time uncritically, because any sort of view can be dismissed if there is no objective standard of truth to adhere. Those who go so far as to promote this orthodoxy typically believe that their conception and mission will make society better. Cheney characterized the "politically correct" as having "a vision of society and believe that, if they can mpose that vision on the student, achieve his or her political and social transformation, that the world will be better off. They are well motivated, but misguided."

There are two problems that underlie this issue: free speech and the quality of education. Many argue that free speech is restricted by political corectness. One of the efforts of the P.C. movement has been to enact speech codes to protect victimzed groups and minorities. The result is that those who present views that oppose the orthodoxy are ilenced or worse. A common objection is that hate peech should not be tolerated, which is relevant to many of the controversies at UNC. Cheney defends her libertarian view by pointing out that "the nswer to misguided, ignorant, and bigoted speech s more speech."

D'Souza also strongly supports the right to speak reely, especially in classrooms, without fear of etaliation. In his book, he distinguishes between hat he calls old racism (plain old-fashioned ignoance) and new racism. While researching, he discovered that racial incidents occur at universities roportionately to the general level of speech odes, sensitivity training, admissions quotas, etc. hose places that stress these multicultural concocons have found that racial incidents increase cordingly.

Thus, when D'Souza discusses a breed of racism at is "new", he is referring to the tendency of many who have been put at a distinct disadvantage cause of these 'victim-status' policies to resent em. They occasionally engage in hostile acts wards those who are perceived to be reaping vantage at their expense. It sounds far out, but empirical evidence shows it's true. How else can one explain the higher rates of racial conflict at Northern universities (including the Ivy League schools) than at Southern universities. The students who attend all of these universities are, on average, less racist and more tolerant than any previous generation, yet problems will continue to exist if free speech isn't encouraged, and frustrations aren't vented through the right channels. The P.C. movement only exacerbates the problem.

CRITIC PHOTO BY MOLLY VOGT

The quality of education is also affected by the politically correct movement. D'Souza's *Illiberal Education* lays out example after example of the shocking nature of the excesses the politically correct movement has imposed upon the learning environment. He argues at length of the imbalances which are created by policies meant to incorporate the prevalent multicultural ideals on universities through admission quotas, inclusion of politically correct politics into the curriculum, speech codes, and the creation of departments for victim-status groups. Academic standards are perverted when the P.C. movement attempts to impose a leftist form of social justice on higher education that is fixated upon race, class, and gender group representation and exultation. No doubt, his powerful book has made him many enemies, some of whom have attempted to silence his right to free speech.

"D'SOUZA'S ILLIBERAL EDUCATION LAYS OUT EXAMPLE AFTER EXAMPLE OF THE SHOCKING NATURE OF THE EXCESSES THE POLITICALLY CORRECT MOVEMENT HAS IMPOSED UPON THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT."

The P.C. movement has thrust much emphasis onto what should be taught in universities. This debate may be the most controversial since everyone will disagree to some extent on what is important enough to include in an education. Those who argue for a new, politically correct curriculum vary tremendously in their opinions. Graff offers some suggestions, sometimes agreeing with D'Souza, but challenging his views more often. He claims that the reigning paradigm of education is what some refer to as Eurocentric, male. His criticism embodies the politicization of everything by the politically correct. He accuses Western tradition as being so ingrained that conservative (Western) values do no appear political. Apparently, he feels values such as toleration are peculiarly conservative. Perhaps they are. It makes me glad to live in America. Yet, the view that Western tradition is such a narrow view perplexes me. The Eurocentric, white males that are so flippantly lumped together include thinkers such as Plato, Augustine, Locke, Rousseau, Marx

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(the only one in vogue right now), and Hemingway. How are these individuals related beyond their skin color, and the general geographic proximity of their ancestors? Startling, isn't it?

This common objection contends that the University embodies only the viewpoint of the dominant power in culture. This is the basis of victim- status, a reference often appealed to when discussing political issues. Some problems with this idea appear to be its assumption that the university and society itself are made up of groups (not individuals), that these groups are homogeneous and do not change drastically over time. These assumptions are exactly what D'Souza and others like Schlesinger point out as the root of the problem. This form of thought is herd-like, and leads to odd conclusions such as the idea that blacks cannot be racist.

The basic premise of victim status overrides this debate. Graff further criticizes D'Souza for attempting to portray himself as a victim of the P.C. movement. This might be an accurate criticism of D'Souza; however, Graff's conception of victimization is what makes his criticism so convoluted: when one has their rights violated, they may be referred to as victims; however, this does not mean that when individuals from a certain group are denied some rights, that the whole aggregated group deserves some compensation. This might hold true for some retribution argument for the crime of slavery, but does little to equitably judge who is to receive preference for university admissions, and does less to dictate what sort of things to include in a curriculum. Equal or proportionately equal representation of 'group achievement/contribution' is a twisted concept to base curriculum on when contributions to society are rarely offered by 'groups'. Unfortunately, this rationale of illogical generalization is all too common.

Is the purpose of the university to educate or to rehabilitate? This is a major concern of Arthur Schlesinger, who says, "Self-esteem is the consequent, not the cause, of achievement". He is referring to the unfortunate consequence of the multicultural trends that try to glorify the history of the different ethnicities, which is probably a reaction to the fact that many of them have been ignored by mainstream institutions such as the public education system in the past.

Schlesinger emphasizes that diversity lends texture and depth to American culture, but we must not let this lead to celebration of differences. This sort of pluralism is purely separatist in motive, and "no society can survive unless they recognize what they have in common... Public schools have a different task... what brings children together... not to teach them, for God's sake, ancestor worship." In a refreshingly optimistic sense, he referred to political correctness as "a pop fashion that I am confident is here today and will be gone tomorrow...the silent majority will call foul and go back to tolerance. We still have far to go as a nation to live up to our ideals... racial harmony is not an impossible dream." The bottom line— is political correctness worth the costs?

–END–

Assimilation vs

By Greg Konig

The speakers who favored assimilation of minorities into American schools and society all defined their conception of assimilation as a dynamic process of integration by both the majority and minority. This is in vast contrast to the conception of assimilation held by those against it, most of whom conceived of it as a static transition which arbitrarily threatens to take away the essence of the minority being engulfed into the dominant culture. Each argument has its own merits, but by looking at the underlying assumptions one can see who proponents and enemies of assimilation are arguing right past each other. The assimilation argument has lost an almost unprecedented popularity since the civil rights era. How is this, and what are the alternatives?

Arthur Schlesinger lays out the basis for the assimilationist argument through warning of the consequences of some approach that would be more separatist. His approach offers an innovative viewpoint on multicultural issues, and of the future of our society and the minorities inexorably tied to this future. He distinguished between the "warfare of ideologies" and the "warfare of ethnicitie." The warfare of ideologies dominated the history of the twentieth century; it emphasized the struggles with fascism and communism. With these threats fading away (hopefully), ethnic conflicts and hatreds are surging back as the defining variable in the relationships between people in the world and in the U.S.

Delicate and complex relations between ethnicities can be observed in almost every country in the world. How the different groups choose to relate to one another socially, economically, and politically can leave the country better off, degenerate into atrocities of civil war and genocide, or anywhere in between. Thus, the fundamental problem facing us in the U.S. is 'How will we, as a nation, choose to affirm the equal dignity and respect of every person, regardless of their ancestry?'

The assimilation vs. accommodation debate attempts to resolve this question as it relates to the condition of race relations in this country, and the historical disadvantages blacks and other minorities face when attempting to survive and prosper in a society that has been less than equal or equitable to them.

Schlesinger observes that the "cult of ethnicity" has both beneficial and harmful consequences. Though these efforts have achieved valuable civil rights and corrected many wrongs in education, the economy, and in law, they have also assumed that, first, groups and common ethnic cultures rather than individuals and a common American culture form America; second, they deny even the possibility of a melting pot and integration in the future. Schlesinger finds that this way of thinking fragments and ultimately hurts society, through its separationist character. He notes America's public school systems have been the greatest agents of both separatism and assimilation throughout American history. Thus, he finds the present ethnicity trend is harmful to the education process, and assimilation should be striven for in education in order to hold the nation together.

In order for ethnic groups to get along, they must leave behind their ancient prejudices and act on new principles of co-existence. Schlesinger readily acknowledges, "The curse of racism has been the great fetter of the American experiment", and argues that it will just take more work to integrate those ethnicities whose skin color is different. The process is under way, and constitutes a two-way street. The bottom line is that assimilation does not mean blacks are to be swallowed up by a monolithic white European culture, but contributions by individuals of both groups will thrust them both closer to the ideal of a peaceful mankind. No American culture of the future would ignore the contributions of Harriet

Accommodation

Tubman, Martin Luther King, Jr., Miles Davis, etc. The process is a dynamic one that results from an interaction of individuals consigned to common goals and with common means to these ends.

It is on this subject that Asante misunderstands the assimilationists. In reality, his views, though so hostile to Schlesinger, have many of the same notions underlying them.

Asante's ideas are similar to Schlesinger's because he does dismiss the politically correct notion that politics defines one's point of view, which Graff defends. However, he maintains the assumption of different groups competing in a zero-sum game. His philosophy can be labeled accommodationist because he does not espouse a separation of races, but instead emphasizes a breaking down of hierarchies. He rejects assimilation of races because he feels the black race will be left out in some essential way. However, this type of accommodation is much more separatist in nature than most. He is basically dismissing the idea that any common ground may be found between the polarized views on the human experience between those of different races.

Sam Fulwood proposes a more moderate form of ccommodation. He discusses his childhood in rder to define his experience, as a black, with the otion of assimilation. He told the audience of his ttempt to integrate into the mainstream American ociety, and how something had been left out that as essential to his development. He attributes the ienation he and other middle-class blacks like m experienced as resulting from a conveyor belt entality that defines the movement towards inte- ation of different ethnicities. His premise is that e lose something attempting to make us "gray."

Inherent in his discussion is the emphasis he aces on the difference between the ideal notions e all cling to and reality. He characterized the ucational system as one that prepares you to come employable, not educated. In reality, if a ack attempting to integrate his or her self does t become 'employable', then they withdraw from ainstream society. Thus, he urges that there needs be something more, something which enriches educational process. Herein lies a dilemma.

o, "If America is to be America, we have to find ne accommodation for the various ranges of peo- , to be able to respect the differences that we all e, yet still call all of ourselves American." This w is much less hostile to the assimilation argu- nt, yet is similar to Asante's view in many ways.

ney both disagree with Chavez, who defends the of the university as a place of learning those ngs which we all need in common. She ques- s the need to study all of the different cultures rder to get a grasp on our own, and points out at this time, our schools are not even able to ide the basics to students. She emphasizes that much can be learned from other cultures, but that we must be careful what we choose to teach, in order to avoid superficiality and the subversion of truth. Chavez notes the recent emphasis on books such as the quasi- Marxist/feminist third world treatise "I Rigoberta Menchu", while authors such as Cervantes and Lope de Vega are routinely ignored. This example shows the grossly twisted problems with group representation and exultation that comes as a result of emphasizing differences instead of similarities.

Her argument promoting assimilation is simple and comprehensive. This may be why so many are hostile to it. On the question of 'what should be taught?', she proposes, first, that all students need a basic grounding in skill that will allow them to compete in American society. This includes a strong grasp of English, as well as basic math and science skills. Second, a broad understanding of our system of government and its institutions, including the history of this nation. She emphasizes that just because it is a Eurocentric perspective we are dealing with here, we should not shy away from teaching the immediate English antecedents of our legal/political institutions.

Finally, there needs to be an understanding of the world in which we live, including a knowledge of other cultures to contextualize ours. This last point shows the basic difference between an assimilationist like Chavez or Schlesinger, and an accommodationist like Asante or Fulwood. The assimilationists assume that only an emphasis on individuals within the context of Western educational values of truth, toleration, and free expression will ultimately lead us to a functional unified culture in American society, whereas the accommodationists assume only a concerted effort to distinguish the different values of various groups in the educational system will lead to a harmonious American society composed of its various cultures.

The differences between these views are so extensive that no resolution is reasonably foreseeable. The American dream of an ideal society, which has been referred to as the melting pot, is under attack. The direction education will lead us will ultimately be defined by whether the educational system embodies the concepts of this ideal or rejects it.

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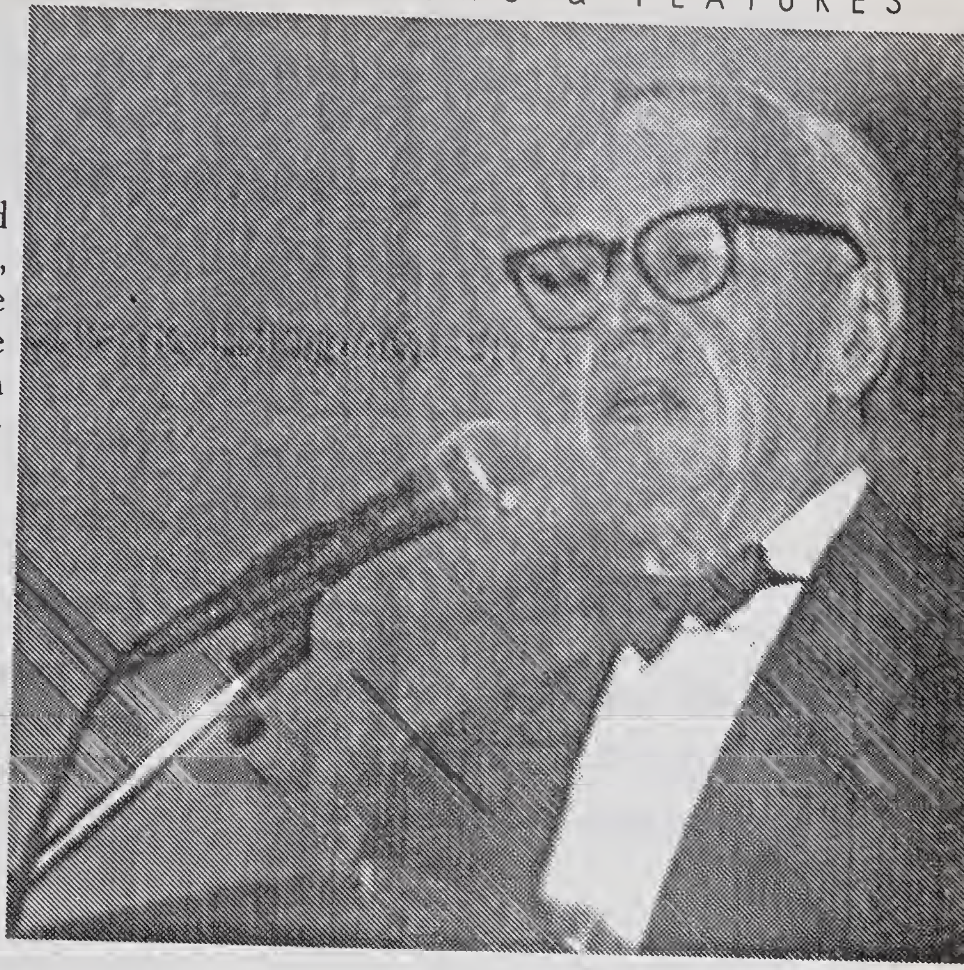

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▲ *Arthur Schlesinger pictured here in his speech on the UNC campus*

SCHLESINGER READILY ACKNOWLEDGES, "THE CURSE OF RACISM HAS BEEN THE GREAT FETTER OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT", AND ARGUES THAT IT WILL JUST TAKE MORE WORK TO INTEGRATE THOSE ETHNICITIES WHOSE SKIN COLOR IS DIFFERENT. THE PROCESS IS UNDER WAY, AND CONSTITUTES A TWO-WAY STREET.

RA Indoctrination?

Many have expressed concern that the university's resident assistant training programs are nothing more than elaborate brain-washing schemes. We asked two R.A.s with very different opinions on the subject to explain whether or not the University Housing Administration had created an overly P.C. sensitivity training program for it R.A.s or not.

Building a community of tolerance

NO INDOCTRINATION

"AN R.A. MUST BE AWARE OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT THAT CAN OCCUR"

By Shane Stutts

It has recently been brought to my attention that certain individuals on this campus feel that the extensive training of resident assistants is nothing more than the forced feeding of liberal ideals. Their concern seems to be that working as an R.A. requires the individual to compromise personal ideas and morals and replace them with those of the University. Specifically, the controversy has focused on the amount of training devoted to dealing with racial and homosexual harassment issues. While it is true that R.A. training does highlight racial and homosexual harassment issues, the fact is that there are several justifications supporting the basis of current R.A. training.

R.A. training is governed by the Chancellor's anti-discrimination statement. The statement reads as follows:

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is committed to equality of educational opportunity and does not discriminate against applicants, students, or employees, based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, age or disability.

Additionally, the University has adopted a policy of nondiscrimination on the basis of irrelevant factors that have no direct link to an individual's job performance. Sexual orientation is considered an irrelevant factor under this University policy. These two policy statements have set forth guidelines under which harassment and discrimination will not be tolerated on this campus. Furthermore, violators act in direct contradiction of The Code of Student Conduct which governs student communities on the UNC campus. Since R.A.s are employees of the Housing Department and the Housing Department is a branch of the University, resident assistant training emphasizes the University's desired standards for community living within residence halls.

After one yea as an R.A. I have seen that our primary responsibility is establishing a hall community where each resident can enjoy his full rights. Among these rights are the right to be free from intimidation, physical and emotional harm. To provide such an environment, a R.A. must be aware of the various types of intimidation and harassment that can occur. Therefore, the Housing Department trains R.A.s using distinctive examples of harassment in order to instill the confidence and knowledge of how to deal with such a situation when it arises. Without concrete examples, a R.A. would potentially stumble through a year not knowing what constituted harassment on this campus and what did not.

Before the fall semester officially begins, every new and returning R.A. completes two weeks of seminars including sessions discussing confrontational skills, drug abuse, sexual orientations, eating disorders, race relations, and sexual assault issues. At the conclusion of training , new R.A.s are thrust into resident conflict scenarios dealing with a rape victim to the mediation of a situation where two men are being harassed about their sexual orientation. These scenarios are probably one of the most beneficial aspects of R.A. training because their trainees are forced to employ skills from previous seminars and make decisions about what course of action is necessary.

R.A. training is an educational process in and of itself. Trainees are taught to be an objective mediator where residents can resolve disputes. To obtain true objectivity, it is necessary for many of us, including myself, to reconsider their views on certain issues. The goal of training is to challenge perspective R.A.s to extend him/herself beyond their current mind-set. Training is not an enormous "brainwashing" session where an individual must compromise personal beliefs in order to become an effective R.A. If we are afraid to defend our own beliefs to ourselves, then how can we justify them to others?

Perspective R.A.s must take the initiative to investigate the University's business policies for residence hall life and establishing community standards. If an individual discovers that his personal philosophy is inconsistent with that of the potential employer, then it seems logical that the individual should seek employment elsewhere. Being a R.A. is no exception. Although a R.A. is a student, he/she is also an employee of the University. The Housing Department hires R.A.s specifically to establish community standards consistent with what the University desires. These standards include the enforcement of the anti-discrimination policy.

In light of the recent R.A.V. v. St. Paul decision, the constitutionality of an anti-discrimination policy which selectively prohibits types of harassment may soon be questioned within the context of an educational setting.

However, the point is that the University does have such a policy and it is the responsibility of every student at UNC to adhere to the policy. Moreover, the Housing Department has the responsibility to train R.A.s to understand and enforce the University's preferred community standards. R.A.s are employees who have been entrusted to create those standards for residents to the best of their ability.

Ideally, the University and the Housing Department want R.A.s to foster an environment of mutual acceptance and respect among all residents. While striving to attain this ideal, R.A.s are more realistically creating a community of tolerance Although tolerance may fall short of the University's primary goal, it is a step toward reducing the harassment felt by many groups on this campus.

–END–

Apostles of Political Correctness

By Culley Carson

Last year, when I decided to apply to be a Resident Assistant, I had many questions as to what would be expected of me. After a long and rduous selection process, I was finally ired. I was told that I would be responsible or making life for my residents as comfort-ble as possible, to give them a sense of ommunity. What I was not told was that I vould also be expected to be an apostle of olitical correctness, or that the Department of Housing had an indoctrina-ion program. It was through these pro-rams that we learned just how terrible we ll really were, especially us white males. A roup of people who initially were thought f as some of the most judiciously fair peo-le on campus suddenly became a vicious en of subconsciously racist, sexist, homo-hobic hate mongrels. Needless to say, I was uite concerned to discover this about yself.

The format of these sessions was in the orm of discussion groups that met three mes fall semester. In these discussions, ach of which covered a particular minority roup, there was usually some type of pre-entation followed by a confessional. In the ession about racism, we were shown an pisode of Oprah Winfrey that featured ne Elliot and her brown eye, blue eye xperiment. In this experiment, Ms. Elliot structed her kindergarten class to one day e prejudicial to the brown eyed children d then the next day she reversed the roles that the blue eyed children got their are of unfair treatment. In addition to lling all about her incredibly simplistic xperiment, Ms. Elliot also told everyone out how racist our society is. She pointed t such insidious things as the color we tribute to "nude" bandages and panty-se. Also, we were told that growing up, r teachers were racist for showing us a ap that depicted the United States as ger than other continents. By doing this, parently we are ignoring the numerous digenous cultures worldwide.

At this point, I was having a difficult ne containing myself. Surely you jest? As tertaining as Oprah can be, when was the time anyone in the mainstream was on talkshow? To assert that this perspec-e is anything other than a hyperbolic lysis by an eccentric bleeding-heart is erently problematic. To have this as a ndatory activity by the Department of sing is also rather questionable. When I asked, what ,if anything, did all of this fascinating information have to do with the job, I was told it did not have any direct bearing on my job per se, but was simply provided to heighten my awareness on the subject.

CULTURAL RELATIVISM IS ON THE RISE AND MORALITY AND VIRTUE ARE ON THE WAY OUT.

Thus, inevitably questions began to arise on my politically-correct sensitivity meter. If this sensitivity session had nothing to do with the job, then what was the purpose? Were we to patrol the halls for "nude" bandages and reprimand the resident who would dain to wear such offensive materials?

However as the discussion afterward unfolded it was clear that none of my questions would ever be taken seriously, never mind answered. What resulted was a sticky sweet confessionary that would make even the most casual observer a bit queazy. Everyone in the group was encouraged to tell about times when they had encountered a racist or racist behavior. It seemed there were several people who had friends or had heard people actually use racially derogatory language. Then there would be the occasional oohs and aahs at especially blatant incidents. They were all great stories and I did indeed enjoy them all, however, as far as any quantifiable information to employ in my residence hall, little could be found.

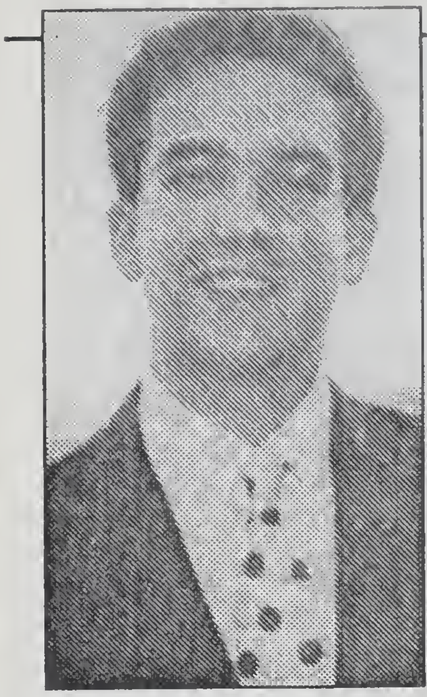
The next session was a bit like the first, except it involved the promotion of the homosexual lifestyle. This session was not as visually enjoyable for it was without Oprah. Nonetheless, it was as sticky sweet as the first. In this therapy session, we all were told of the impact sodomy laws have on homosexuals and how discriminatory it is that such laws exist. When someone pointed out that those laws apply to both heterosexuals as well as homosexuals, they were quickly reminded of the evils of having laws that reflect morality. After this, we all read newspaper clippings that contained anti-gay sentiments as well as tear jerking statistics about AIDS. Then someone in the group reminded us that it is also prejudicial to associate AIDS with homosexuals. Again, I found myself with some questions. First of all, what was the purpose of this session? What about the feelings of people who find the homosexual lifestyle offensive? What information were we supposed to relay to our residents? Should we race around the dorm to seek out our homosexual residents and give them special treatment because of their sexual behavior and who they are attracted to? Again, the relationship of this valuable information to our jobs was not discussed. As a result, I left with a bad taste in my mouth, the taste of a sentiment that is the antithesis to academic freedom, thought cleansing.

In each of the sessions, we were presented with only one side of the coin. It was presumed that we all either agreed with this nonsense or that our minds were polluted with politically incorrect thoughts that we might leak to our residents. Additionally, it wreaked of what permeates every corner of this and most other universities nationwide. It is the proposition that the left way is the only way. Whether it be a liberal professor or a more blatant case as in the aforementioned, the results are the same.

Students are being filled with biased propaganda that will effect generations to come. Cultural relativism is on the rise and morality and virtue are on the way out. We are being taught that there are no absolutes anymore, that was just an antiquated hate filled theory that was only prevalent for the last 180 years of this nascent republic's history. Now, what is moral depends on the person and it is you who is ignorant if you dare question a person's immorality. Had any of these sessions been on a religious topic, or anything that could have been remotely inferred as religious undoubtedly controversy would have erupted.

This essay is not meant in any way to demean or attack the Department of Housing. I have had a wonderful experience as an R.A. thus far and look forward to my Senior year as an R.A. However, as a person who feels that I am very judicious in my behavior, I find it offensive to be treated as if I would not treat all my residents equally. If there is a problem, it should not matter who it is. Ultimately, I will never be "in the shoes" of many of the people I deal with but what I will guarantee is that I will always be fair. If the Department is really dedicated to the principle of justice and equality, maybe instead of watching Oprah Winfrey to learn about these principles they should use all of what our community has to offer and send us to church. For it is here that they would encounter an individual who exemplifies these qualities even better than Oprah, I think you know who I am talking about.

-END-



FROM THE PUBLISHER

The end is upon us once again and we at *The Critic* were determined to get out at least one more issue if it killed us. In this issue, we take a look ahead at next year with interviews of various campus officials including Donald Boulton, Dean of Students, Jim Copland,the student body president, Joe Andrews, senior class president, Latricia Henry, Black Student Movement vice-president and Kevin Moran, chairman of the Student Bicentennial Planning Committee.

But before we take a look ahead, I wanted to reflect on this year before it slips away along with everything we learned and it was definitely a time to remember. We won the National Championship and survived the BCC struggle, almost. We witnessed all of the protests, the sit-ins and the arrests. While some of us were amused, others were disgusted and still others lent their voices to the echoes of protest. At least the DTH was never at a loss for material, as long as there was Jesse Jackson and Margo Crawford urging protestors to harass the administration and intimidate the students.

Well, as you take off for the beach or wherever your summer urges take you, remember *The Critic*. When next year, rolls around, we'll be calling on you to help us in the fight against tyranny and political correctness which threatens our beloved school. Between now and then, at least once this summer, kick back on the beach with a cold one, take in the scenery and ponder nothing. That is the meaning of life and all the rest is just filler.

Mark A. Bandy

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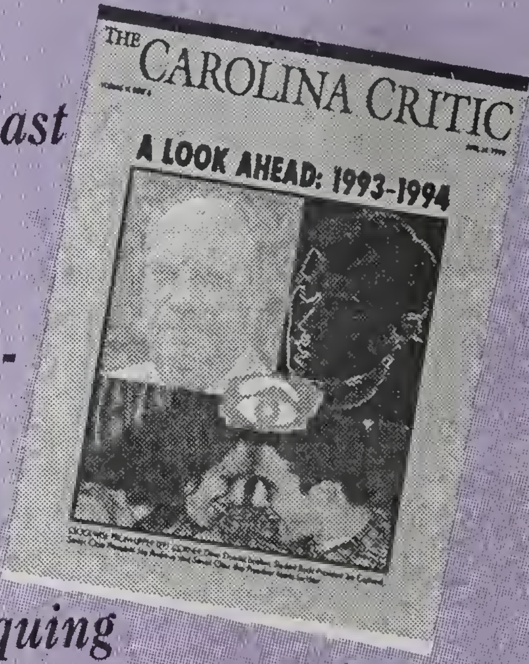

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THE PEOPLE'S DISAPPOINTMENT WITH ITS LEADERS / PAGE 10

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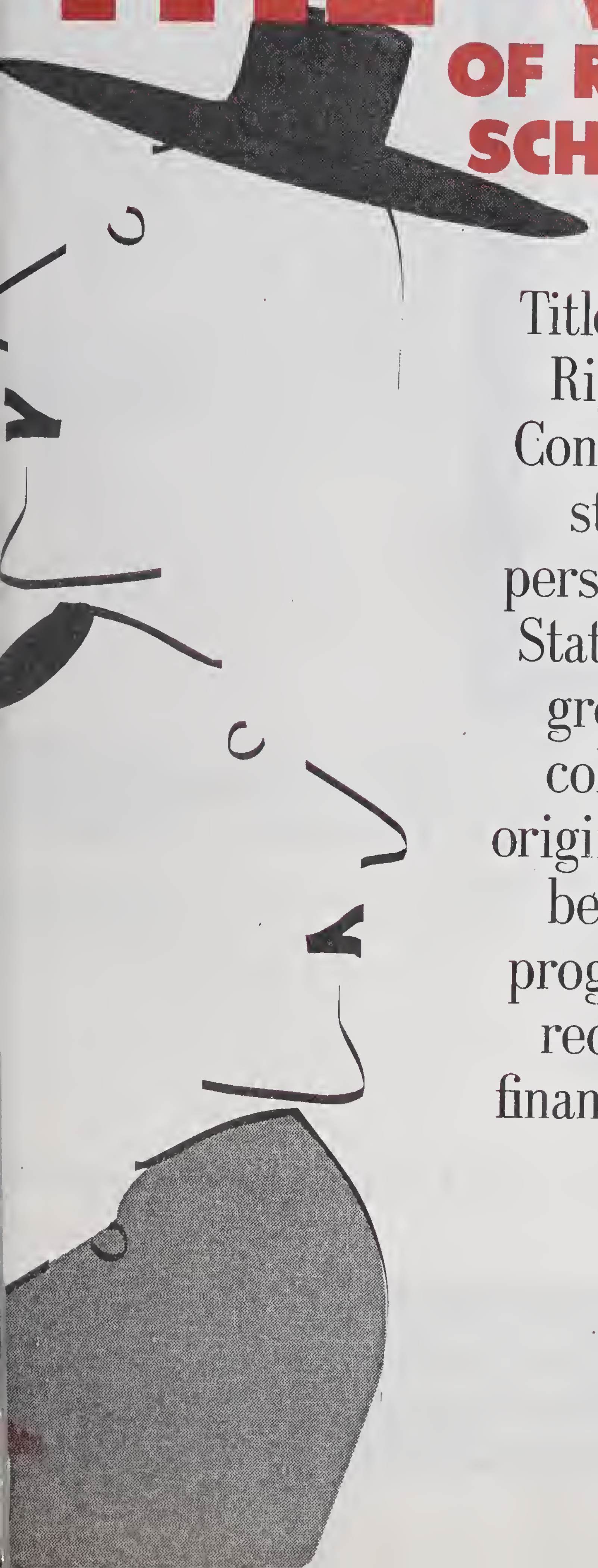
HE CAROLINA CRITIC

OLUME VII, ISSUE 1

OCTOBER 1, 1993

THE VICTIMS

OF RACE-BASED SCHOLARSHIPS



Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of the Constitution clearly states that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be denied the benefits of...any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

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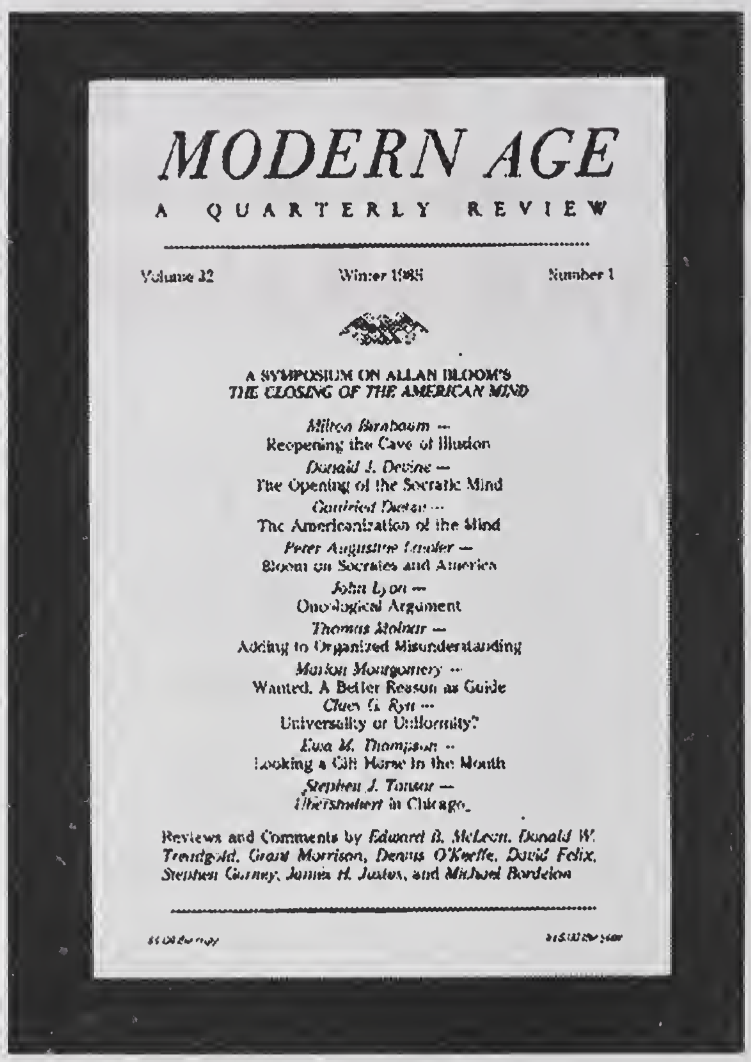
Join the Battle On Campus



MODERN AGE
A QUARTERLY REVIEW

Volume 32 Winter 1988 Number 1

A SYMPOSIUM ON ALLAN BLOOM'S
THE CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND

Milton Birnbaum —
Reopening the Cave of Illusion
Donald J. Devine —
The Opening of the Socratic Mind
Gottfried Dietze —
The Americanization of the Mind
Peter Augustine Lawler —
Bloom on Socrates and America
John Lyon —
Ontological Argument
Thomas Molnar —
Adding to Organized Misunderstanding
Marion Montgomery —
Wanted, A Better Reason as Guide
Claes G. Ryn —
Universality or Uniformity?
Ewa M. Thompson —
Looking a Gift Horse in the Mouth
Stephen J. Tonsor —
Übermensch in Chicago

Reviews and Comments by *Edward B. McLean, Donald W. Treadgold, Grant Morrison, Dennis O'Keeffe, David Felix, Stephen Gurney, James H. Justus,* and *Michael Bordelon*

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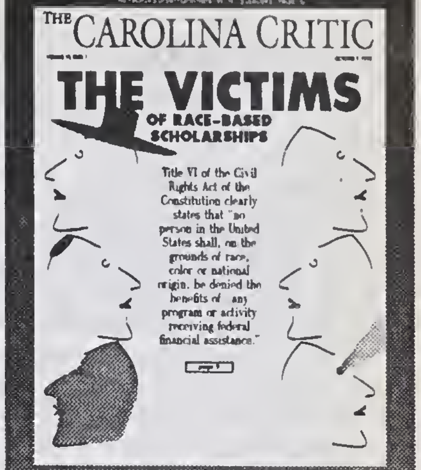
THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VII, NO. I

OCTOBER I, 1993



THE CAROLINA CRITIC

THE VICTIMS

OF RACE-BASED SCHOLARSHIPS

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of the Constitution clearly states that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be denied the benefits of any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

THE CRITIC COVER

Awarding race-based scholarships has become standard practice at universities across the country. Students receive federal money because of, not in spite of, their differences.

Illustration by John Caserta

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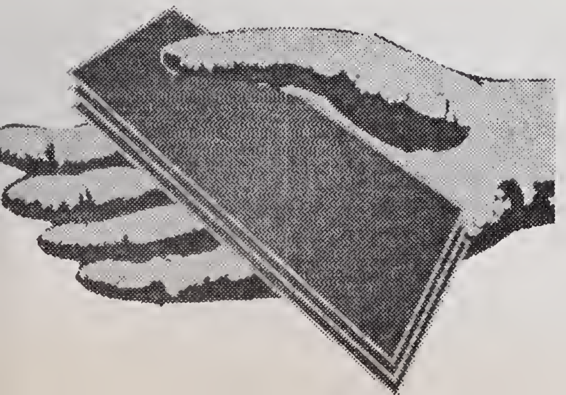

One of Washington's typical leaders
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APHORISMS

Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you mad.
-Aldous Huxley

An appeal is when you ask one court to show its contempt for another court.
-Finley Peter Dunne

Americans will put up with anything, provided it doesn't block traffic.
-Dan Rather

Airline insurance replaces the fear of death with the comforting prospect of cash.
-Cecil Beaton

A happy childhood is poor preparation for human contacts.
-Colette

Communism is the opiate of the intellectuals.
-Clare Boothe Luce

Never judge a book by its movie.
-JW Eagan

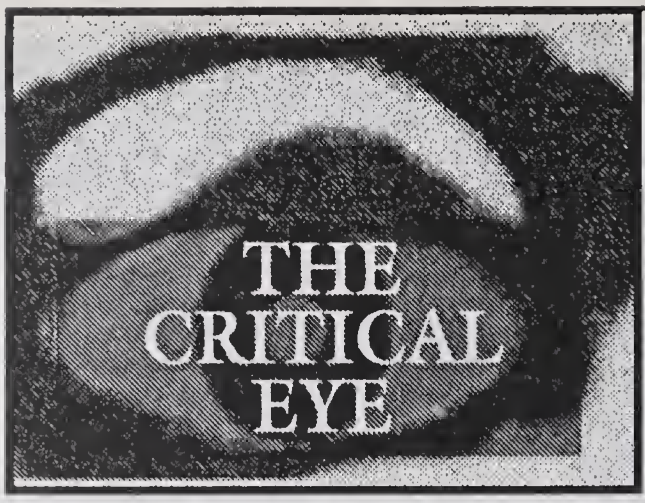
Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.
-Thomas Jefferson

When I was a boy, I was told that anyone could become president. I'm beginning to believe it.
-Clarence Darrow

I am a marvelous housekeeper. Every time I leave a man, I keep his house.
-Zsa Zsa Gabor

Do not fool yourself by thinking that altruists are motivated by compassion for the suffering; they are motivated by hatred for the successful.
-Ayn Rand

No greater injury can be done to any youth than to let him feel that because he belongs to this or that race he will be advanced regardless of his won merits or efforts.
-Booker T. Washington



THE CRITICAL EYE

• Shootings and other violent crimes have become an ever increasing problem in the Chapel Hill area. These assaults and the murder of a jogger on Estes Drive have led a small but vocal group to call for a handgun ban in Chapel Hill as a way of curbing violence. Not only is a handgun ban within the city absolutely worthless, (The jogger's murderer had an illegally obtained handgun which he brought to Chapel Hill) but such a measure would make law abiding citizens easy targets for armed attackers who would have nothing to fear.

• The proposed gun ban would create a whole new class of criminal: the citizen who refuses to give up his only means of defense against violent criminals.

• Instead of this illogical gun-ban proposal, the town council should, for once, exercise a measure of rationality and enforce existing laws. A few more cops that actually go after criminals, instead of students who drink occasionally, might not be a bad idea either.

• Or, at the very least, criminals should not be allowed to serve on the council itself.

• Yes, Joe Herzenberg, we mean you. Don't forget to file your W-2 early this year!

• Speaking of whiners, the guy who wrote the DTH because his illegally parked car was spat upon should be thankful. He could have parked in a Ram's Club member's space. We hear the punishment for making a poor ol' fat alum walk more than 20 feet is the same thing rapists get in Saudi Arabia.

From *National Review*: President Clinton's budget plan will make him the first president in history to raise taxes before he even took office, thanks to retroactivity.

• Senator Edward Kennedy on campaign finance reform: "The constant hunt for campaign dollars demeans our elections, distorts our legislation and diminishes our democracy."

• The amount of money Senator Kennedy raised the first half of this year $2.2 million.

• How many senators have raised more money than Senator Kennedy?... None, of course.

• Speaking of corruption, North Carolina's own representative, Charlie Rose (D), intends to run for Speaker of the House when current speaker, Tom Foley, steps down in a few years.

• Rose intends to get this position the old fashioned way; he's going to buy it. By passing out money from a leadership PAC, which he controls, Rose is confident of becoming the next speaker. The congressional Post Office scandal really taught our elected representatives a lesson.

• From *National Review*: **Q.** What's the difference between Bill Clinton and David Koresh?
A. Some people still believe in David Koresh.

• First words of Harvey Weinstein, who was buried alive for 12 days, upon being rescued, "Thank God you're here, and I'd like to have a cigarette."

• On the topic of Speciesism: Peter Singer, a philosopher of animal rights that most of us have read in philosophy class, says, "Speciesists allow the interests of their own species to override the greater interests of members of other species."

• John Leo's response: "Therefore a person swatting a mosquito would be a speciesist. So would a bird eating an insect... or a lion eating Peter Singer."

• John Leo on the ACLU: "According to the ACLU, airline pilots have a right not to be randomly tested for alcohol, leaving passengers with an implied right to crash every now and then."

- "When you looked at Republicans you saw the scum off the top of business. When you looked at Democrats you saw the scum off the top of politics. Personally, I prefer business. A businessman will steal from you directly instead of getting the IRS to do it for him. And when the Republicans ruin the environment, destroy the supply of affordable housing and wreck the industrial infrastructure, at least they make a buck off it. The Democrats just do these things for fun."

  -PJ O'Rourke

- David Letterman's critique of the Clinton economic plan, "I am your king. Bring me your gold."

- From *Reason* magazine: No more tooth fairy, thanks to the federal government. A 6-year-old Illinois girl went to the dentist to have some teeth extracted. After the procedure, the dentist refused to give the girl her teeth. OSHA rules required him to place the teeth in a closed container and dispose of them.

- It's too bad OSHA doesn't regulate Lenoir. It could make a fortune on all the teeth people lose on those brick flavored bagels.

- Also from *Reason*: Federal auditors have discovered that 237 government planes are missing. Maybe Al Gore should look at this type of wastefulness instead of worrying about smashing ashtrays with a hammer.

- A New York state court awarded $1.2 million to the owners of a dead sheepdog for mental anguish. The reason? It seems the pet was buried in a mass grave rather than the private plot they paid for. Who says law school isn't worth the trouble?

- Special thanks to the "Carolina Week-By-Week" staff for its new and improved format, which includes such significant holidays as Three Kings Day, Japanese Adults' Day, World Food Day and International Women's Day. Now, if you don't mind, I'm going to get ready for Korean Han'gul Day.

- Besides putting obscure holidays in the Week-By-Week, the staff even got some of the dates wrong, which can really screw you up when you have a United Nations Day party a week early.

- With Israel and Palestine reaching a peace agreement, Hell must be getting kinda chilly.

- It's refreshing to see that competent journalists uncover important conspiracies. A *USA Today* reporter uncovered the ugly truth behind corporate softball: "Like the country club that bars women from the golf course, where many deals are made, the game of softball can act as another barrier, another means of excluding women from the corporate inner circle." Sell, Jim! Sell! Er, I mean... slide, Jim! Slide!

- According to *National Review*, "Walter Mondale has been named ambassador to Japan. After 51 years, isn't it time we stopped trying to avenge Pearl Harbor?"

- Our friends at *Reason* tell us that Frank Dalton is scheduled for induction into the Tacoma, Washington, Hall of Fame, but he may not be able to attend the induction ceremony. He is currently under house arrest for the ax murder of his mother.

- The Romance Languages department recently put on a seminar on sexual harassment. Because sexual harassment surely transcends the language barrier, we would like to suggest the following textbook: *Sexual Harassment in Five Languages: A Practical Phrasebook*.

- Finally, the cast of *Malcolm XXX*, a pornographic film, walked off the set because it felt the movie wasn't treating Malcolm X with enough respect.

- Beginning with the next issue, the *Critic* will feature a Professor of the Month. The deadline for nominations is October 6, and submissions should be sent to The Carolina Critic Society/01 Steele Building, CB #5100. Qualified professors should demonstrate a significant inclination to indoctrinate students, and they should provide their students with an informative reading list that fits nicely into their agenda. Be sure to include the more enlightening book titles, and a brief description of why you feel the professor deserves the honor of Professor of the Month. We will print the winning entry anonymously, but you must submit your name, address and phone number.

10 reasons to be happy that a BCC site has been selected

Over the summer, a site was finally selected for a BCC. Since David Letterman is still doing his top 10 lists over at CBS, we figured what the hell, we can do one too.

10-The DTH will have to find news to report.

9-The Critic will get the old BCC office in the Union.

8-No more racism. (yeah, right)

7-Another new construction project.

6-Less crying on TV.

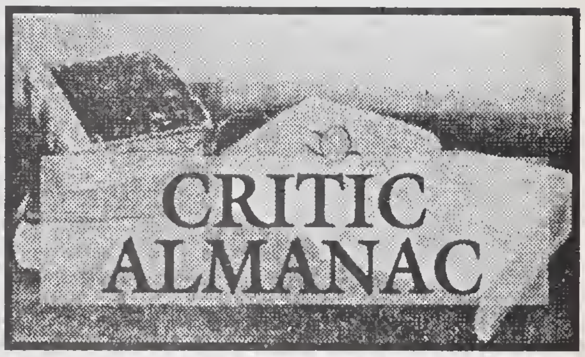
5-No more moving and emotional arrests in South building.

4-Pissed off tree-huggers.

3-We really didn't enjoy walking through the woods to football games.

2-Hardin Plantation and the Black Cultural Center now have a street between them.

1- No more of those bastard Tit-mice in Coker Woods.



Change, since 1970, in the average SAT score: -49

Percentage change, since 1970, in total public school spending: 427

Chances that a ram is a homosexual: 1 in 11

Number of bull castrations Mississippi State's football coach made his team watch last fall as a "motivational" experience: 1

Chances that an attempt to ban or restrict access to school materials or books last year was successful: 2 in 5

Year that Amtrak plans to stop dumping human waste along its tracks: 1996

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VII, No. 1

opinion by culley carson, *a senior political science major.*

Don't ignore Dixie heritage

On July 22 of this year, a battle was fought in the hallowed halls of the United States Senate. This was not a battle over irresponsible government spending, or even whether or not gays should be allowed in the Armed Services. This was a battle over whether or not the government of the United States would begin to revise this country's history. The debate centered around the insignia of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which is a group of women who are bound by common heritage and primarily work to benefit groups in need, like veterans or disaster victims. Senator Helms moved that, as has been custom for the past 99 years, their insignia be approved for purposes of copyright protection. This protection is vital to the existence of the insignia in order for it not to fall prey to exploitation by hate groups, like the Confederate battle flag.

After a close vote of 52-48 to approve the insignia, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, who surfaced at the conclusion of the vote, began a tirade of piety and self-righteousness that bordered on the pathetic. She described, through moments of teary emotion, how the flag on the seal of this group was a symbol of hatred and slavery, and that, while she supported free speech, this symbol must not be approved. After this confirmation of how little Senator Moseley-Braun had researched this subject, others of her esteemed Democratic colleagues rose to give speeches that were equally pious, as well as inaccurate. Several senators mentioned that they had seen this flag on the grills of semis and the back of pick-up trucks. The only problem with this was that what these senators were describing was the Confederate battle flag, not the First National flag of the Confederacy, which is on the insignia of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

It was at this point that the debate began to swing from a routine approval of the seal of a racially neutral group, to a debate over the institution of slavery. Senator John Danforth from Missouri illustrated this point in his rhetorical question, "How many times will we be called upon to prove our sensitivity?" This question is one that many Southerners feel ought not to be answered, for it accepts as its premise that as Southerners, we should feel some sort o guilt for a period in history in which we had no influence.

Additionally, this question presupposes that in order to prove our sensitivity to others, we must turn our backs on our own heritage. Are we to next forget the words of Thomas Jefferson because he owned slaves? Will we be more sensitive if we forget the 321 students here at UNC who died for the Confederacy, not in defense o slavery but instead to preserv the rights of their state? Should we dynamite Silent Sam to get some additional sensitivity points? The answe that millions of Southerners whose ancestors fought in th War Between the States will give is an emphatic "no."

As Southerners, we are again being called to arms. There are new battles to be waged in defense of our honor, our heritage, our people. This war that is being initiated by the henchmen of political correctness is one that we must win. Whether it is in the hill of Georgia over the state flag or in the loca courthouse square, or even in the chambe of the United States Senate, we must fight and we must obtain victory.

For what is at stake is too vital to surrender in apathy. Men, both white and black, fought and died for our beloved South. Most fought not because they had a love for slavery. Most did not even own slaves. Instead, they fought in defense of their homes, their land and, most importantly, their state. Men like the honorable General Robert E. Lee, who did not agree with the South's peculiar institution, but would never turn their backs on their home states.

Thus, we must not fall prey to those who, like Senator Moseley-Braun, will try to revise this nation's history. Much of what this nation is today came as a result of The War Between the States, and it can not be simply erased because of certain negative aspects of this period.

Additionally, we must re-establish the memory of all that is positive about the heritage of this truly unique region in which we reside. For this heritage is not one that is preoccupied with the emanations of the bad, but the glory of the good.

by Tara Servatius, *a sophomore journalism major.*

Race-based scholarships discriminatory

In 1990, Daniel Podberesky , a Hispanic student at the University of Maryland, was the most qualified applicant for the federally-funded, race-based Banneker Scholarship, which traditionally has been awarded to black students. He was denied the much needed full scholarship solely because he was not black. The scholarship was instead given to a lesser qualified black student from an upper middle class background.

Sadly enough, in the national scramble for student body "diversity" on college campuses, the constitutional rights of all students are being violated by a system that allows them little recourse.

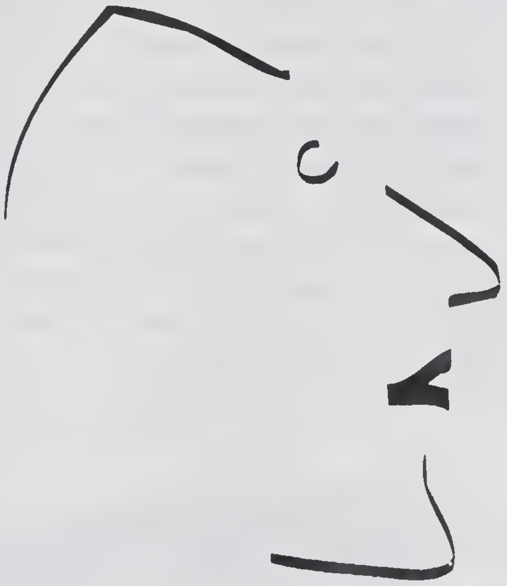
"The biggest obstacle that generally is faced by students bringing these kinds of cases to court ," said Richard Samp, Chief Council for the Washington Legal Foundation, a public interest group that is backing the challenge to the Maryland program, "is that the...education establishment [has] been throwing millions of dollars into these cases . A student would either have to find legal aid or be independently wealthy to take on a school."

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of the Constitution clearly states that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be denied the benefits of....any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

"Daniel's constitutional rights were violated because he could not compete for a Banneker Scholarship," said his father in a recent interview, "if he had competed and lost in fair competition, we would have no problem."

In December 1991, Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander declared that the majority of college scholarships rewarded on the basis of race are illegal, but added several exceptions, including scholarships designed to remedy past discrimination. "In the end," said Mr. Alexander, "the courts would ultimately have to decide the legality of such aid."

The Banneker scholarship was begun in 1969 by the University of Maryland after federal officials notified the state that the 99% white enrollment record at the university was unconstitutional. In 1989 and 1990, however, more than 15% of Maryland's incoming class was black. As Samp suggests, it makes little sense to try to atone for wrongs done to the ancestors of today's black youth by "discriminating against other students that played no role in past discrimination against blacks and that in many cases are no less economically and educationally deprived as today's black youth."



"It makes little sense to try to atone for wrongs done to ancestors of today's black youth by 'discrimminating' against other students that played no role in past discrimmination against blacks"

"Don't misunderstand," said Podberesky's father, "we're in favor of scholarships for the needy and those from underprivileged backgrounds that in the end would benefit blacks, but we're opposed to designating a scholarship for one race."

Inevitably, because these scholarships go to the most academically qualified black applicants, they invariably go to upper and middle class black students because they have much stronger academic qualifications than students from lower socioeconomic groups who have not had the opportunities that a financially secure upbringing provides.

A positive decision in the Podberesky case, which is still pending, would end up striking down most minority programs at state universities, according to Samp. "I think colleges such as the University of North Carolina would have to be very careful about continuing these kinds of racially discriminatory programs if we win this lawsuit." The Supreme Court recently made clear in a case from Georgia that people suing for violation of the Civil Rights Act can sue for punitive damages. If they decide to ignore a court decision, the next lawsuit that gets brought, perhaps one against the University of North Carolina, is going to be one for millions of dollars in punitive damages.

On campuses across the country, scholarship programs like Banniker are effectively transforming the "colorblind" 1964 Civil Rights Act into an admissions quota system. Instead of wasting education dollars to preserve a system based solely on skin color, education leaders ought to be restructuring financial aid programs to make them available to all students regardless of race, creed or color. While part of that effort should be dedicated to making sure that black students now on minority scholarships will be able to continue to receive financial aid, federal scholarship money should be made accessible to all qualified students who need financial aid.

Continuation of this "racial spoils system" is not only unfair to all students as well as contrary to the ideal of a colorblind America, but it contributes as well to the stigmatization of all black students, many times unfairly, as people whose greatest academic credential is their race.

opinion by andrew cohen, *a graduate student in philosophy*

Antennas, copyrights and couch potatoes

Should cable subscribers pay for network stations like WRAL?

The Raleigh CBS affiliate and local cable companies are wrapped up in an intriguing and sometimes amusing dispute over broadcast rights. Newspapers worry in editorials that cable subscribers may become innocent victims to a petty argument, costing many easy access to ACC games and Letterman's *Late Show*. Meanwhile, both sides in the quarrel square off with heated rhetoric in frequent public statements. Even if we think there's a little too much corporate machismo floating in the air, the dispute raises some interesting issues in property rights and copyright law.

At issue is whether cable companies must pay WRAL of Raleigh (channel 5) for rebroadcasting rights. It all started with the 1992 Cable Act. Congress wanted to partly re-regulate the cable industry, with a special eye to reducing cable rates.

Since 1959, cable companies had been free to retransmit signals of local affiliates without having to pay for it. As cable has gained a greater share of the viewing audience, broadcasters have felt the pinch in the wallet. Perhaps to appease broadcast networks, the 1992 law also gives broadcasters the right either to demand payment for rebroadcasting privileges or to dictate which cable channel their signal would be carried on.

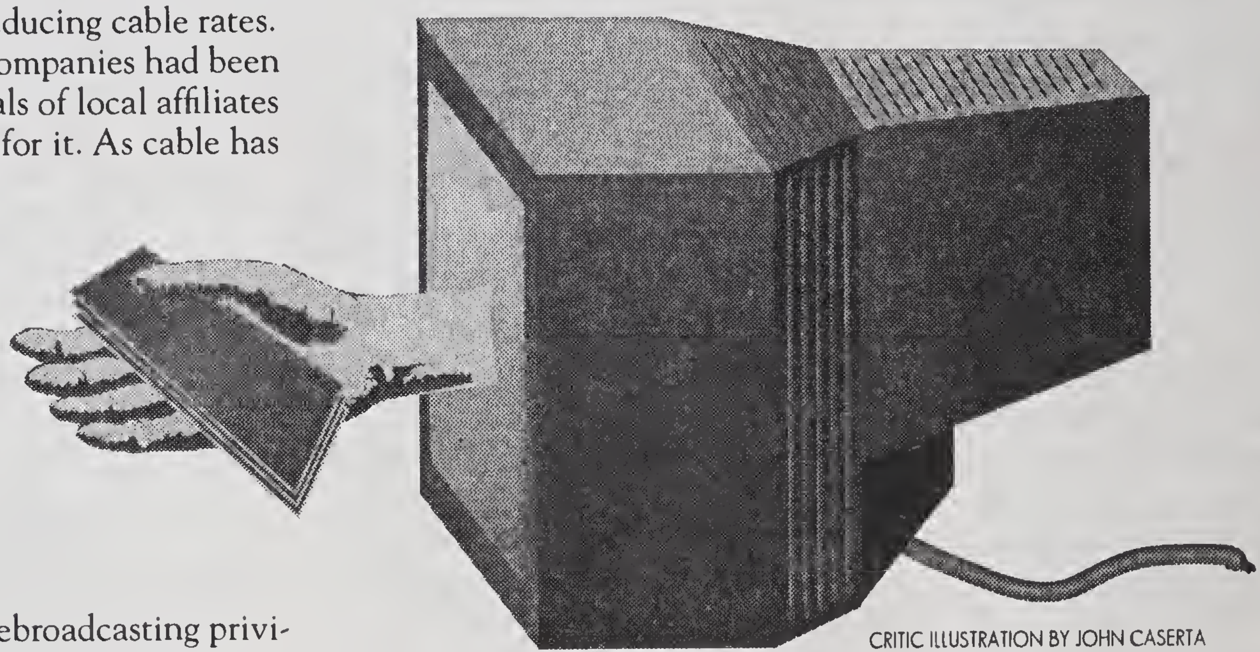
If a broadcaster fails to work out a deal by this coming October 6, its signal can disappear from cable. All local broadcasters except WRAL have worked something out with cable companies. The stare-down continues, and consumers wait to see who blinks first.

Fred Barber, general manager for WRAL, claimed in an August 31 editorial that cable companies should not make money off of WRAL's copyrighted signal at consumers' expense. The signal has always been free, Barber claims. He asked why consumers should then have to pay for it.

The 1992 law allows cable companies to charge subscribers for access to local TV one year after striking a deal with broadcasters. In other words, within one year, cable companies can pass rebroadcasting fees off to the consumer. This lets each side claim the other wants to bilk consumers of hard-earned dollars.

WRAL asked to be paid approximately 35 cents per cable subscriber per month. Cablevision refused. "Cable customers should not have to pay for what their non-cable neighbors get free," a Cablevision ad asserts in the *News & Observer*. They accuse the networks of making up for losses in recent years at consumers' expense. "Either cable subscribers pay, or the networks are threatening to pull their programming," the Cablevision ad continues.

But, let's ask: who *should* give in? Or, who's got rights on their side? (These are separate questions, by the way.)



CRITIC ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN CASERTA

WRAL's signal is copyrighted. That means that no one can reproduce, retransmit or otherwise rebroadcast the signal or the account of any broadcast without the express permission of WRAL or the copyright holder. If copyrights are legitimate, maybe WRAL is properly in a position to insist on rebroadcasting fees. After all, it's their signal.

What I now want to argue is: even if copyrights are legitimate, it's simply *bad business* for WRAL to be behaving as it is. After that, I want to raise doubts about current copyright law.

First, WRAL's bad business strategy: 150,000 homes is no small segment of the viewing public. WRAL's main source of income is ad revenue. Its ad revenue is directly tied to how many people watch its broadcasts. If it excludes or inhibits such a large portion of the public from receiving its signal, it's going to cost them money. A lot of money. We can still dispute whether Cablevision is in a better bargaining position than WRAL. Let's set that aside and look at the moral and legal issues.

A property right is often conceived not as just one claim, but as a "bundle" of claims. If you create or own an object, you can sell, exchange or renounce some or all of the rights associated with a full-blown property right. In this way, as a property owner you can, for example, sell someone occupancy rights to your dwelling (landlords do this to renters). This is just one right associated with a full property right to the dwelling. Property owners can thus bargain away some or all of the rights associated with a property right.

Things get sticky when dealing with intellectual property or property in intangibles. Can a person retain copyrights after sharing intellectual property with others? If Smith writes a book, she easily has rights to the actual material embodiment of the book. She can decide who gets to see the book, and she can give away, sell or exchange that physical book. Copyrights go farther and give her rights to the "ideal object" represented in the physical book.

But, now, suppose Smith prints a million copies of her book, loads them into an airplane and drops them all over the city. Anyone who wants to can pick up a copy of the book for free and read it. Pop singer Sting gets a copy of the book and thinks it tells a neat story. He decides to hire an auditorium. He will give a dramatic reading of the book and charge admission. Is Smith entitled to a share of the proceeds? Even if Smith prints "you may not make money off this book without the author's permission" on the cover of every volume, that seems like an empty claim. Maybe she shouldn't have airlifted her books?

This maps nicely onto the cable case. The WRAL signal is available to any who want it. Cablevision just picks it up (it's lying around in the air) and rebroadcasts it to any who want to pay. Few in the viewing area *have to* get the signal from cable. Of course, reception is improved for most viewers. And some people really can't get the signal without the aid of cable. Does that matter? (We set aside the fact that Cablevision has a government-granted monopoly).

Suppose Smith airlifted only ten copies of her book. Sting got one of them. (Maybe he even got all of them; perhaps he got there first). He then charges people to look at the book or attend his dramatic reading of the text. Even if the resource is available in limited quantities, I would argue that Smith made her "ideal object" freely available to the world and thus she renounced claims to it. If she renounced one copy or a million, the story is the same, because she *gave* the copies away. (This case is interestingly similar to the uproar after people scooped up whole stacks of *The Daily Tar Heel* the day after Carolina won the NCAA basketball championship).

A number of apartment buildings flank the edges of Wrigley Field in Chicago. The view of Cubs' games spills over the edges of he field for free. Apparently, residents of nearby apartments charge people for the privilege of sitting and watching the games from the oofs or windows of upper floors. Even if the Cubs *claim* a right gainst such activities, they haven't built walls high enough to fully xclude the view, so they cannot complain when Chicagoans profit rom something freely available.

This is not to say that if you can get away with violating a right, ou should. Here, we merely question whether copyrights should work as WRAL would have it.

If WRAL doesn't want people to do certain things with its sig-al, it needs to get explicit agreements with viewers. But WRAL ever got such agreements. It never even tried. WRAL now wants o impose obligations on people as if they had agreed to them. Viewers didn't ask for the signal to be available, nor did they agree o any conditions under which they could receive the signal. Once WRAL sends its signal *indiscriminately* into the air, WRAL enounces any claims to the conditions under which the signal is ewed or relayed.

This all goes to argue that even if copyrights are legitimate, it akes little sense to say a producer retains such rights after making he product *indiscriminately* available. If, however, a consumer *explic-y agrees* not to redistribute an ideal object or charge others for ccess to it, that changes everything. Then the obligations are vol-ntarily assumed as a condition for access to the ideal object.

So, to Isaac Stern, authors who drop their books from planes, the hicago Cubs, or WRAL: if you don't like what people do with ur product, don't pass out your product *indiscriminately*. If you let ople have your work without getting them to explicitly agree to y conditions, that's too bad for you.

WRAL is not damaged when people receive its signal, nor is it maged when people retransmit its broadcasts. Indeed, WRAL esn't even suffer when people *charge* others for access to a broadcasted signal. (If anything, this leaves WRAL better off — ore people see its broadcasts.) There may yet be room for intellec-al property rights, but *at best* only after explicit agreements are ade between the producer and the consumer of a good. If a person kes her ideas indiscriminately available, it makes no sense for her claim rights against others. If WRAL doesn't want Cablevision rebroadcast its freely and indiscriminately available signal, it ould stop broadcasting the signal freely and indiscriminately. ey cannot and should not be able to forbid Cablevision from roadcasting the signal.

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—Sal LoPinto

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(Across from McDonald's)

opinion by T.J. Hemlinger, *a doctoral student in journalism and mass communication.*

America's leaders lack vision

The United States continues to survive and prosper in spite of rather than because of its political leadership. Inflation is low, interest rates are minimal, unemployment is moderate, economic growth is marginal but enduring.

That good economic news somewhat obscures the fact that the only true growth industries in America are government and crime in the streets. Our political leaders posture and bluster and pontificate but seem little inclined to do much about either.

Now we're going to "reinvent" government, as if the entrenched bureaucracy will tolerate that. Bureaucrats and their overseers will protect their fiefdoms no matter what the cost to us taxpayers. That's why the government is still hoarding metals used in the defense industry despite having decades' worth of supply on hand, why the government continues to pay price supports to agricultural conglomerates, why we're building another nuclear submarine the Navy doesn't want at a cost of nearly $2 billion. That's why we have a budget deficit in the hundreds of billions.

THIS NEW CRIME BILL FINALLY LETS THE POLICE GO AFTER THE VERMIN WHO ROB OUR CITIZENS OF THEIR HARD-EARNED GAINS AND MAKE THEIR LIVES LESS SECURE!...
GREAT!...YOU'RE UNDER ARREST!
TAXES
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
GORRELL

What Americans want is not a reinvention of government, but a reduction in government. That bears repeating: Americans want less government. Yet despite that, the current administration has pushed through the largest tax increase in history.

We need it, they say, to "correct the budget deficit" and to "get the economy moving again." The true reason we have the tax increase is because Democrats in Congress didn't have the heart to publicly embarrass Bill Clinton this early in his presidency.

It's unclear what type of economics Clinton studied at Arkansas, Georgetown or Oxford, but it wasn't based in reality. In fact, as the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, has documented, high tax rates:

- Punish productive economic activity. The higher the marginal rate, the less incentive to work, save and invest.
- Lead to lower tax revenues. Taxpayers shelter their income from taxes, and they tend to spend less. This means business profits decline, and companies pay less in taxes.
- Lead to more spending and bigger deficits. According to the Office of Management and Budget, hardly a partisan association, federal spending went up $1.22 for every $1 in tax revenue the government collected in the 1970s. In the 1980s, it was worse: for every $1 collected, the government spent an extra $1.29. Why should this most recent tax hike break the pattern?
- Reduce job creation. Since most job creation depends on the level of savings and investment, and since higher tax rates *penalize* savings and investment, there will be less job creation than if there had been no tax hike.
- Hurt small businesses. Since 80 percent of U.S. small businesses pay taxes under the personal income tax code, they will have less to create new jobs under the new tax code.
- Reduce U.S. competitiveness. The more the marginal rate increases, the more difficult it will be for American firms to compete. This will lead to more cries for greater protectionism and a harsher fight against NAFTA, which i currently supported by 40 of the 50 go ernors. What do you suppose they kno that Dick Gephardt doesn't?

The current system of government leadership we have is one where the Democrats want to enlarge governmen and to make it even more pervasive; Republican leaders content to play th role of "Dr. No" and be against everything the Democrats offer, but withou any cogent plans o their own; and the Perotistas, led by a man who creates a giant sucking soun every time he open his mouth to speak on economics.

Men of the Democratic leadership, like Mitchell, Byrd and Foley, ha two goals that driv them. They want t expand governmen and create more gi away programs so that they increase numbers of people obligated to them, effect, "buying" their votes with tax d lars. They also want to insert government into every facet of our business personal lives in the firm belief that t know best for us, that somehow we ca function or even exist without the go ernment guiding us every step of the way.

The Republicans, on the other han offer the American voter little vision promise, which is why the Bush campaign garnered just 39 percent of the popular vote last fall, despite the long peacetime expansion of the economy history. What is Bob Dole's plan for America in 1997 if he's elected president? We don't know either.

So we continue to survive in spite the den of thieves in Washington. Th two forces that have founded and sha our country, belief in God and capitalism, will sustain us long after the polit cians have let us down.

GRAZING PAGES

A dietary supplement to The Critic
provided by Craig Hendrix and Greg Konig

Joe Herzenberg

Thanks Joe

Former member of the Chapel Hill Town Council Joe Herzenberg recently showed his constituents what "putting the government to work for the people" looks like. He resigned.

Joe's resignation saved the town the $12,000 to $14,000 estimated to provide a recall election, a vote that appeared inevitable as a volunteer petition effort collected more than enough signatures to force the recall.

Joe's resignation also saved the town countless dollars of blic spending he would have voted to authorize until the neral election of November 2, had he retained his office.

However, as honest and caring members of the Chapel ll community, we find it obligatory to warn you of the llout" of Joe's resignation. Although e has refused to offer further comment, retains the right to run again in ovember 2 election as a write-in candite. Among the remaining ten candites, Joe only has to place sixth to claim his seat on the council.

Imagine the possibilities. Joe will not n an official campaign, but will accept e write-in votes of supporters. If Joe esn't make the effort to campaign, en who will do it for him? The most vious answer is the *The Daily Tar Heel* itorial board. It has showed unquenchle laudations for Joe in the past cause he "listens to all facts of the apel Hill community." The positions personally championed were somew more important to the community an trust in those who purport to serve Will the *DTH* edit board kindly sugst what the vision of a newspaper is, if s not to champion truth & justice?

The latest prohibition

The vocal minority of Chapel Hill is once again in tears over the latest social problem. In their efforts to reduce gun-related crimes, their blurred vision has apparently rendered them vulnerable to the first quick-fix they stumbled upon. It seems they have discovered a creative and novel solution for decreasing gun-related crimes. Simply ban guns, and legislate away criminal intent.

Prohibitions on alcohol, drugs, gambling and prostitution have proven ineffective in the past and are continuing to exacerbate the problems of abuse they entail today. A ban on guns will not eliminate the supply and demand of guns, just as the complete elimination of guns will not end violent crime. Neither a partial nor a complete ban on guns will reduce motivation for crimes. The plain truth is that the market, free or black, will always meet the demands of consumers. Optimistic legislation will only distract attention from the more serious problem of crime itself.

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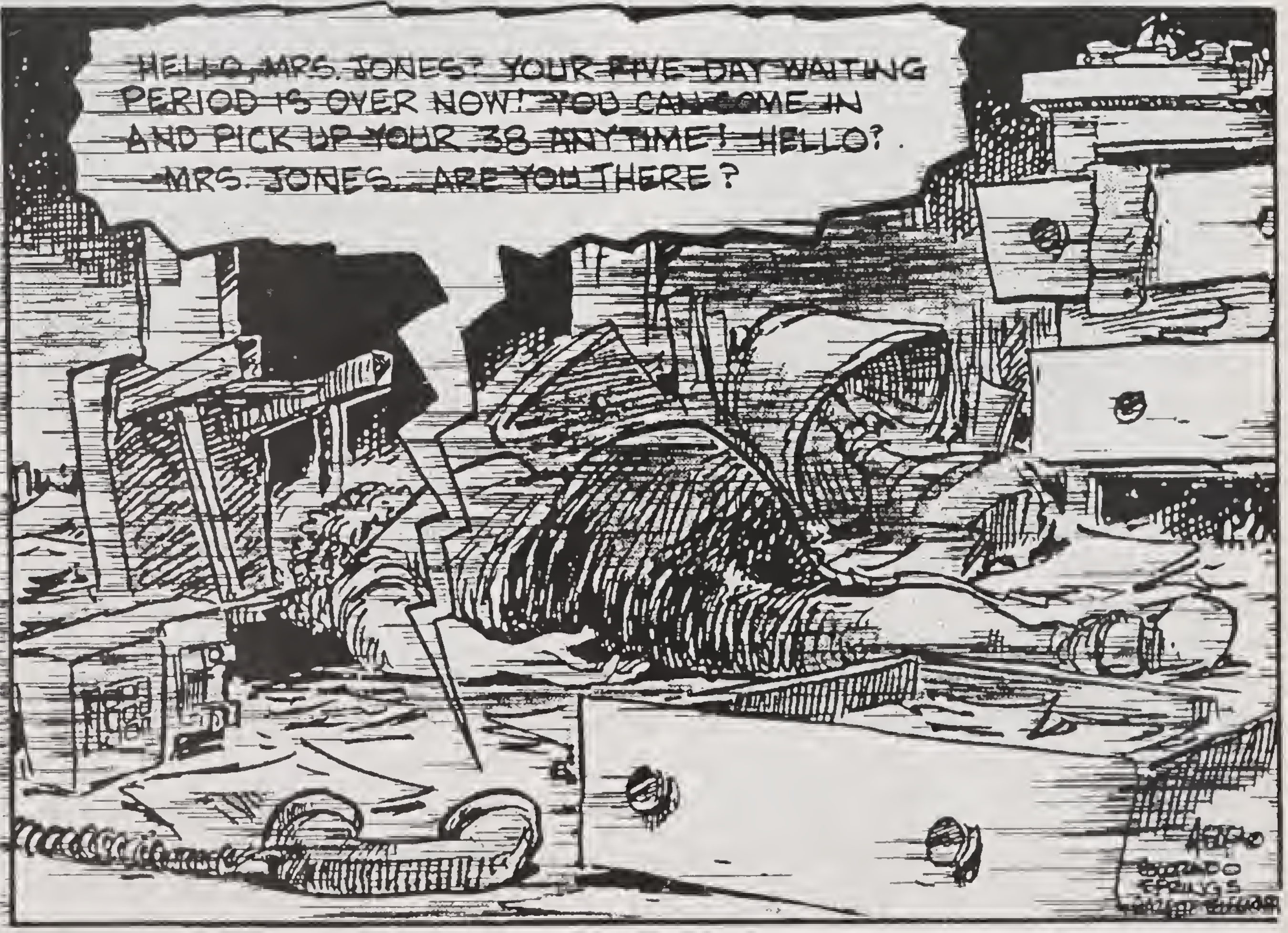
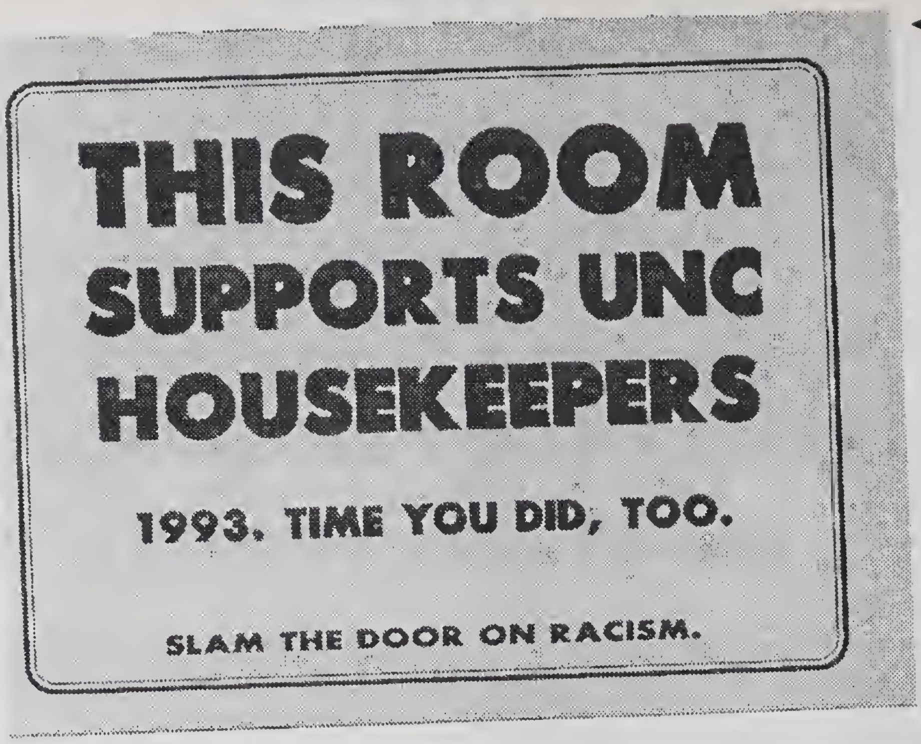

HELLO, MRS. JONES? YOUR FIVE-DAY WAITING PERIOD IS OVER NOW! YOU CAN COME IN AND PICK UP YOUR .38 ANYTIME! HELLO? MRS. JONES... ARE YOU THERE?
COLORADO SPRINGS

Scrubbing toilets and taking out the trash



THIS ROOM SUPPORTS UNC HOUSEKEEPERS

1993. TIME YOU DID, TOO.

SLAM THE DOOR ON RACISM.

Supporters of "the movement" have sold these pieces of construction paper for students to put on their doors.

The UNC Housekeepers Association is working diligently to ensure that Chapel Hill's reputation as a breeding ground for activism does not diminish once the BCC's struggle has tempered. In their "Rehire Eric. Now." campaign, the organization of housekeepers, African-American employees, and all other UNC employees earning less that $16,000 a year is making claims of social injustice and racism on the University for its firing of housekeeper Eric Browning in May 1993. Although the HKA will tell you that the firing was based on Eric's reputation for filing grievances, for being an activist (our favorite is its claim that the reason Eric was fired was because the *Prism* ran a front page photo of him shaking hands with Jesse Jackson a few days before his termination), and for being black.

Eric's story is a bit more complicated. He was terminated after becoming angry at a trainer and a grievance counselor when he learned that he was denied admittance into a training program. He told Human Resources Counselor Gwen Gardner that he wanted to kill then-Superintendent of Housekeeping Hardy White for denying the training. According to Eric himself, "I said I should go home, get my gun and shoot the son of a bitch. I slammed a pad down, walked out to the front door and cried like a baby."

It is conceivable that Eric lost his job because he was a black activist. However, the facts suggest plausible motives other than racism. We must keep in mind that proving racism in court will require more evidence than the fact that 92% of housekeepers are black. Law requires that intent to discriminate must be proven, and the statistical outcomes we are bombarded with do not prove discriminatory intent.

Whatever the outcome of Eric's grievance, the related goals of the housekeeper's movement— "$16,000 minimum salary; real training for advancement; the end to demeaning work conditions"—must be addressed. The state has provided the housekeepers with a job, not a livelihood. The state has guaranteed its employees more than most private businesses would ever consider, including implicit membership in and support from the state's finest labor union—the government. A guaranteed minimum salary of $13,500 plus state benefits is a better bargain than most low-skilled, blue-collar employers can hope for.

This social injustice does not sound all that bad to us. If pay is so poor, there are bound to be others who would pay more for their services, just as there are others who would be happy to take their jobs. The issue of employee pay has little to do with the various references made to "dignity." "Housekeeper" is a job description, not a person. The person possesses a dignity that our humanity has granted us, but contentment, unfortunately has no natural guarantees. Our social structure allows each to pursue their own happiness, but does not ensure it. Thus, there is no obligation on the part of the state to provide beyond what is fair compensation for the job.

The movement's demands for more pay and training have elevated Eric's plight to mythical proportions in order to capitalize on the symbolic appeal of a martyr. Eric Browning has said that he resents being treated as a "house nigger" by the University. This dramatic rhetoric, made necessary by the ridiculous nature of the demands, misses one crucial point. Unlike their antebellum ancestors, African-American housekeepers retain the right of exit. Only their status as a minority allows the movement to argue about issues of social justice, covering the true nature of their grievance: Work sucks.

Housekeepers are not paid $13,500 because they are socially oppressed blacks, but because they clean bathrooms.

Lesbian mothers

Last week Sharon Bottoms of Richmond, V was a mother and a lesbia This week she is only a le bian. The Henrico Coun Circuit Court ruled that her sexual orientation made her unfit to raise he own child.

Anne Kincaid, spokeswoman for the conservative Virginia group The Family Foundation, claimed "there would be a compelling state interest protect the child." Anne assumes that the state's decision to relocate the two-year-old boy to a mo fit home is less destructiv to the child than growing up with his natural moth It is perplexing that a pro family Christian group would hope to split up an family, but it is stunning that our courts continue undermine the true value that hold the national fab ric together. It is a sad day for Ms. Bottoms, her son, and all who hope for less government intervention

This decision is well in line with many other precedents which rule in favor of intervention into citizens' private lives and which hinge on the arbitrary process of judging morality. Human society can do without an established few who think they know what is in the best interests of all of us. And so can Ms. Bottoms' two-year-old son.

Whining about NAFTA

Q: What do Pat Buchanan, Ralph Nader, Jesse Jackson, and Ross Perot have in common?
A: They're all idiots for opposing NAFTA.

Incidentally, they are joined by a boatful of Democratic congressmen. We'd trade 'em all for free.

Where does the opposition arise? They all repeat the claims of the big abor unions and environmental groups vhich are lobbying hard to scare America out of the best economic stimulus we could hope for in this adminis- ration. Clinton realizes this too, that he vill never create the jobs his economic olan promised without some recourse to ree market ideals. The principles of free rade were explicated and well defended vay back in 1776 by Adam Smith, as he howed that free trade among nations is ot a zero-sum game. Both parties in an conomic transaction must find benefit n the exchange, or else it will not ccur. Yet, the neo-mercantilist/isola- ionists of today insist that temporary ob dislocation is too detrimental a risk, ven in the face of tremendous gains. he future of the global economy is ontingent upon the adherence to free arket principles, the same principles that made our economy the greatest in the world, our environmental standards the highest, and our workers the best paid.

Of course, no one denies that some jobs may move to Mexico if the treaty is enacted, but more jobs will be created through increased exports. Mexican trade liberalization has already resulted in growth in export goods from North Carolina. Since 1987, merchandise and furniture exports to Mexico have increased six-fold, textiles sales have increased nine-fold, and clothing sales have increased five-fold. With the breakdown of more trade barriers, the increase in exports can only continue. This means more jobs for Americans as well as Mexicans.

Best of all, as Jeff Saviano, campus activist, pointed out in his pathetic *Daily Tar Heel* guest article, "Citizens will not be able to interfere in the decisions of the business panels by appealing to their elected officials." We're not sure what our friend Jeff was aiming at, but we couldn't have put it any better. Keeping government out of the private sphere of business is the best policy we could imagine. Except, of course, a policy that endorses no government activity at all.

rogress in art

Mark Twain has been criti- ized recently for several rea- ons, like for writing about niggers and injuns."

However, one of his greatest contri- utions to American culture, his cynical iew that man is a cosmic joke and is ver-inflated with hubris, is receiving omewhat of a revival in Raleigh. It eems that, according to a 1988 North arolina law, the state has to set aside /2 percent of the cost of any new or enovated buildings for the purchase of ublic art for those buildings.

Twain would definitely get a good elly laugh out of Chapel Hill's own dam Kuby and his state funded pro- ct. Kuby is credited with designing a wn sculpture in which the letters "P- -O-G-R-E-S-S" are to be carved out of e lawn on the state government mall. is artistic brilliance is found in the sual representation of progress: after the P, R, and O are grown, the P will be mowed down before the G can be completed. As Kuby explains, "The work not only illustrates the physical act of progressing, it also describes the endeavors of our society and government to make progress in so many aspects of our lives—in health care, education, civil rights and the economy, just to name a few. Progress is slow and elusive and it is often difficult to keep in mind how far we've come and what steps lie ahead. This sculpture attempts to portray the incremental and never-ending effort to make progress, as the ephemeral grass letters appear and disappear on their journey across the lawn."

And to think, after four centuries of Americana, this is where progress has led us.

Lost in space

Once again NASA has proven that federal agencies attract incompetence. It is no news that there are more problems with the Mars Observer spacecraft. Any space mission operating on a $980 million federal budget is suspect to disaster.

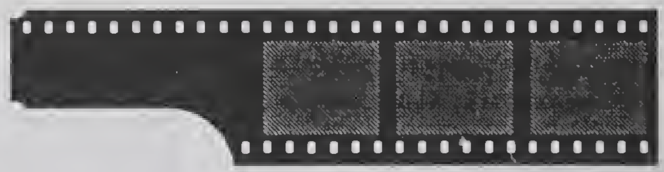
The news lies in the insightful analysis offered by the agency. Space historian James Oberg, who has written authoritatively on missions to Mars for the past 30 years, suggested this explanation: "I think it's gone."

The project's chief scientist, Arden Albee, added, "It's terrible, terrible, terrible."

"I am the state"

Following in the footsteps of Louis XIV, New Jersey Superior Court judge Reginald Stanton has ruled that the town of Sussex must sever its contract with the Executive Security and Investigative Services. It turns out that ESIS had been providing a private police force of six members. This is two more men on the street and $100,000 less in expenditures than the government-run forces had been able to muster. Stanton opined that the "traditional [police] role simply cannot be delegated to a private agency."

This embarrassing lie not only propagates the myth that government is the sole source of certain functions, but the case itself reflects why market forces are a viable solution to much of our country's (i.e. government's) budget problems. Judge Stanton's judicial activism in favor of organized lawmen and the state hauntingly resembles the statist tendencies of the "Sun King," who incidentally bankrupted his own government too.



ROCK & REEL

Music and movie reviews
from The Critic

Mellencamp drives hard with *Human Wheels*

by jennifer durham

John Mellencamp is back steering his *Human Wheels* through his vision of American life. But, as usual, the Indiana heartland rocker isn't out for a Sunday drive. On *Human Wheels*, Mellencamp and band roar down America's dirt roads with the impassioned fervor of *Scarecrow* and pause occasionally with the introspection of *Big Daddy*.

Human Wheels stands well above its mediocre predecessor, *Whenever We Wanted*, which sacrificed many of the talents of Mellencamp's backing band, as well as his proven songwriting talent. He integrates the diverse sounds of his veteran entourage, which is always a pleasure to listen to, much more effectively on his latest effort.

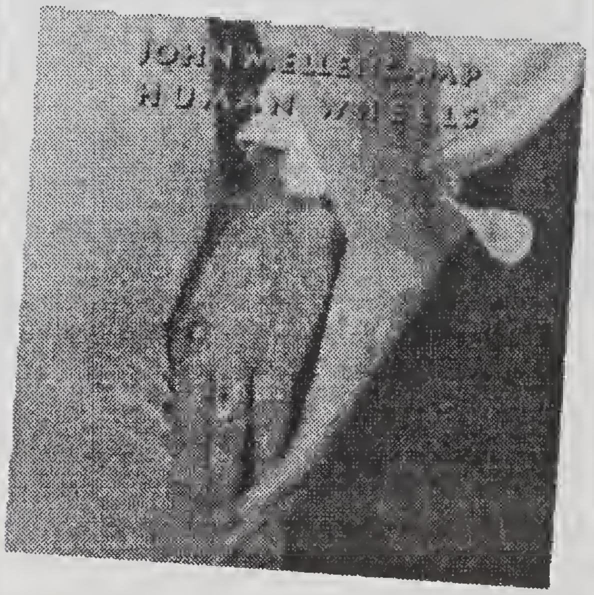
The group certainly feels the loss of veteran keyboardist John Cascella, who died in late 1992 after contributing to about half of *Human Wheels*. Co-producer Malcolm Burn (who has worked with Chris Whitley and The Devlins, among others) fills in where Cascella left off.

Driven by guitarists Michael Wanchic and David Grissom and the incessant thunder of Kenny Aronoff's drums, the band perfectly complements Mellencamp's gravelly voice with its fiery brand of raw American heartland rock.

Mellencamp thankfully sidesteps his occasional tendency toward political pronouncement on his latest effort. *Human Wheels* contains no scathing denunciations of Ronald Reagan like *Big Daddy*'s "Country Gentleman." Pleas to Washington of the "Down and Out In Paradise" style (*The Lonesome Jubilee*) are also absent.

But Mellencamp's observations are dark, to be sure, and a shadowy tone permeates the album. "Beige to Beige" scorns pervasive mediocrity in American culture: "...If you need a thought, we'll give it to you/Our statistics show what we do is true/a world without color is a world without sound..." Mellencamp's vision of the family is equally bleak in "Case 795 (The Family):" '...Everything's all right with the family/the beds are made, but there's no sheets on...'

ROCK
John Mellencamp
Human Wheels
Mercury



But, on *Human Wheels*, Mellencamp sticks to observation. Mellencamp the observer triumphs over Mellencamp the advocate, a point very much in his favor.

Human Wheels' partial cast of societal misfits includes "Junior," a Jackie Brown of the city streets. Suzanne ("Suzanne and the Jewels"), like Junior, is a drifter, a loner who somehow doesn't fit into the mainstream of America. Mellencamp's characters resemble the outcasts that his pseudo-protege James McMurtry details on his two respectable efforts, *Too Long In the Wasteland* and *Candyland*.

Mellencamp bounces back and forth from somber musings to angry questioning, the latter of which culminates in the passionate delivery of the riveting "What If I Came Knocking." With the band whipping up its own brand of fury in the background, the song is a sure force to be reckoned with on *Human Wheels*.

Mellencamp's attempts to wax poetic are a mixed bag; the title track, co-written with longtime songwriting cohort George Green, works, as does "To The River." "Sweet Evening Breeze" isn't quite as successful.

But even the seemingly trivial "Sweet Evening Breeze" and "French Shoes" are listenable with Mellencamp's multi-talented band kicking behind him.

In "French Shoes" and "When Jesus Left Birmingham," Mellencamp experiments with pop-funk-rock rhythms. If veteran fans of the heartland rocker don't take to the style, they'll at least appreciate the lines in the latter cut that their hero lifted from "Jack and Diane."

In short, whether you're and old fan of John Mellencamp, or *Human Wheels* is your first of his albums, crank this record up, and don't let your neighbors tell you to turn it down.

Jennifer Durham is a senior journalism and history major and editor-in-chief of The Critic.

Orlando written and directed by Sally Potter; starring Tilda Swinson and Billy Zane

by mark bandy, *Mark Bandy is a senior business major and publisher of The Critic.*

Orlando waste of $5.50

I have to admit that I was a bit skeptical about going to see the film, *Orlando*, the other night, but being ver on the lookout to broaden my perpective, I decided to go anyway. I made huge mistake. My first mistake was oing to the Chelsea. I really don't like oing there because there is just this mugness about the whole place as if it's ying to say to the other movie theaters, We're better than you. We only show rtsy foreign films and serve Toblerone hocolate."

Anyway, I've paid my $5.50 and now m ready to be **entertained**. Needless to ay, I was not. I had some idea of what ne movie was about, some very effemiate man who suddenly becomes a oman. Well, that pretty much summed ne film up but the man, er, woman, er ning lived about 500 years to boot. ven more amazing was the fact that ost of the other characters in the story ere only mildly surprised when it hanged sexes, and her biggest problem ecame the British government which anted to take away her house. This eally added to my confusion, especially hen the guy who knew it as a guy proosed to marry it, knowing it had been a ıy. In an effort, I assume, to guide the udience along, the director felt it was ecessary to flash subject cards, like SEX nd POLITICS on the screen to give ou some idea of what topic was being ldressed. This worked, kind of. It was ovious what issue was being depicted, ıt it was like trying to read hieroglyphs to understand what was being said. hen they had sex, that was pretty ear. What you were supposed to take vay from that scene or how it had anying to do with the rest of the film was og.

The film was like a series of discon- cted vignettes with little relation cept a single character. And even at's disputable. I know the film was osely based on a Virginia Woolf novel, t I really think it's unfair for a director make a movie with the assumption at her audience has read the book. at's why a lot of people watch movies. I was expecting some leftist, feminist eme on what a drag being a woman is npared to being a man, but there sn't even that.. Even after an entire week to ponder it, the only theme I could reasonably derive was something along the lines of the Virginia Slims' "You've come along way, baby." motto. I think the director realized this and tried to add some humor to the movie. Throughout the movie, he,she,it, keeps looking at the camera like in Ferris Bueller did and making little would-be humorous asides. Unfortunately, even this tires after a while

To recap, I really didn't like the movie, and it wasn't because it was some sort of theatrical liberal or feminist diatribe. First, it was dull and boring. If I want dull and boring, I can watch Duke football. Second, I didn't care what happened to Orlando. If the director had made it a more sympathetic character, I might have been drawn in As it was, Orlando could have turned into a six-headed purple gorilla and I couldn't have cared less. Well, so much for broadening my horizons.

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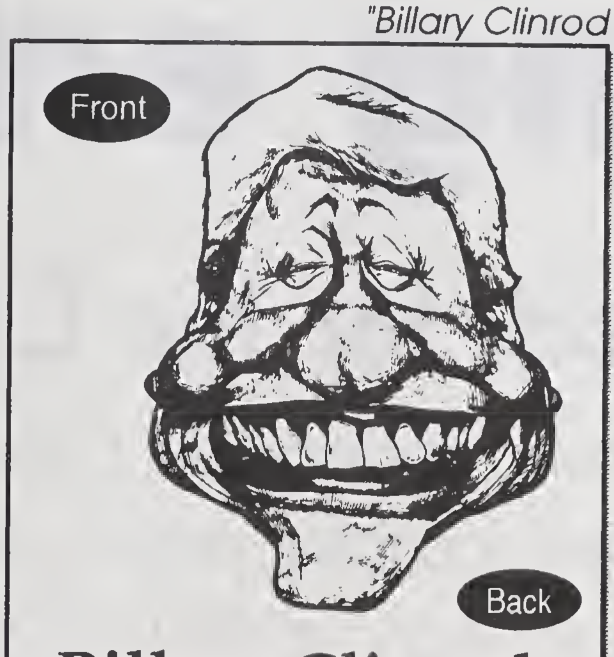

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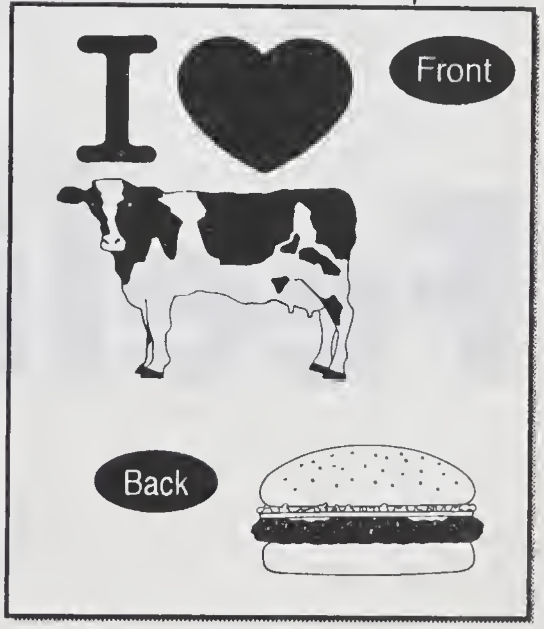

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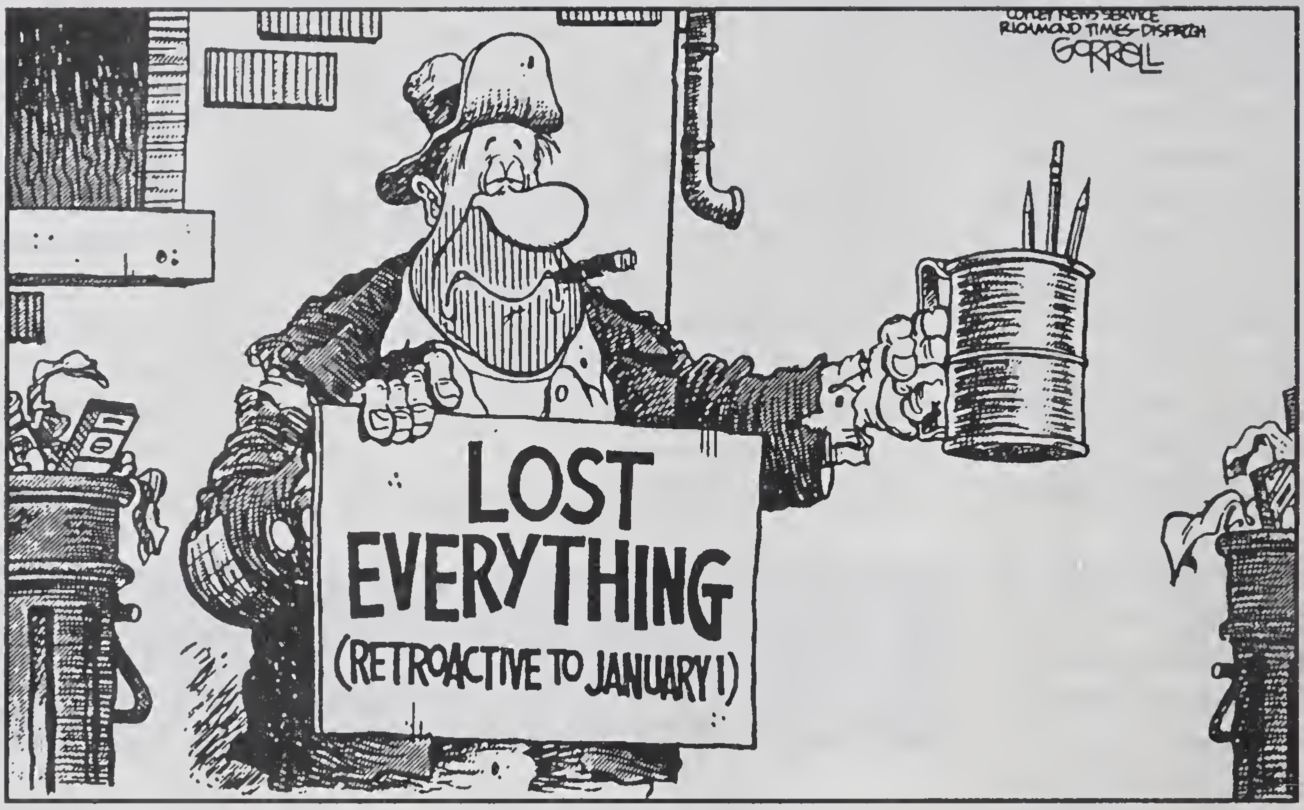

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Please note: Vol.7, no.2, 1993 of *The Carolina Critic* is not available. Further, vol.8, no.1, 1994 is the last known issue of the periodical. The volumes are bound incomplete.

THE COLLEGE REPUBLICANS: THE NEW CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS / PAGE 7

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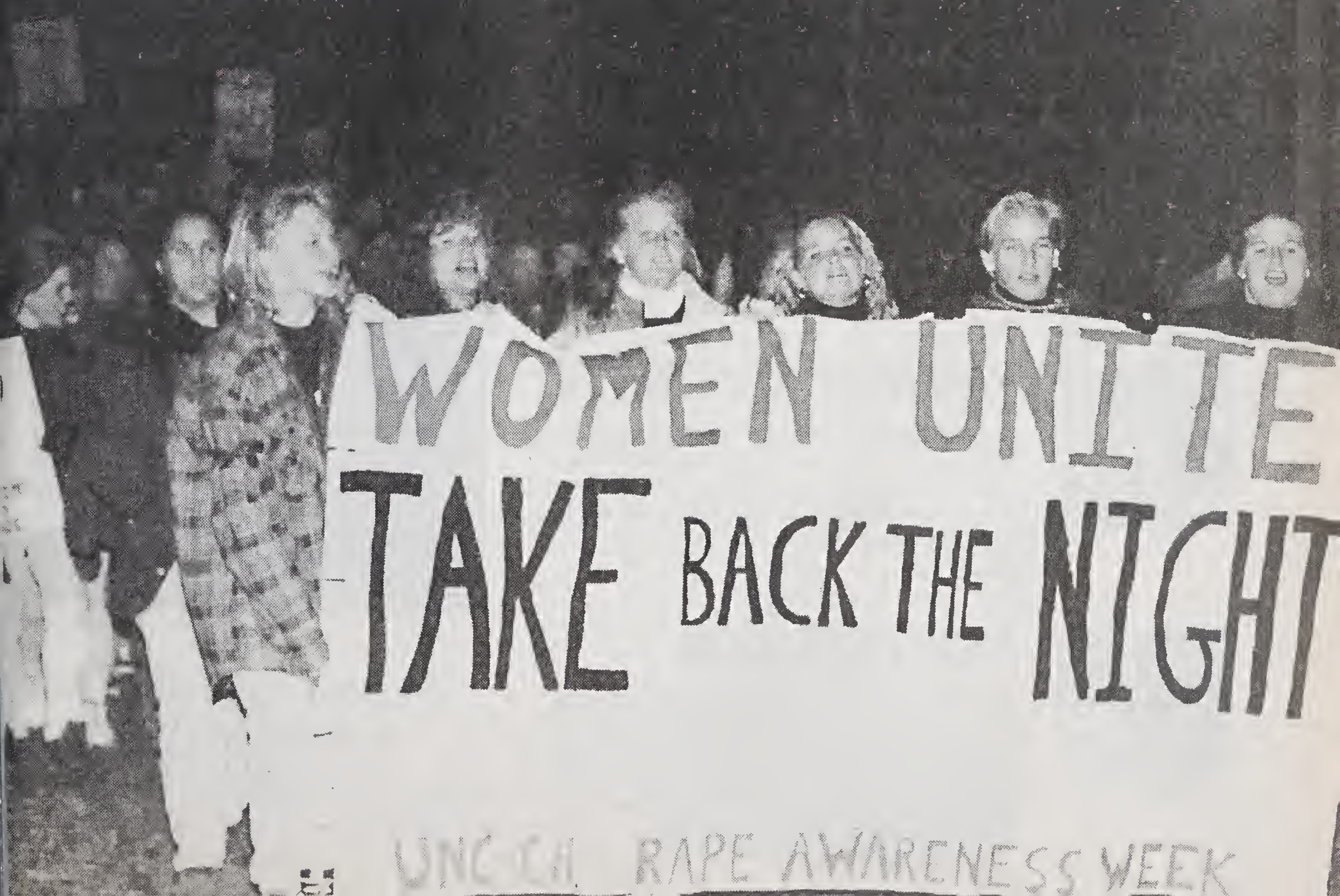
THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VII, ISSUE 3

DECEMBER 1, 1993

Don't even Look at me

FEMINISM ON CAMPUS



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—Thomas Jefferson

■ "Capitalism is the only system in history where wealth is not acquired by looting, but by production, not by force, but by trade, the only system that stands for man's right to his own mind, to his work, to his life, to his happiness, to himself."

—Ayn Rand

■ "More police, more jails, harsh penalties for drug users, and a whole panoply of repressive measures can only make a bad situation worse. The drug war cannot be won by those tactics without undermining human liberty and human freedom."

—Milton Friedman

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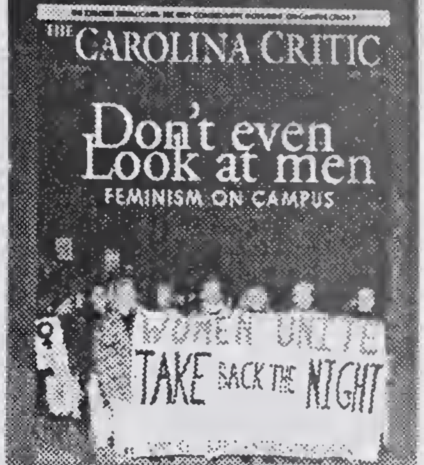

THE CRITIC COVER

With the recent "Take back the night" march, The Critic, with three stories, looks at feminism and the women's side of politics.

Photo by Anna Yarur

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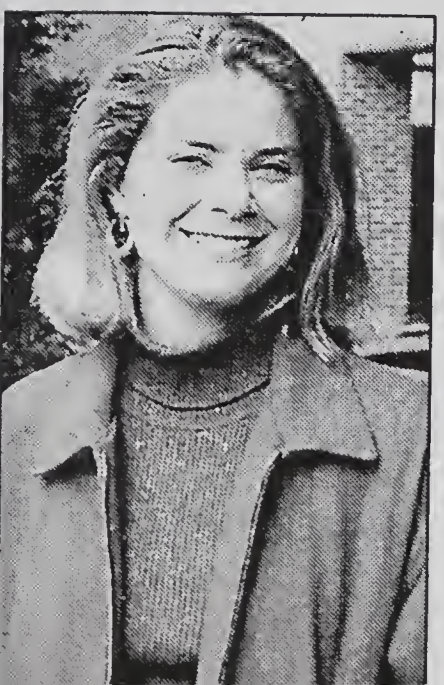

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
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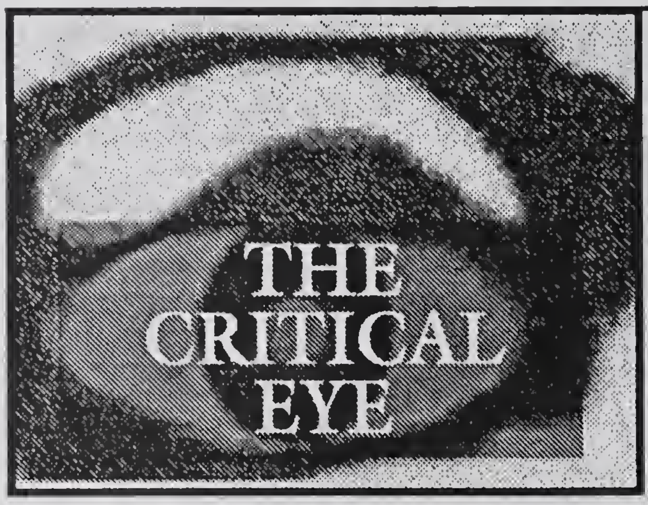
Volume VII, No. 3



THE CRITICAL EYE

• Ross Perot has reaffirmed his status as King Idiot-Extraordinare by being outperformed by Vice President Al Gore in the NAFTA debate. How can anyone not support NAFTA when the its opposition leader can't even win a debate on free trade with one of the most leftist senators in recent history?

• Want another reason to support NAFTA? How about members of the opposition other than Perot such as the AFL-CIO and Jesse Jackson.

• For you liberals who want an excuse to support NAFTA consider the fact that Pat Buchanan, Sen. Lauch Faircloth and Sen. Jesse Helms also oppose NAFTA.

• From *Reason:*
A group of motorcyclists are challenging California's helmet law. A Sikh contends the law forces him to violate his religious faith by taking off his turban. A hard-of-hearing man says the law is unfair to the handicapped due to the heavy feedback a helmet causes his hearing aid.

• The caring Democrat legislator said in response to the two complaints , "I don't give a damn. He can wrap his turban around his helmet." Concerning the hearing impaired man he said, "As far as I'm concerned, the son-of-a-bitch can walk."

• A Greenville, S.C. man received a letter from social services addressed to his deceased brother. It read, "Your food stamps will be stopped effective March 1993 because we received notice that you had passed away. May God bless you. You may reapply if there is a change in your circumstances."

• The city council of Lagrange, Indiana, is considering extending its open container law to cover horse-drawn carriages. It seems those ruffian Amish are getting hammered and then driving horse and buggy wildly through the streets of Lagrange.

• Medals given to winners of an L.A. scholastic competition misspelled the word 'academic.'

• A sign at a recent pro-choice rally stated the following: "I would die to defend my mom's right to an abortion."

• In California (surprise) animal rights activists want to pass an ordinance to keep cats indoors because they hunt and kill other small animals for fun.

• Just for you PETA members, thousand of birds are killed each year when they run into windmill farms. Doesn't this sa something about their intelligence?

• The *Phoenix* has once again been funded by student congress. It looks…oh never mind, nobody cares.

• The BCC… ditto.

• **Q**: Why does Student Stores charge 6 bucks for a textbook, buy it back for five and then sell it again for 60?

• **A**: If you said 'to shaft students,' then you're absolutely right!

• **Q**: Why does Student Stores mark ou all of those prices on books of literature and then charge nearly double the price they try to mark out?

• **A**: Same as above.

And finally another top 10 list:

Here are 10 reasons to eat at Lenoir:

1-The fuzzy hamburgers.
2-Wide variety of animal life running around.
3-Bagels can be used as stones
4-The friendly service.
5-It smells better than the bathrooms in Dey.
6-The delicious napkins
7-The clean tables
8-You get to walk by all the cool rape graffiti on campus.
9-You get a glimpse of what the USSR was like pre-Gorbachev (think about it).
10-You'll never see any push-overs from South Building here.

Freedom of press is terrific!

APHORISMS

The physical labor actors have to do wouldn't tax an embryo.

—Neil Simon

As you get older, the pickings get slimmer, but the people don't.

—Carrie Fisher

It's so much easier to pray for a bore than to go see one.

—C.S. Lewis

A hick town is one in which there is no place to go where you shouldn't be.

—Alexander Woollcott

To err is dysfunctional, to forgive is co-dependent.

—Berton Averre

Equal opportunity means everyone will have a fair chance at being incompetent.

—Laurence J. Peter

The thing about America that impresses me is the way parents obey their children.

—Duke of Windsor

When I feel like exercising I just lie down until the feeling goes away.

—Robert M Hutchins

Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed.

—Jonathan Swift

Appellate Division judges are whores who became madams.

—Martin Erdman

That is the one I want, but that is the one I'm gonna get.

—JPG

CRITIC ALMANAC

Average price of an ounce of gallstones in South Africa: $285

Number of feathers on Big Bird: 4,000

Chances that an American has switched religions at least once: 1 in 4

Average cost of a homemade Thanksgiving meal for 10: $29.95

Chances that a shoplifter in Washington, D.C. went to college: 1 in 2

Elementary and high school grades failed by Texas Senator Phil Gramm: third, seventh, ninth

Price of a seven day all-nude cruise to the Caribbean this winter: $896

Number of religions Chinese citizens are allowed to practice: 5

Number of world's 810 vampires who live in the U.S. according to the Vampire Research Center: 550

Number who live in Rumania: 3

Source: Harper's Index

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NAFTA By Jeff Zurofsky, a sophomore political science major and assistant publisher of The Critic

NAFTA: A plus for the U.S.

We have always been told, "Know thy enemy." For sometime now it has been difficult to consider the North American Free Trade Agreement an enemy, since I, like the most of you, was rather unaware of the issues, concepts and implications of this much debated agreement. Considering all the hoopla and politicking surrounding NAFTA, my judgment would not have been particularly partial in my previous state of ignorance. Apart from the side shows surrounding its ratification, the NAFTA circus is more serious and important than originally considered. Its failure to pass would surely have brought repercussions felt beyond the approximately 150,000 jobs lost by tariff elimination.

In its simple purpose, NAFTA will eliminate trade barriers through tariff reduction between the United States, Canada and Mexico over the next 10 years (the latter being the biggest bone of contention for opponents). An example of this is Mexico's 20% tariff on American-made automobiles: NAFTA will cut this tariff in half overnight and finally to zero in 10 years. All of these tariff reductions will ultimately result in $6.5 trillion market and a consumer base of over 370 million people. These numbers are both astronomical and undisputed. The argument, therefore, ensues over the geopolitical repercussions, morality and economic benefits of NAFTA's passage.

There is no compelling argument, sadly, for absolute and grandiose economic benefits; the compulsion lies, then, in NAFTA's simplicity and sensibility. NAFTA intends to keep America at an equivalent pace with the current trend toward an unfettered trade flow in today's highly technological and global economy. Any reversion from this seemingly uncontrollable spiral to a fully networked world market would completely isolate the reverter and rebuff those still included in the market. Thus, a failure to pass NAFTA might indeed have resulted in American protectionism and isolationism. Anthony Lewis of the New York Times argues that America, the so-called world leader, would lead the rest of the world toward the very same policies, resulting in the "end of the rising world prosperity, originally, spurred by international trade, enjoyed since the end of World War II." Moreover, given the increase in overseas trade with Mexico since 1986, the year it reduced many of its protectionist tariffs, failure to pass NAFTA would have told Mexico we didn't need it to import 70% of its imports from the United States. Since 1986, Japanese and German exports to Mexico have increased at an average of 400%; no doubt, if the U.S. jumps out of the Mexican boat, German and Japanese businessmen alike will be happy to captain the Mexican import economy. NAFTA makes sense from a survival point of view.

OVER THE FIRST DECADE, 150,000 OF THE LOWEST-END JOBS WILL BE LOST TO THE MEXICAN WORK FORCE. HOWEVER, OVER THE LONG RUN, THE INCREASE IN EXPORTS TO MEXICO... WILL INCREASE DEMAND FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTION, LEADING TO CONSIDERABLY HIGHER PRICES AND WAGES.

Many critics of NAFTA claim that its ratification will still do nothing for low wages in Mexico. This concern for Mexican employees has exploded from a legitimate concern that lower wages will attract American business interests to a moral plea for the plight of the Mexican worker. Dick Gephardt, House majority leader, recently claimed that his biggest concern on this important piece of legislation was for the average income of the Mexican worker: "NAFTA's passage will still do little for low wages in Mexico." Most critics, seemingly protectionists, argue for higher wages, which would, however, lead to lower Mexican employment rates. Mexico, a country with 20% of its workers unemployed, surely does not need higher unemployment rates. Ross Perot (yours and my favorite xenophobe) cites a story of how Mexico broke a union strike with state police and the killing of 20 to 30 workers as scare tactics. This relation is indeed bogus and far-fetched. As James Carville and Tony Snow point out, the incident was actually a fist fight during an union certification campaign, which was eventually broken up by the state police. Nevertheless, this increasing concern for the rights and welfare of Mexican employees by NAFTA critics seems a severe deviation from the "concern for America" argument on which Gephardt and Perot originally opposed NAFTA. Surely, we should have a deeper concern for the American worker and his well being since, NAFTA's defeat would have brought closed world markets.

Most importantly, critics of NAFTA seem to base their opposition on ill-founded facts and poorly reasoned logic. Most critics claim NAFTA's passage will mean job loss for the U.S., and indeed over the first decade, 150,000 of the lowest-end jobs will be lost to the Mexican work force. However, over the long run, the increase in exports to Mexico - an increase already proven in that, since 1986, exports have tripled and a $5.4 billion trade deficit has skyrocketed to a $5.7 billion surplus - will increase demand for American production, leading considerably higher prices and wages. Americans' job deficit will be replaced by more higher paying jobs. Another argument against job loss is the establishment of production factories in America by BMW and Mercedes-Benz, companies based in a country which has nearly quadrupled its exports to Mexico. If Mexican employment is so appealing, why have these two companies instilled their faith in American workers?

Finally, let us deal with the little pit bull from Texas (a border state of Mexico, keep in mind), Ross Perot. Perot, for those who have not heard, owns a production plant in a free-trade zone on the Mexican border; he has everything to lose from NAFTA's passage, as competitors across the nation will assume this same free-trade status. Again, as in the presidential campaign, Perot is using a national issue to achieve his own goals. A week before Election Day 1992, William Safire of the New York Times wrote a column arguing that Perot used the campaign to clear his name after he could not help manage General Motors and was asked to leave. He is using NAFTA for his own personal gain in much the same manner. Moreover, Perot's scare tactics with influential politicians goes against every tradition of governmental procedure. An example: Perot invited Gephardt to an anti-NAFTA rally and greeted the wavering House majority leader with 10,000 signatures against the pact, the same 10,000 signees who follow Perot around the country seeking attention. Surely, the policy of an entire country should not rest upon the whims of 10,001 fanatic paranoids. NAFTA rightly passed.

By Tara Servatius, a sophomore journalism major, and an assistant editor for The Critic

The newly founded College Republicans are

Hoping to start 'the big conservative revolution on campus'

There is a new group on campus, and with it a fresh face in UNC politics. In what has largely been "one woman effort," freshman manda Scoggins is attempting to ake a name for the newly founded ollege Republicans at UNC.

As chairman of the CRs at UNC and entral Regional Director for the state, coggins sees a big future for the organi-tion. She hopes to work closely with e organization on not just a campus-ide level, but a state and national level well.

Although there is already a branch of oung Republicans on campus, College epublicans hopes to expand on their ccomplishments and to attract more terest. "We hope to start this big con-rvative revolution on campus," said coggins. "I know that sounds funny, t that's our goal."

The group's main focus will be get-ng the mainstream students involved. embership is currently about 150, and e group has set a goal of 500 for next mester.

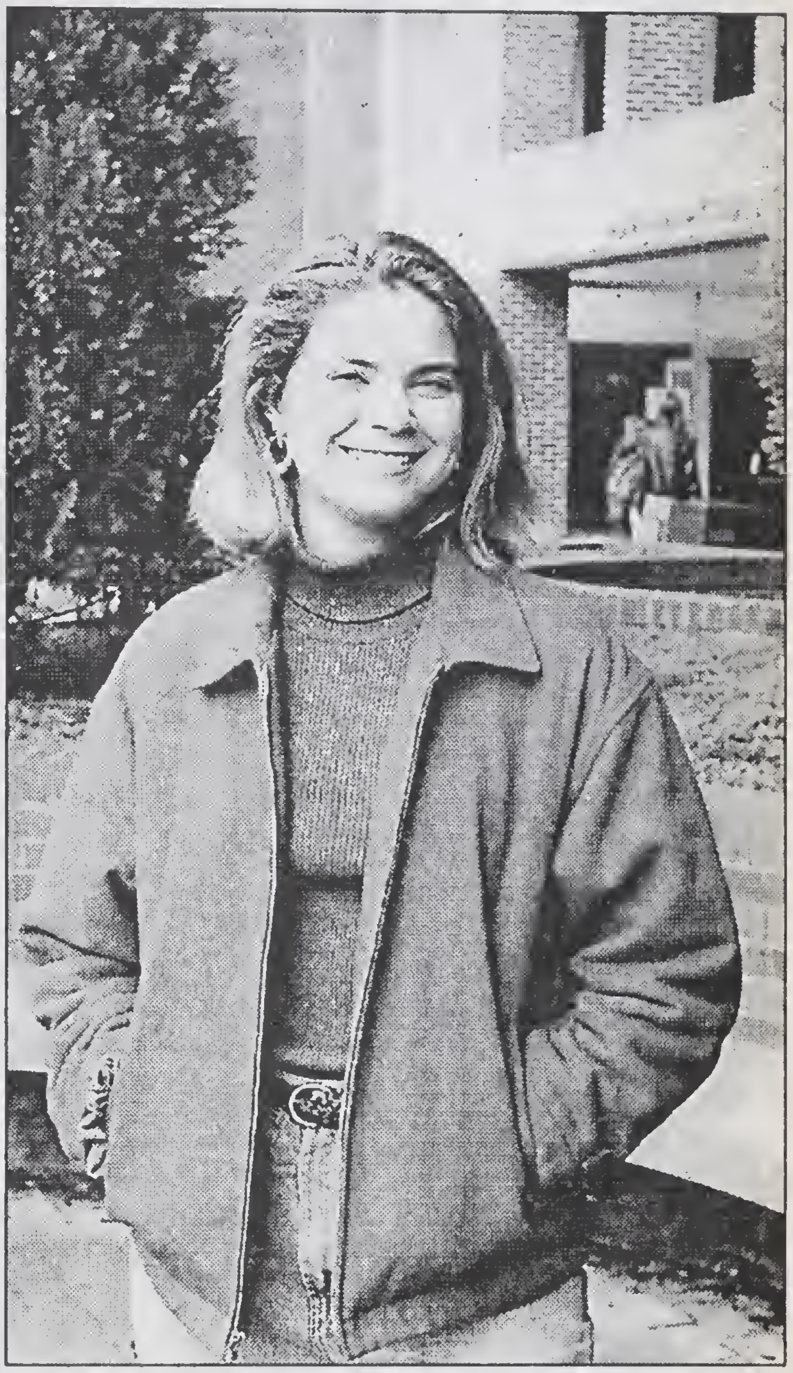
"We aren't trying to target just a few ard-core people, because the silent ajority, we feel, are conservative," said Scoggins.

The group has already been active with such activities as a trip to Washington to meet with Oliver North, demonstrations, weekly meetings and participation in the state College Republicans convention, and plans to host an event for conservative faculty. The group is also looking forward to hosting state Rep. Carolyn Russel who will speak on November 17.

"The big focus of CRs for the year, however, will be conservative awareness week, which will hopefully follow gay and lesbian awareness week this spring," said Scoggins. Planned activities include a speeches by William Bennett and several other speakers, as well as a straight pride rally.

Besides these events, Scoggins also hopes to involve more students in the day to day planning of the organization. Although officers have been appointed on a trial basis, elections will be held in the spring.

As for her own position, Scoggins has responded to criticism of her taking on such a large responsibility as a freshman: "It's hard work. If someone else wants to take the job, they can do the work."


MATTHEW SCOTT

Amanda Scoggins, chairman of CR

"THE BIG FOCUS OF THE COLLEGE REPUBLICANS (CRS) FOR THE YEAR WILL BE CONSERVATIVE AWARENESS WEEK, WHICH WILL HOPEFULLY FOLLOW GAY AND LESBIAN AWARENESS WEEK THIS SPRING," SAID SCOGGINS.

COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Join the conservative movement
Join the College Republicans

Meetings every other Wednesday, 5 p.m.
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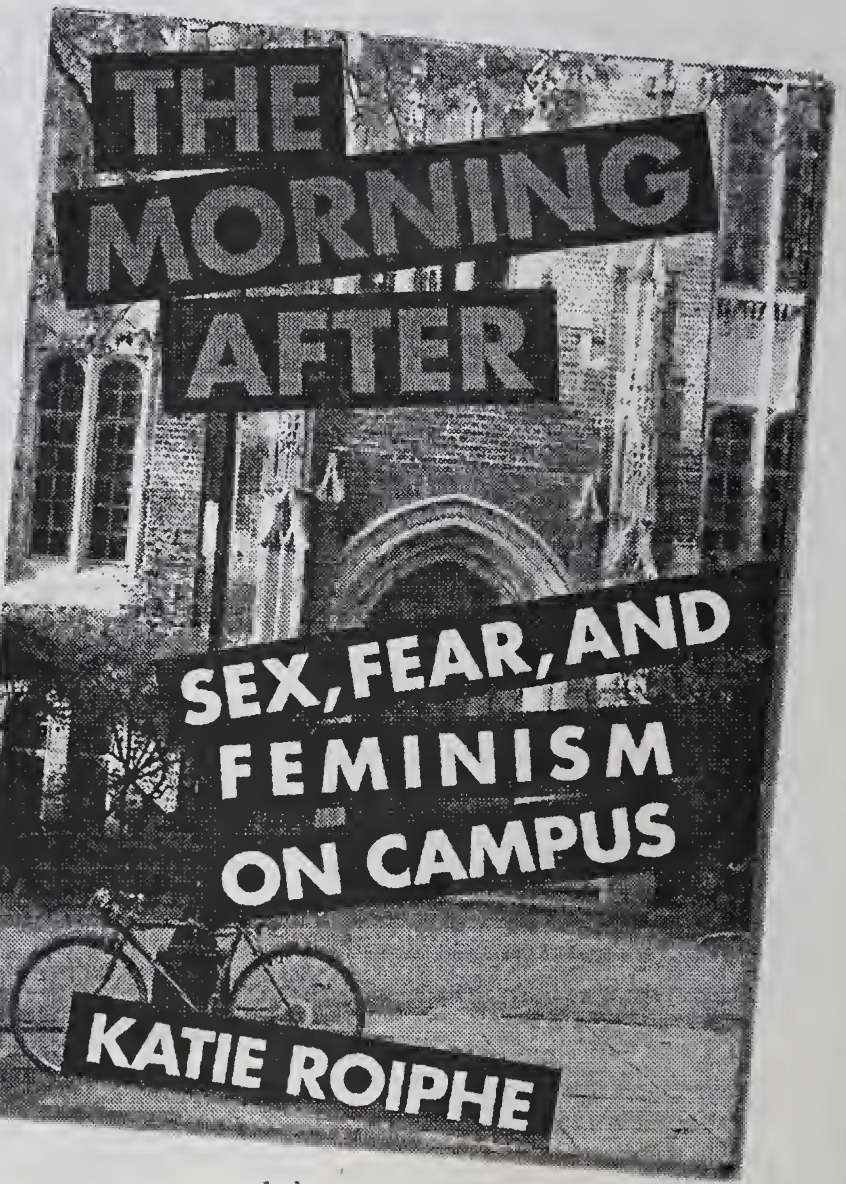
cover story By Gabrielle Loperfido, a graduate student in comparative literature

Feminism on campus

TAKE BACK THE NIGHT



Katie Roiphe, author of The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus, speaks out with eloquence and wisdom against the current tide of victimization that now characterizes and propels the women's movement on college campuses.

In drawing on her own experiences, observations and anecdotes as an undergraduate at Harvard and as a graduate student now at Princeton, Ms. Roiphe executes a brilliant cultural analysis of the growing climate of fear on campuses: women's fear of men, and, more importantly, women's fear of their own sexuality. She confesses the bewilderment she experienced, upon her arrival at Harvard as a freshman, at the discovery of a radically different kind of feminism from that of the equality-based tradition in which she had been raised: a tradition of equality based on strength and merit. She laments the insidious existence of the trend toward an increase in victim status that is fed on fear, and which propagates the notion that women must rely on weakness rather than strength and merit in order to gain power. She decries such a notion's natural, paradoxical corollaries: the empowerment born of "oppression" and the "Voice" that is given audience and authority by claims of being "Silenced."

As an example of Katie Roiphe's insightful analysis of the dynamics at work on campus, particularly relevant to the paradox of the empowering effect of silence and to the Chapel Hill community, I take from her chapter "Taking Back the Night." In this chapter she discusses the popular rise and institutionalization of the nighttime marches called "Take Back the Night" (one of which was recently held here on campus), which are demonstrations against violence against women:

"These Princeton women, future lawyers, newspaper reporters, investment bankers, are hardly voiceless, by most people's definition. But silence is poetic. Being silenced is even more poetic. These days people vie for the position of being silenced, but being silenced is necessarily a construction of the articulate. Once you're talking about being silenced, you're already talking.“

One of the stated goals of the Take Back the Night marches is to improve conditions of women on campus so that they need not live in fear. Ironically, but not surprisingly, these rallies contribute to the climate of fear on campus: both in themselves and in the concrete changes they advocate such as additional lighting on campus. No one would claim that complete darkness is safe, but Ms. Roiphe points out the darker side to more lighting, in particular the systems installed at Princeton of blue lights marking emergency call boxes:

> *"Since the phones aren't actually used much for emergencies, their primary function seems to be to reassure the lone wanderer. . .The blue lights mark a new and systematic sense of danger...They signal reassurance and warning at the same time. Red means stop, green means go, and blue means be afraid."*

The atmosphere of fear: fear of what is thought to happen and fear of what might occur, Ms. Roiphe rightly identifies as the real crisis on campus:

> *"...one college senior tells me that she believes [the statistic that] one in four [women are raped or sexually assaulted] is too conservative an estimate. This is not the first time I've heard this. She tells me the right statistic is closer to one in two. . . . It's amazing, she says, amazing that so many of us are sexually assaulted every day. . . What is amazing is that this student actually believes 50 percent of women are raped. This is the true crisis...This hyperbole contains within it a state of perpetual fear."*

The institutionalization of fear and victim status perpetuated by the Take Back the Night marches reveal as well as exacerbate the deep contradictions of articulate silence inherent in campus feminism.

The phenomenon of the paradox is not limited simply to matters of physical assault and personal safety. The dynamic of contradiction manifests itself in the realm of sexual harassment and student-professor ethics on campus as well. According to Ms. Roiphe, open-door policies in which professors, either tacitly or through compliance with recommended procedures, leave the door ajar in conferences with students "only draws attention to the potential for a sexual dynamic between professor and student...The irony is that these open doors, and all that they symbolize, threaten to create barriers between faculty and students."

Ms. Roiphe does not limit the range of the open-door scenarios and their insidious effect merely to male professors and female students. The threat of allegations of sexual harassment cross traditional gender lines and power relationships. Ironically, but not surprisingly, women bear the brunt of the negative effects of the ramifications of the very policies instituted for their protection, as Ms. Roiphe explains: "The assumption that female students or faculty must be protected from the sexual harassment of male peers or inferiors promotes the regrettable idea that men are natively more powerful than women."

Ms. Roiphe skillfully molds her analysis to argue that this "regrettable idea that men are natively more powerful than women" is unacceptable. Fear surrounding harassment and rape promote a return to Victorian-like mores and behavior that she sees as detrimental to women: "By viewing rape as encompassing more than the use or threat of physical violence to coerce someone into sex, rape-crisis feminists reinforce traditional views about the fragility of the female body and will . . . The suggestion lurking beneath this [all-encompassing] definition of rape is that men are not just physically but intellectually and emotionally more powerful than women.

Ms. Roiphe rightly objects to a return to Victorian-like ideals of eminine fragility and the denial of sexuality that such ideals entail. However, her alternative vision for women and feminism embraces an ideal of sexual "liberation" which enslaves women to a male norm, denying fundamental differences between men and women. She misses the opportunity to make the case for holding men to a higher standard of behavior. Likewise flawed is her analysis of the orces that feed the trend to return to traditional values. She blames a reactionary conservatism that unites the far left and the ar right: Catharine MacKinnon and Jesse Helms. While she uses he example of their united front against pornography to effectively rgue in favor of free speech, she mistakenly analyzes this mesal-ance and the common element of the will-to-regulate as a conflu-nce of purposes rather that seeing it for the rare intersection that ccurs at times among crossing agendas.

Ms. Roiphe's book is aptly titled given her desire to abort the MacKinnon-led mis-growth of the women's movement. She closes er introduction with the statement that her book is predicated pon the belief that "some feminisms are better than others." Ms. oiphe correctly analyzes current campus-feminism as a manifesta-on of a Nietzschean will-to-power which she sees as futile, ecause such a will-to-power implies the powerlessness of women. he sees the underlying logic of the will-to-power as the clue that xplains the paradoxes and contradictions as well as provides the ason why the university community is particularly vulnerable to heir agenda: "Socially and intellectually, the university rewards omen for being sexy and rewards them for being oppressed."

Katie Roiphe is right: some feminisms are better than others. he does much to provide an antidote of sanity to craze for victim-atus, to set "feminism" back on course and to reaffirm an ideal of quality based on strength and merit. But for those of us who do ot share her vision for women held to a standard of detachment d irresponsibility toward sexuality, we know that there is still uch to be said. I thank Katie Roiphe for providing the context in hich to restore meaning to feminist discourse. Now, let's get on th the real work.

By D. Michael Tapp, a senior political science and public analysis major.

A man's view of campus feminism

Rape is a serious issue and should be treated as such. However, what many feminists are doing with rape defies logic and truth. Rape has been surreptitiously used by some feminists to bolster their inane claims about society. Feminists argue that rape is not taken seriously by society, and even suggest society tacitly accepts rape as part of a male-dominated society.

Nothing could be further from the truth. A short history lesson on rape, such as provided by Margaret D. Bonilla in the Fall 1993 issue of Policy Review, demonstrates the inaccuracy of the feminist claims. For example, in the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, death was the prescribed penalty for raping a virgin. The Hebrews specified death by stoning for the rapist. English law, from which American rape laws emanate, was unambiguous concerning the issue of rape. Before the Norman Conquest in 1066, rapists received death and dismemberment. By the time of William the Conqueror, rapists were treated more humanely with castration and blinding. The 1275 Statutes of Westminster made sex without a woman's consent (any woman, not just a virgin) a crime punishable by hanging, the method to be employed by executioners in the nascent United States.

If feminists really believed in the seriousness of rape, they would not trivialize and redefine it in such a way that the line between rape and sex between consenting adults is blurred. Some feminists suggest that sex is a degrading experience in general for women; rape is only the ultimate end to legitimacy and acceptance of a patriarchal society rape is the victimization of all women by all men. Catharine MacKinnon, a professor of law at the University of Michigan has written "Rape is not illegal, it is regulated," and persuades people to see rape and sex as on a continuum of accepted oppressive activities against women. Says MacKinnon, "Compare victims reports of rape with women's reports of sex. They look a lot alike."

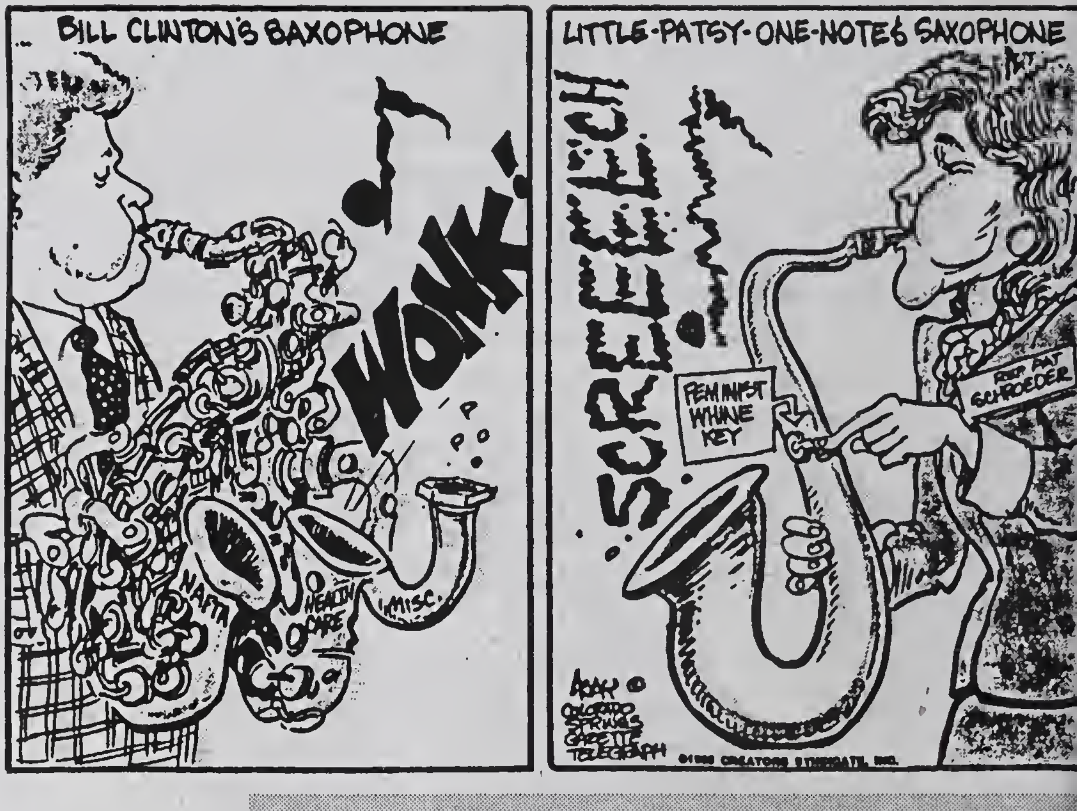
As a male, I don't like to be characterized as a potential rapist just because I have testostorome coursing through my body. Bewilderment and confusion as I walked through a designated "Rape-Free Zone" near Davis library last year led me to pursue this subject. I discovered that not all women feel the same as Ms. MacKinnon (and boy, was I relieved!). Because there are women (most who are more intelligent than I) who feel the same about the post-modern feminist agenda, I feel less ostracized for having a Y for a sex chromosome.

Linda Lichter, co-director of the Center for Media and Public Affairs, wrote an article about the ironies of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

By Elizabeth Besenfelder, a senior physics major.

Women & THE GOP


BILL CLINTON'S BAXOPHONE
WONK!
NAFTA
HEALTH CARE
MISC.
LITTLE-PATSY-ONE-NOTE'S SAXOPHONE
SCREEECH!
FEMINIST WHINE KEY
REP. PAT SCHROEDER
ASAY © COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH
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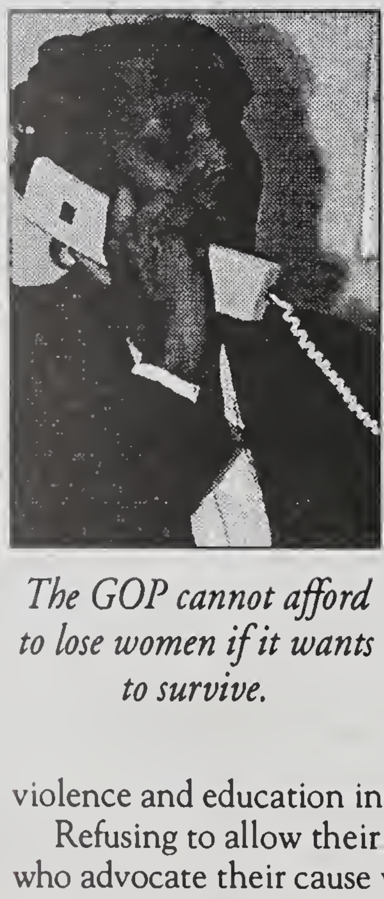
The political year 1992 was "the Year of the Women." In record numbers, women candidates were aspiring to higher positions of power than ever before. Women felt that their voices were not being heard, and they needed to get out and make the difference themselves in the halls of power.

Yet, most of these candidates identified with the platform of the Democrats, whom they felt stood for strong family values and a pro-choice view of abortion rights. Women traditionally vote conservatively, putting their voting power into the hands of those who they feel will protect their families. It was not because women are provincial that they voted with the right; historically it has been the Republican party that stood for protecting the integrity of the family with strong stances on drug control, law and order, and strong educational initiatives.

Why the drift to the left? This can largely be explained by women's feeling that the issues close to them were being pandered to and put low on the political priority list. The drug problem in the U.S. and the decline of the educational system are problems that women have seen coming to their living room for years, and they felt that it was about time that someone who has power listen, or put the people who were listening in power. Who better to listen to than the party who had been out of power for 12 years? Women formed an instant alliance with the Democrats, a party desperate for cohesive bonds with the female voters (and anyone who could put them into power).



The GOP cannot afford to lose women if it wants to survive.

This is a serious situation for the Republican Party. In 1992, it lost a traditional base of voting support with the defection of women. It was not that the GOP ignored these issues, but its members made themselves sound as if they knew more than women themselves did. It is impossible to listen to a male politician tell you that he knows what is causing the disintegration of the American family when you yourself experience the issue every day in your own home. What the Republicans need to do is listen to women and truly hear their concerns. It is not a radical departure from the traditional stance of the Republican Party to embrace the concerns of drug abuse, domestic violence and education in terms of family values.

Refusing to allow their voices go unheard, women are looking for those who advocate their cause with an open mind and open ears. While the U.S. still has vital interests abroad, many voters, women especially, feel it is time that the issues close to home be brought to the forefront and dealt with effectively, using the resources that we normally invest in foreign campaigns.

The traditional right cannot afford in the future to ignore half of the electorate. They take into consideration the issues of many other smaller groups; it is critical that they make women feel a part of the group again.

A man's view

from page 9

the new feminist agendas. In "The Lost Luxuries of Ladyhood," Lichter writes:

"It is also politically incorrect to notice that those who preach against sexual double standards often arbitrarily practice them. For example, many feminists believe women should be "protected" against by laws against pornography, but no such protection should apply to military combat."

Similar ironies can be ascertained in the feminist distortion of the rape issue. Women, according to feminists, are perfectly capable of defending themselves; they don't need men. However, let an inebriated woman be seduced by a inebriated man after a fraternity party and a woman becomes a powerless, weak victim. Gentlemen should not take advantage of drunk women, but irresponsible behavior by both sexes is not rape. Seduction is not rape. A true feminist would not allow irresponsible behavior or unplanned sexual incidents to be included in the definition of rape.

Suppose a man and woman were drinking together at a party and the woman ruefully wakes up the next morning in the man's bed. Would that constitute a rape? Not unless the man forced the woman to drink. The idea that women are unable to avoid abusive men or men who drink too much seems regressive and contrary to the raison d'àtre o feminism. I suppose I could be accused of cultural atavism; I may be Victorian, but that is a better alternative than believing that American society is one huge patriarchal behemoth - one big societal rape. I hope women who want their night back will let me know. Smiling at a feminist is risky business and don't dare flirt with one. Doing so would make you a potential rapist. Distorting the line between rape and irresponsible behavior is, at best, untenable and even worse, preventing honest discourse about the relationship between the sexes. Scaring young women to death to champion a feminist political agenda is less than honorable.

tidbits By TJ Hemlinger, a second-year doctoral student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Dicta and hyperbole

Chapel Hill elections put supporters of the high school's multi-culturalism program onto the school board. It's hard to argue that the community, the state, the nation, the world doesn't need more understanding and compassion, so one simple point will have to do:

The top-of-the-line students who graduate from Chapel Hill High School go to prestigious schools. Meanwhile, the disparity between test scores of blacks and whites continues to widen, there is peer pressure not to get good grades because it's not the cool thing to do, drugs are consumed in the rest rooms and condoms are distributed by the school nurse.

Students need to learn to read and write and calculate. When they can do that, they can compete better for good jobs and good schools. When they have achieved that, their self-esteem will go up. When their self-esteem rises, they will be more tolerant of others because they won't feel the need to drag others down to their level.

Why do homosexuals migrate to communities that host liberal arts schools? Because there is more tolerance and less persecution than elsewhere. Why is there more tolerance? Because people are more educated and more open-minded.

Doesn't this bring us back to where we started? Educate our children so they can think and reason instead of using the time spent trying to persuade them alternative lifestyles are something to celebrate, and they'll become the citizens we want and need.

* * *

News item: A man in a car pointed a gun at a school bus in Carrboro one weekday morning in November. The police stopped the car at 9:30 a.m. that same day on Merritt Mill Road, which divides Carrboro and Chapel Hill. The driver jumped out and ran away, but the police arrested his three companions and charged two of them with possession of crack and stolen property and parole violation. They had broken into eight cars by 9:30 in the morning. The gun was not found, but there was a machete in the car.

So now there is a drug-crazed ex-felon armed with a pistol running around my neighborhood - literally. I'm sorry, but I'm not selling my revolver to the city, at least until he's caught. Even then, he'll be back out on parole, probably sooner rather than later.

* * *

We're going to start a Neighborhood Crime Watch on Merritt Mill Road and Johnson Street — with bleachers.

* * *

The federal government reregulated the cable TV industry. Is anybody happy about that? Now the same crew wants to regulate the health industry. I have all the confidence in the world they'll repeat their success.

* * *

Donna Shalala, the administration's Secretary of Health and Welfare, was president of the University of Wisconsin when that institution imposed a speech code. Sheldon Hackney, the head of the National Endowment for the Arts, was president of the University of Pennsylvania and allowed a student to be persecuted in the infamous "water buffalo" incident but did nothing when a group of black students stole several thousand copies of a conservative newspaper. Janet Reno, the administration's third-round draft choice to be attorney general, wants government to step and clean up Hollywood to get rid of the violence and sex on the screen.

Is it just me, or is there a chill wind blowing across the First Amendment? Are these examples of the administration's commitment to freedom of speech?

* * *

"No one is going to convince me that anything on radio or TV causes deviant behavior... It's irresponsible parenting."

— Howard Stern, who sits atop the New York Times best seller list.

* * *

We have spent increasing amounts of money on education in this country in the form of teachers' salaries, more administrators, more programs and smaller classes, and test scores keep falling. Maybe if we spend still more money, as the National Education Association demands, we can get test scores to sink even faster.

* * *

Why isn't there more parking at UNC? Simple — the people who make the decisions already have parking spaces, and they don't care about us peons. Just pay your tuition and shut up. Then, once you're an alumnus, write us a big check for our fund-raisers.

When the Alumni Association comes to ask you for money, remind those people they took scores of parking spaces when their new building was finished and "just say no."

* * *

Republicans are 6-for-6 in important elections since Bill Clinton took office and raised taxes. They won mayoral races in Los Angeles and New York, the governor's races in New Jersey and Virginia, the senate race to fill Lloyd Bentsen's seat in Texas and the race to fill the lieutenant governor's seat in Arkansas after the incumbent moved up to finish Clinton's term. Coincidence? We can say $p < .001$.

* * *

Speaking of issues here on campus, check out the card with the schedule for the women's basketball team. It's promoted by L'Eggs, the hosiery people, with its slogan, "It takes a great pair of legs." Then it shows xx sitting sideways with her legs crossed as if she's a hosiery model, with xx standing behind her. It's not exactly cheesecake, but it's close. These women are serious athletes. If the slogan were incorporated to mean it takes a great pair of legs to rebound, or play defense, or drive to the basket, that would be different.

The women's basketball team deserves better. All women athletes deserve better.

* * *

The lessons from the November elections are clear.

1) We just can't write the check for traditional social welfare programs any more.

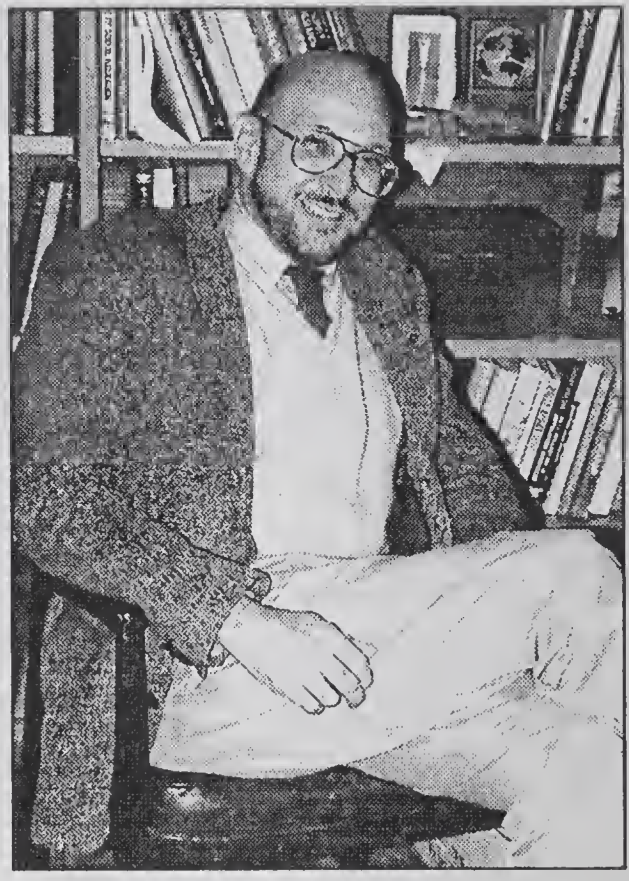
2) Big government solves nothing.

3) We can't get our kids to school safely, and once there they can't get educated properly because they're busy studying multiculturalism and what-have-you.

4) You can't walk with your spouse or friend or roommate for two blocks in any direction from you home, and people are sick of it.

book review By Tadd C. Wilson, a sophomore english/pre-law major and an assistant editor of The Critic

Surveying the South


Author of Surveying the South, and UNC Professor John Shelton Reed

MATTHEW SCOTT

After reading the first paragraph of John Shelton Reed's Surveying the South: Studies in Regional Sociology, the finest quality of the book is immediately evident: it is eminently readable, moreover, warmly engaging. The tone is conversational and informal, without a trace of the customary textbook coldness or condescending language that the conventional wisdom of academia all but requires.

Reed begins with his own story, as if to remind the reader that this study is not of pure "scientific" interest, but a narrative of intensely personal importance. This is a matter in which the reader also has a stake, for it concerns the identity of a nation and the struggle of two races and regions to find an identity of their own. The lucidity with which Reed speaks of these extremely complex and controversial themes demonstrates not only a deeply insightful intellect but a mastery of storytelling.

The body of the work begins, as does any good narrative, in the past, constructing a world within which the story takes place. In Surveying the South, this background comes from two sources: regional sociologists Howard Odum and Rupert B. Vance of Chapel Hill; and the sectionalist Agrarians of Vanderbilt. Odum's work was characterized by large amounts of raw data and incredibly detailed accounts, valuing description above explanation. Vance, taking his work one step further than that of his teacher's, questioned why the South was in its existing state of economic suffering: "Why were capable Southerners like his father forever frustrated in their desire to improve themselves? Was something grievously wrong with the South's culture, or economy, or social system, or perhaps in the genetic make-up of its people?"

Vance proposed that dependence on cotton was to blame for the South's economic woes, especially for encouraging larger families in order to produce field laborers that in turn flooded the work force, leading to underemployment. Vance's remedy for this vicious circle was the urbanization and industrialization of the South. Vance's 1932 Human Geography of the South is considered a masterpiece among sociologists even today.

In opposition to Odum and Vance stood the anti-industrial, traditionalist Agrarians. In the 1930 I'll Take My Stand, the Agrarians maintained that the agricultural pre-Depression South had been an ideal society, and they were appalled that the South should accept the Northern views of urbanization and industrialization. Ultimately, the Agrarians "wanted to forge a view of the South's past and its future that Southerners did not have to be ashamed of, one that might win some respect outside the region." In creating this past and future, the Agrarians came dangerously close to ignoring the racial issues of the South, manipulating facts out of what amounts to a form of "Southern nationalism."

Against the background of these opposing intellectual currents in the South, Reed presents three statistical investigations. The first is a study of the use of the words "Southern" and "Dixie" in business titles between 1976 and 1988. Comparing the use of these words to the use of "American", two important conclusions were reached:

> "*...the South is being consolidated with sharper distinctions between the regional core and the surrounding periphery. At the core, we often find greater regional integration and identification now than fifteen years ago; elsewhere, we usually find less.*"

There is also an emergence of two Souths: the industrial, urban cities; and the low wage, rural small towns.

In a second study of characteristics used to describe Northern and Southern whites, it is shown that those characteristics associated with America in general are also those associated with Northern whites. By 1987, "...White Southerners were no longer seen as lazy or ignorant, but white Northerners were still characterized as industrious, progressive and sophisticated."

The third study addresses the controversial correlation between cotton prices and lynchings in the South in an investigation of frustration- aggression theory. A 1930s study by Arthur F. Raper maintained that, in years when cotton prices fell, the rate of blacks lynchings rose. However, in 1946, Alexander Mintz demonstrated that the Raper study had grossly exaggerated the correlation between cotton prices and lynchings, but Mintz's criticisms went largely unnoticed or unheeded. Indeed, writers continued to cite the Raper study long after Mintz's work had all but disappeared. The field of sociology, and social science in general, had never had any reason not to accept Raper's work, so his hypothesis was accepted, and a largely unfounded myth about the South was perpetuated.

In short, these three studies showed how the South perceives itself, how it compares to other regions, and how social science can contribute to the fostering of misconceptions, affecting the perception of the South as a whole. The next three studies deal with changes within the South in the wake of desegregation, the Civil Rights movement and urbanization.

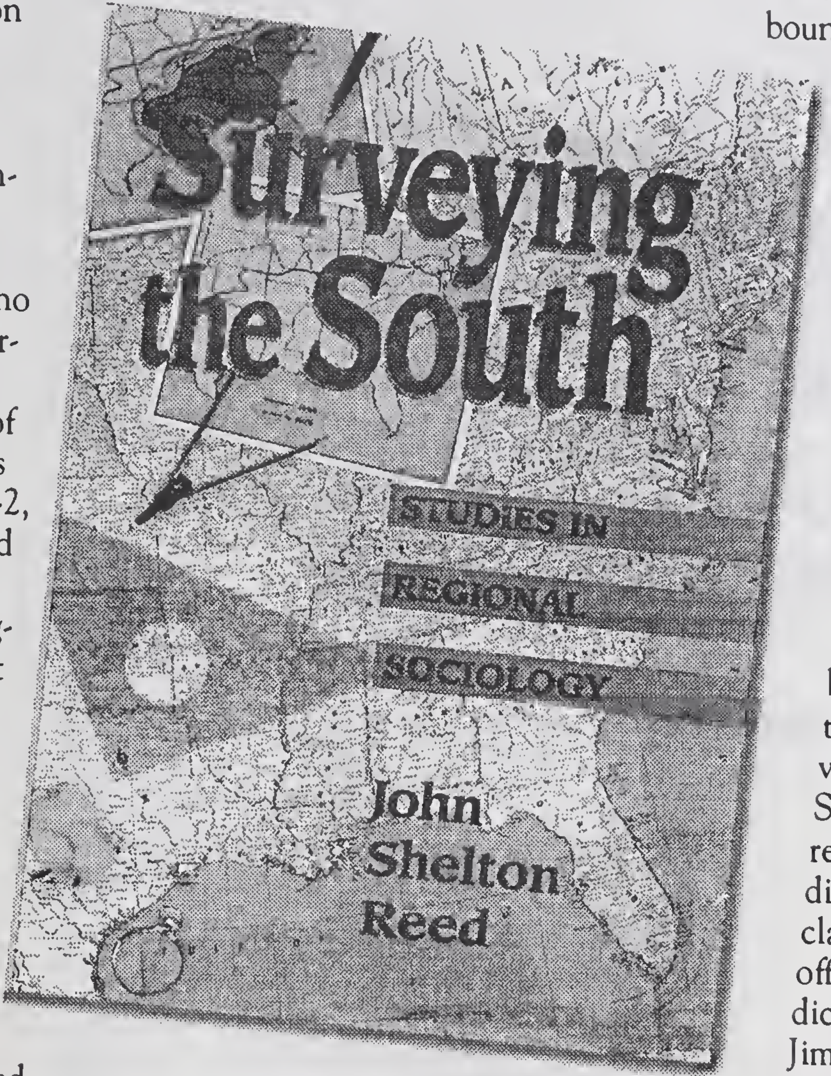
The first study examines the fluctuation of the birthrate of Southern whites in a period following drastic social change, namely the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision: "It seems reasonable to entertain the conjecture that anomie and fear for the future led some Southerners to put off having children who would have otherwise been conceived during this period."

The second study details the collapse of Jim Crow laws and the changing attitudes of Southerners toward integration. In 1942, two percent of white Southerners believed that integrated schools were acceptable, while in 1956 only 14 percent favored segregation. Andrew Greeley has argued that this "breaking up of an orthodoxy - not just the destruction of a consensus, but the emergence of a new, contradictory one- is `one of the most impressive social accomplishments of modern times'." This change is attributed to the idea that Southern blacks and whites share a certain identity, one of "community pride, athletic fanaticism, and traditions of civility. ... In addition, many have suggested hat the cultural gulf between blacks and whites may be smaller in the South than lsewhere in the United States."

The final essay shows that Southern lacks have seen more progress, and are robably better off, than blacks elsewhere. The study cites the creation of an urban lack middle class and the election of lacks to public office. The percentage of lected officials who are black in the South s six times greater than the percentage in he "liberal" Northeast, and 12 times that n the West. The book proper closes with a tatement of hope: "The South may yet give he world its first grand example of two aces of men living together in equality and ith mutual respect."

The book ends with a reflection upon he dearth of good writing within the field f sociology, and within the academic com-unity as a whole. The methodology and heory of sociology have become so impor-nt that writing skills have suffered, drasti-lly. The transmission of ideas to the "lay lk" has become a problem, due in large rt to technicalities, jargon and lack of communication skills.

The Southern Sociologists, along with their "descriptive sociology", represented the last of the narrative sociologists, and the field of social science as a whole has suffered due to the dwindling appreciation of their particular approach. Reed's work attempts to reclaim some aspects of the descriptive, or narrative, approach to sociology. After all, what is history but the story of societies, and "we are, after all, heirs to a great story telling traditions."



"THIS CHANGE IS ATTRIBUTED TO THE IDEA THAT SOUTHERN BLACKS AND WHITES SHARE A CERTAIN IDENTITY, ONE OF "COMMUNITY PRIDE, ATHLETIC FANATICISM, AND TRADITIONS OF CIVILITY."

... IN ADDITION, MANY HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE CULTURAL GULF BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES MAY BE SMALLER IN THE SOUTH THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES."

Reed's narrative, and it must be called so, ends upon the very theme with which it begins: the personal importance of history, and a sense of pride in being Southern.

There are two noticeable problems within the book. The first problem is that for a large portion of the text, the background material seems unimportant, even irrelevant. The studies at times seem loosely bound, as though the only thing they share in common is that they concern the South. However, the underlying themes within the book are strong enough to unify these somewhat divergent essays into a well written, well developed story.

The second, more pressing problem within the narrative seems to be a tendency within Southern sociology itself: the great sense of racial struggle and tension is largely ignored or downplayed. Though important advances in race relations are described, the institution of slavery and its legacy are mentioned only briefly. Reed comes dangerously close to the Agrarian's construction of a view of the South that, though Southerners can be proud of it, is not reflective of the true situation. Though discrimination is not "South-specific," claiming that Southern blacks are better off than blacks elsewhere in no way vindicates Southern society. Even though Jim Crow laws and de jure segregation no longer exist, the oppression of the black race is an inheritance with which the South has yet to deal completely.

In spite of any shortcomings, Reed's tale is powerful, and its message deserves serious attention. The text flows excellently, and the narrative quality of the book overrides any negative impressions that the reader may encounter. Surveying the South is an achievement in bringing the "story" back to history. It is superbly written, warmly engaging, yet an intellectually provocative and stimulating testament to John Shelton Reed's skills as both a sociologist and a storyteller. Surveying the South: Studies in Regional Sociology is understandable and appealing on an immediate and human level, and it goes beyond the normal scientific detachment to achieve a sense of respect for the all-too-often targeted South, as well as an appreciation for the rapidly disappearing narrative quality of academic discourse. Ultimately, there is a sense of ironic, yet optimistic, progress: that here in the "unsophisticated" South, more than any other place, things are getting better.

Read it.

By Rick Bradford, a freelance writer who works in Durham

Tied down in Somalia

I DON'T THINK WE CAN STOP BILL CLINTON, OR ANY FUTURE PRESIDENT FOR THAT MATTER, FROM USING THE UNITED STATES AS THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN.

A lot of people these days are angry and confused about what's going on in Somalia. Why are we there? Is it because people are starving? Is it because of the senseless killings? If so, I think I know of another country who has similar problems and could use a little help of its own. Namely, US.

The real reason our troops are in Somalia, is because of "Presidential Tradition." In the late fifties, President Eisenhower sent some observers and advisers to a small country in Southeast Asia. He did this because of an agreement called the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, more commonly known as "SATO." The treaty stated that, if any country belonging to the organization ever needed help from the others, we would be on our way. Several other countries, most notably Australia, belong to the group.

So anyway, he sent some observers and advisers. Months later, he sent a few more. When John F. Kennedy became the president, he sent more. Then some of them were killed. So he sent even more to show that Americans could not be pushed around. As you probably learned in history, several thousand troops were sent to Southeast Asia before it was over. A lot of soldiers lost their lives.

The point I'm trying to make here is that, just like in Somalia, our intentions in Southeast Asia, Vietnam and Saudi Arabia were honorable. We went because we made a promise. We stayed for a variety of reasons, including pride. But where we faile in Vietnam was in not committing ourselves to win. We held back for a lot of re sons, most of them political. None of the presidents involved wanted to be perceiv as a warmonger.

I think it's kind of odd that our curren president, Bill Clinton, who some 20 yea ago found a way to avoid the Vietnam co flict, now has the power, with the single stroke of a $750.00 dollar ink pen, to pla the lives of thousands of American troop in danger. I personally don't think we should get involved in another country's internal fight. I'm a strong believer in th prime directive...mind your own business

I don't think we can stop Bill Clinton any future president for that matter, fro using the United States as the world's policeman. So if you're going to be a bul if you're going to try to impose your will the rest of mankind, if you're going to be the world's policeman, you'd better be in to win. No half measures, no holding ba War is not a place for diplomats and poli cians. It is a place for soldiers. Let them their job and come home. If you tie their hands trying to appear to be the nice gu lot of them won't be coming home.

The last American president who see to have understood that was Harry S. Truman. He knew the political consequences when he dropped the atomic bomb, but he also knew it would save th sands of American lives. I wish Harry Truman could have been in office while was in Saudi Arabia during Desert Shield/Desert Storm. George Bush knew what needed to be done, but pulled us o before we could finish the job. Because President Bush was afraid of the politica repercussions, we still face problems wit Iraq.

If we're going to commit our troops i Somalia, we need to commit them all th way. If not, we need to get out and let th solve their own problems. The difficulty that the president is isolated from comm wisdom and surrounded by advisers who looking more at the next election than are at the next generation. Hopefully President Clinton learned something fr watching George Bush's mistake in Sau Arabia. Get in it to win, or get the hell It will be interesting to see if we repeat same mistakes we've made so often, or i we'll do it right this time.

communicative By Gabrielle Loperfido, a graduate student in comparative literature

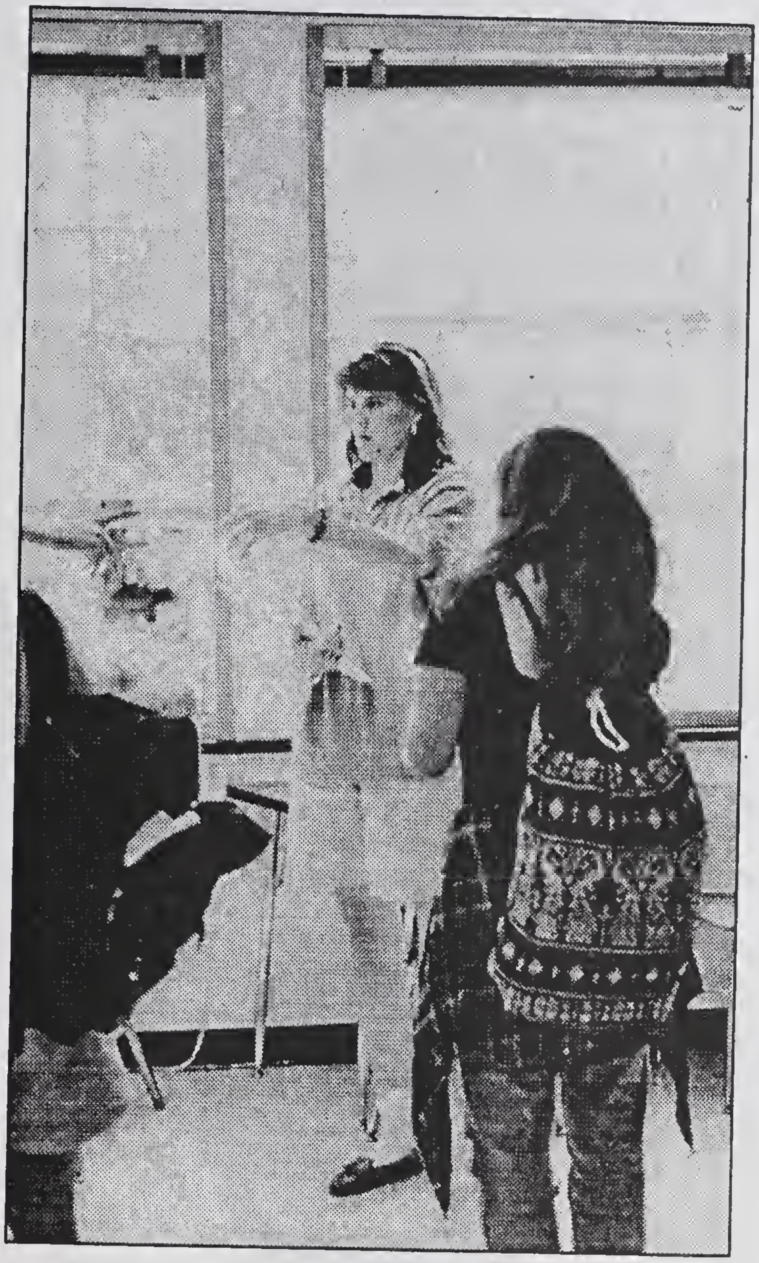
The communicative approach to teaching

Every once in awhile, in the most unlikely places, generated by the most unlikely people, a fantastic idea arises that makes one wonder why the great minds that came up with it don't think that way more often about more things. Such is the case with the present approach to foreign language teaching, at least in Spanish and French, here in Chapel Hill.

The approach in current use is "communicative," meaning that the focus of the lessons, exercises, classes, etc., is on language as communication and on getting budding language learners to use what they learn for communicative purposes as they are learning it. "Of course" one might be tempted to comment, but language teaching has not always been thus. Many of us may remember the days of the audio-lingual method, which preached repetition and imitation, or doing verb conjugation and ad-hoc, out of context grammar exercises. The current approach does not dispense with grammar entirely, but focuses on teaching, as if language were a tool like a hammer, not about how the hammer was made, nor the density of the aluminum or steel used to make the head, nor the proportion of the weight of the head to the length of the handle, but rather on how to hold the hammer and how to drive a nail.

The communicative approach focuses on the function of language as a mode of communication. As teachers, we are supposed to look at what the students need to know and need to know how to use in order to successfully communicate the concepts at hand, the bottom line. The current approach takes into consideration that communication is a dynamic experience that does not occur in a vacuum, but that occurs between two speakers between whom meaning and communication may be "negotiated" with gestures, facial expressions, tones of voice, body language and the thousands of silent cues we use every day.

The communicative approach also entails using exclusively, or almost exclusively, the target language in the classroom to create a situation of immersion, an ncentive for the student to learn the language (the need-to-know factor) so that order may be formed in the mind of the stuent by the limited or contextual chaos created in the classroom. The communicative approach does not seek to impose, or superimpose from above grammatical order on the utterances of the fledgling speakers, but rather to demonstrate that if the language learner wants to communicate a concept, the meaningful distinctions recognized by his or her audience are specific. For example, in Spanish, there is a great difference between "esta" (stress on the first syllable) and "esta" (stress and accent on the second syllable). The first "esta" means "this" for feminine singular nouns. For example, "Tengo esta clase de espanol a las 8." (I have this class of Spanish at 8 a.m.). The second "esta" means "it is." For example "La cafeteria esta en el edificio que se llama Lenoir." (The cafeteria is in the building that is called Lenoir). New language learners need to know that if they confuse the two words, the real effect when speaking to a native speaker of the target language will be wholly other than what was intended. No amount of grammar exercises, composition of tables of conjugation of verbs or rote memorization of forms prepares the speaker for the task of producing meaningful language.


CRITIC PHOTO BY ANNA YARUR

The current approach takes into consideration that communication is a dynamic experience that does not occur in a vacuum.

"Fine, so what's the big deal?" you may wonder. Why is this so unusual? The logic behind the approach is your basic garden variety, so, in one sense, there is nothing unusual at all. On another level, however, the principles behind this approach to language teaching are very like the principles of classical liberal thought, including the ideas of a free market: creating demand, a need in the language learner to fill the demand for communication using the tools at hand and grasping for more; the idea of spontaneous order emerging out of chaos; the students being bombarded, but not entirely overwhelmed, with the target language, which, to their unaccustomed ears, is nonsense, out of which they must recognize and come to both distinguish and order the pattern of sounds in a context which creates meaning; that order does emerge from the bottom up and is not imposed from above from a central authority; that each language learner must acquire word for word his or her own vocabulary and a sense of the "rules" that govern speech in order to communicate and that such grammatical rules cannot be handed down from above or memorized, or even have meaning outside of a communicative context. The meaning of words in a communicative context and the ability of grammatical rules or customs to have communicative use to a new language learner is akin to allowing the market to determine prices and values of labor and goods. For example, the most precise and illustrative explanation of the use of the subjunctive mood in Spanish does nothing for the speaker who is just learning to say "hello." Such fine-tuned expertise is of no immediate value or use if the speaker is not at a level at which he or she will encounter and recognize a need to use it.

The wonder of this communicative approach is that it works. This approach is effective in getting new speakers of a target language to use the target language as a means of communication, which is no wonder at all to those who understand the principles of classical liberalism.

GRAZING PAGES

A dietary supplement to The Critic
provided by Craig Hendrix and Greg Konig

Public display of hypocrisy

"A conservative believes in the value of hard work, an honest days work for an honest wage are not just words to a conservative. In no way does a conservative support a subsidized government handout rather when a helping hand is needed."
—Michael J. Wray, Executive Editor
The Carolina Review

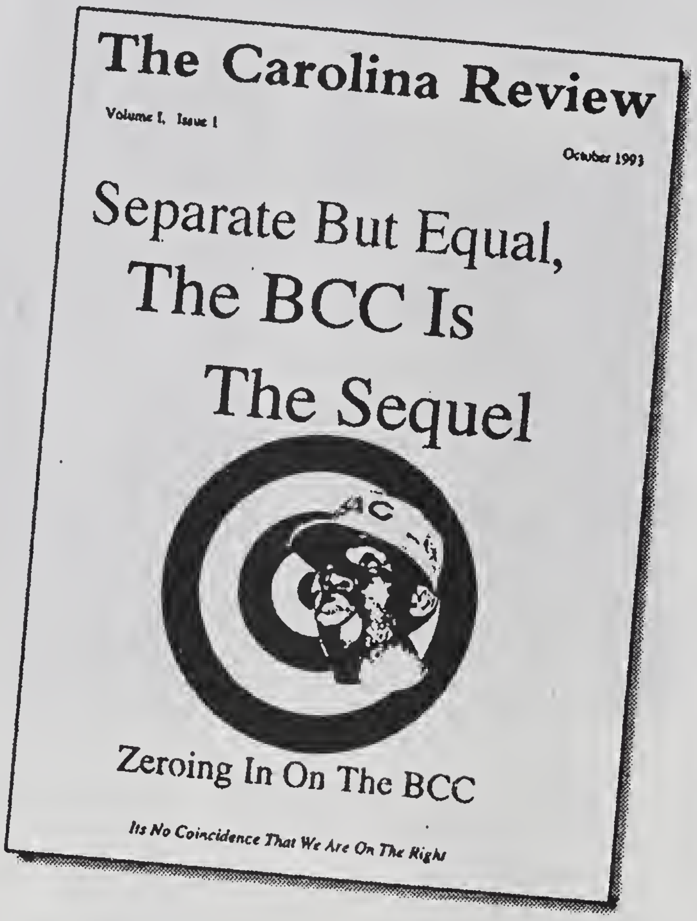
"Stop the funding of every imaginable left-wing cause by our student government."
—Charlton Allen, Publisher
The Carolina Review

"The idea that government or even society as a whole owes us anything... is absurd. This is America, and here we earn our opportunities... they come through individual initiative and perseverance, not from the government... if we continue to buy into the idea that we can simply turn to the government for all our needs, there will be no reason to strive for excellence."
—Carolyn McPhillips, Writer
The Carolina Review

"If you feel the need for a B.C.C., raise the money, buy the land, and build it. Don't ask for my money...by all means keep your hands out of my pockets."
—Darren Allen, Editor-in-Chief
The Carolina Review

These quotes all appeared in The Carolina Review's inaugural issue, Nov. 1. Fast-forward to Nov. 17:

The Carolina Review... originally requested $4,795 in student fees."
—The Daily Tar Heel



The Carolina Review

Volume I, Issue I

October 1993

Separate But Equal,
The BCC Is
The Sequel

Zeroing In On The BCC

Its No Coincidence That We Are On The Right

Can you spell hypocrisy? The Review's copy editor probably couldn't. It appears that the Review's financial director, Joey Stansbury, is also incapable of performing his duties. Lance McMillan, a writer for the Review, suggests a possible explanation for Joey's behavior in his pop-psych discussion of a crisis in the decline of the "moral energy" of the American people: "Can it not be said that shortcomings in human thought patterns produce this type of malaise?

Hence, the drive and energy necessary to generate economic growth are normally absent, i.e. shortcomings in psychology yield inaction and stagnation." Can anyone refer Joey to a good psychologist?

Stansbury went so far as to criticize what his buddies Darren and Charlton Allen once preached as members of the Student Congress Finance Committee: "I think the idea of discussing whether a magazine is political is diving into questions of free speech and questions of censorship of ideas and thoughts." Darren takes it one step further by contradicting himself. In response to the Finance Committee's negative recommendation, he commented "I never expected them to be fair." It seems the lure of government subsidies somehow altered his conception of justice, now that he is on the receiving end of the stick... "Fair"? Has Darren been hanging out at the Campus Y?

Although the Review greedily leapt at the chance to claim a few pork barrel dollars from the student fee trough, their shameful behavior was not unprecedented. We can just imagine the Allen boys rabidly drooling over the opportunity to point out that, just days earlier, the student congress doled out $600 to The Phoenix, another student-run campus publication. Will Student Congress manage to be consistent, and grant the Review their request?

The money appropriated to the Phoenix apparently was granted because of the 'dilemma' that faces student publications: Stephanie Siebold, Phoenix editor, says "The problem is, if you're not an established paper, you can't expect to be self-supporting from the start. It's hard to get advertisers." Charlton Allen whined similarly, "Private donations are hard to survive on."

The only problem with their logic is that it is wrong. For instance, the Critic is totally self-supporting, and always has been. We propose the following: de-fund ALL campus publications. If those who now receive money to support student-run campus publications (including The Black Ink and The Lambda) find it hard to deal with, all we can suggest is that they find a real ad manager.

No laughing matter

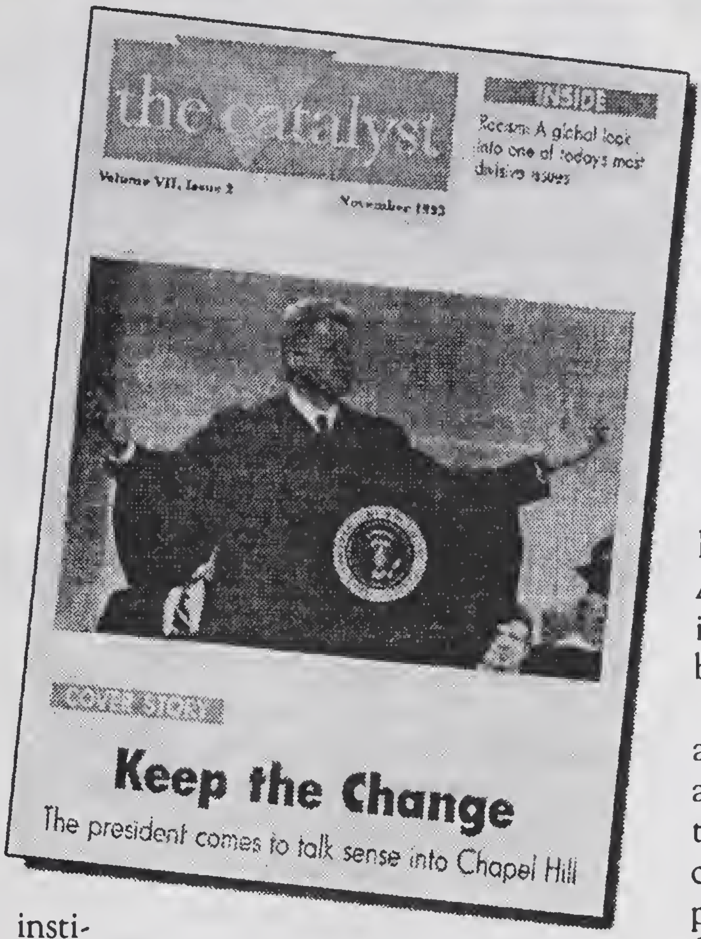
"One negative effect of the Review is that it legitimizes the other campus' other conservative newsmagazine, The Carolina Critic, formerly the thinking man's laughingstock."

"A magazine that claims to diversify opinion by hurling slander and ideological garbage merits laughter."
—Thanassis Cambanis, Managing Editor
The Catalyst

Self-proclaimed thinking man Thanassis Cambanis apparently was not thinking very much when he wrote this. First, the Critic is not a newsmagazine, but an opinion journal. This is a relevant distinction - the former focuses on the facts of current events, and the latter analyzes and reflects upon the issues that are relevant to these events - so we will just assume that Thanassis was thinking too hard about something else. Maybe he was considering how he could label us in order to identify us with the Review. This is obviously a stretch for the most vivid of imaginations. The Critic represents a variety of viewpoints, many of them firmly based in the classical liberal tradition. This includes social and/or economic conservatives, libertarians, anarchists, etc.

Another example of thinking man Thanassis' intellectual superiority is his astute comprehension of the nuances of the English language, as is evidenced by his accusation of slander on the part of the Review. Forgive us, we still have trouble figuring out how the Review publication communicated lies orally to Thanassis and their other readers. Did he intend us to infer that he was reading it aloud? Well, if what he meant was to accuse them of libel, we refer you to the title of our previous section. He comes as close to committing libel as they did.

We would now like to investigate thinking man Thanassis' fixation on labeling those not as "progressive" as himself and his self-professed idol, Bill Clinton, as conservatives, traditionalists, etc. For instance, he hypothesizes that "The pathological conservative fear of government will automatical- make them oppose much of Clinton's leg- lation." Why does he assume that the fear government is limited to conservatives? oreover, why does he assume that the fear government is pathological?



the catalyst

INSIDE
Focus: A global look into one of today's most divisive issues

Volume VII, Issue 2
November 1993

COVER STORY

Keep the Change

The president comes to talk sense into Chapel Hill

Throughout the history of the world, the institution of the state has been the most widespread and effective instrument in the suppression of individual liberty. Once one admits this basic fact, that person is then reasonably capable of concluding that government, and its inevitable growth, should naturally be feared. Pathology lies in the realm of unquestioning acceptance of a person in power, because he or she claims to be working for the betterment of our lives. Government has used this time-worn excuse EVERY TIME it expands the breadth and depth of its control over individuals' lives; and it normally exercises this power most in times of trouble.

A look at the growth of American government in this century serves as a convenient example - colossal centralized state expansion has occurred during every war and every major economic crisis our citizens have endured. When these perilous conditions, which our government had a major role in creating, finally come to an end, the state does not grow smaller - it just increases at a slower rate and waits for the next crisis. Growth in the executive branch of our government is perhaps the most frightening "progressive" trend. It is inimical to the concepts of liberty and democracy. Agencies and administrations, which make and enforce growing libraries of rules, regulations and guidelines, are led by political appointees (we did not vote for them) and bureaucrats who have the authority to continually make and enforce laws arbitrarily.

These political entities soon come to realize that the more they meddle in the lives of the people, the more money and power they will acquire. It hardly needs mentioning the overwhelming impact special interests have on these agencies. We could go on, but our point is clear: fear of government is neither pathological nor an exclusively conservative phenomenon, unless a rational analysis of history and its consequences on our decision-making for today is restricted to pathologically-inclined conservatives. Nevertheless, thinking man Thanassis seems inclined to believe this. Evidence: "Implied in Clinton's words [in reference to his Bicentennial speech] is that much of America's objections to his policy are childish, and, like a child, the country needs to be coaxed to its senses."

This statement, with its paternalistic attitude, should strike fear in the heart of any clear thinking individual. Yet, he insists that the key to accommodating change and creating stability is simply a Clintonian political philosophy of government largesse for "children" and "real people" - hardly a coherent ideology on which to base the protection of individual liberty, the surest guarantee of stability in our society.

Thinking man Thanassis goes on to accuse the university community of hypocrisy, presumably because Clinton was generally warmly received by those who appear not to live up to Clinton's rhetoric. But, is this hypocrisy, or is thinking man Thanassis unwittingly being hypocritical in accusing the community of possessing what boils down to "freedom of the mind" - the very basis for liberty and freedom according to his article on Chinese activist Li Lu. Listening respectfully to Clinton, or even admiring his particular vision of progressivism, and acting in conformity with it are two entirely different things.

Thinking man Thanassis - you do, in fact, merit laughter; but we can only manage to chuckle in disbelief.

B-REAL, light another

Speaking of contraband, the push for legalization of marijuana won another battle recently, this time in a San Diego court. A jury granted an AIDS patient, Samuel Skipper, permission to keep growing marijuana plants in his house and backyard because he needed the drug to relieve nausea and weight loss brought on by the disease. Remember, marijuana is still a Schedule 1 controlled substance, meaning it is supposed to have no beneficial uses. What did Skipper have to say about the ordeal? "Live. That's the whole thing. Be Happy." Amen.

The Republican that didn't get away

When the news broke that 26 (now a double-caboosed 28) women had accused fifth-term Senator Robert Packwood (R-OR) of sexual misconduct, many political observers, particularly Democrats, felt relieved that they had uncovered the wolf in sheep's clothing within the Republican ranks. For three decades, they had tired of similar reports regarding one of Congress' most vocal supporters of women's issues, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA). From Chappaquiddick to Patricia Smith, and countless others in between, Senator Kennedy has had to deal with charges similar to those now facing Senator Packwood.

Debate in the Senate ran intense during the first couple days of November regarding the Ethics Committee's decision to subpoena Packwood's personal diary of over twenty years. Packwood originated the controversy by submitting portions of his diary to defend himself in the Committee's sexual misconduct investigation. He even agreed to hand over all relevant entries, if he could have discretion over what was "relevant."

And then came the first explosions. Word leaked to the press (imagine!) that his diary revealed more than his personal relations, but also that of his colleagues, including staff members and even fellow Senators. Packwood, realizing the potential consequences of a full investigation into these matters, shrewdly withdrew his cooperation (and his diary) and proclaimed that a constitutional right to privacy gave him final discretion over the diaries.

For two days intense debate on the Senate floor centered around the Committee's rights and duties to subpoena evidence, even diaries, for ethics investigations. Robert Byrd (D-WV), the chamber's senior Democrat, went so far as to call for Packwood's immediate resignation. When the discussion ended, the Senate voted overwhelmingly (94-6) to subpoena the diary.

Much of the debate, both in the Senate and in the media, has pitted Packwood's privacy rights against the Committee's compelling interest to investigate misbehavior and foster the image of a respectable Congress. This last objective, that of convincing the American people that Congress does operate upon moral standards and that they can be trusted, lends itself as the Committee's primary goal in issuing the subpoena. It wasn't so important to the Committee to proceed with Packwood's investigation just for the sake of discovering what really happened (or didn't) in this particular case, but to chasten Packwood as an example of what Congress does when one of its members goes astray.

The strongest evidence for this claim comes from the Committee's chairman, Richard Bryan (D-NV), who also happened to lead the forces championing Packwood's guilt in the national media. His most controversial remark claimed that the diary contained information about possible misconduct, other than the sexual claims, which were violations of criminal law. While giving little details, Bryan made Packwood out to be a criminal in the media, conducting the investigation via rhetorical charges in the national headline

Packwood cried foul for the chairman, a.k.a. the head judge, to express such an impartial view before the proceedings had even begun, not to mention before a final decision had been reached. The Committee's vice chairman, Mitch McConnell (R-KY), who also wanted to ge his hands on the diary, rebuked the chairman for his charges. He felt that Bryan's "rhetoric of criminality" gave evidence of a "hint of partisanship" in his comments.

Politics. Loud and clear. "Kill or be killed" is the unspoken creed of our esteemed representatives. Bryan's unsubstantiated allegations suggest that he could not have been sincere about wanting to clean up the Senate. Though none may be so pure as to cast the first stone, it does appear that some have taken it upon themselves to do just that. Kill or be killed.

As was suggested by McConnell's response to Bryan, it is unlikely that the chairman's charges were convincing to the Senate. Yet it pleased Bryan when it voted overwhelmingly for the subpoena. We might raise the same question that many asked in the aftermath of Watergate. Why did Richard Nixon order such a risky campaign "tactic" as the break-ins just to search for hints of the democratic Party's presiden tial campaign strategy? It was unlikely that Nixon learned much as a result of the acts, yet he won by the largest majority of any presidential candidate (at the time) with 61%. Kill or be killed. And they play for keeps.

Term limits? We prefer six-shooters, and AK-47's if our readers could help us find a few.

Another look at the housekeepers

Now that the UNC Housekeepers Association has threatened to a lead a strike of the University's housekeepers, we thought it would be interesting to see what social injustices they were claiming this time. As it turns out, they have presented Chancellor Paul Hardin with a list of grievances and demands that must be met, or else. Or else, they will lead a strike of UNC housekeepers. Or, they might take advantage of the sick-day benefits that the state presently gives them and go home for a couple of weeks.

Their most symbolic demand is that Hardin sign a petition that recognizes the HKA Steering Committee as the official representative body of the University's housekeepers. In other words, they are pressing Hardin to autocratically decree an oligarchical group within the HKA as being the official activist group of the UNC Housekeepers. Notice the twisting of the meaning of "representative." It's not "representative" we speak of as a democratically elected body of officials who represent, or sit in place of, a larger body of citizens. Rather, its "representative" as in 'our interests are the same as those of all housekeepers; therefore, we represent their views before the public.' Translated, that means 'all housekeepers would like more money (wouldn't everyone?); we want more money, too; therefore, we will represent you before the public.' And aren't these democratic socialists the same sorts of people who denounce the 1980s as the decade of greed?

Despite this ridiculous demand, there is another that bleeds of even more gall. The HKA is demanding that the University, which was recently victorious in a law suit brought on by the HKA, file a joint motion with the Court of Appeals to speed up the HKA's appeal of the decision. Why would the party of the defense, the University, want to help out the party that is suing them, namely the HKA? Get real.

One additional demand called for the elimination of the turkey distribution to housekeepers as a Christmas gift. The turkeys were given out by the Carolina Campus Cares organization, who only wanted to "contribute to the holiday spirit" with its act of charity. Instead of recognizing the CCC's benevolence, the HKA is calling the gifts "patronizing;" i.e., a $10

Work for The Critic

or

Write to The Critic

or

Read The Critic

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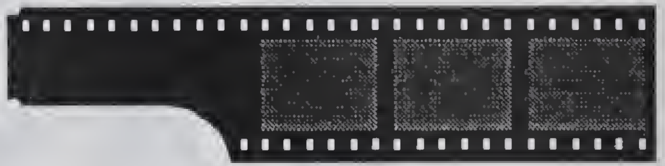
Call Jennifer, editor, at 932-5227

By Jennifer Durham, a senior journalism and history major, and editor-in-chief of The Critic and Sam Ravenel, a premed senior english major



ROCK & REEL

Music and movie reviews from The Critic

Pearl Jam

Vs.
Epic

OK, here it is. The long-awaited sequel to the six-time platinum Pearl Jam Album, Ten (I don't know whether the correct number as of press time is six or seven million sold, but per my usual, I'll stick to the conservative). There's been a lot of hype over this one. That's probably due in part to the "grunge bandwagon" everyone's getting on, but in this case it's a lot more.

Simply put, the album rocks. Called simply Vs., this one has just enough of the energetically dark sound of Ten to satisfy the taste for more hard-driving and moving songs like "Porch" and "Once," but surprised me with some new sounds as well, like the slight 70s funk groove in the background of "Animal" and "Blood" that remind of Kravitz (in a non acid-trip sort of way).

The first two songs are what I consider vintage Pearl Jam, if there can be such a thing. "Go" delivers some cool guitar riffs and some good solid rhythms, along with characteristically driving force. "Animal" continues the entourage. This is the stuff my parents are talking about when they laugh and say, "that just sounds like noise." Personally, I see art in it. That may be one reason for Pearl Jam's appeal: the music is forceful, yet coherent, and the lyrics actually have some real meaning, a pretty uncommon trait in today's pop scene.

"Daughter" is one of a couple of acoustic songs. This song is excellent in its lyrical and musical quality, so much so that it looks as though this one could end up like "Jeremy:" totally overplayed.

The progression comes now to one of two blatantly bad songs on Vs.: "Glorified G." They should have titled it "Glorified Pop Song" and thrown it out of the lineup. This song makes R.E.M.'s "Stand" look like a Metallica tune. It's bouncy and repetitive, just what you wouldn't expect from Pearl Jam. The sad thing is that it will probably make money.

The other really bad one is entitled "W.M.A" (standing for White Male American), and is quite possibly the most P.C. tune I've ever heard. Written about the beating of Malice Green by white police officers, its contents are summed up by the lyrics, "He won the lottery when he was born...dirty his hands it comes right off..." I was a bit disappointed to see Pearl Jam get so blatantly political. Good thing the song sucks, so I won't have to hear it all the time.

The other songs are great. I have no more complaints. "Rats," with its almost dance floor downbeat, is a major departure from Pearl Jam's normal mode, but they pull it off very well. The rest of the songs are excellent as well, particularly "Rearview Mirror," another dark song created from Eddie Vedder's torn past.

Vs. is an excellent follow up to Ten, I believe if you liked that one, you'll find this one suits you, too. Thumbs up.

—S.R.

Bob Dylan

World Gone Wrong
Columbia

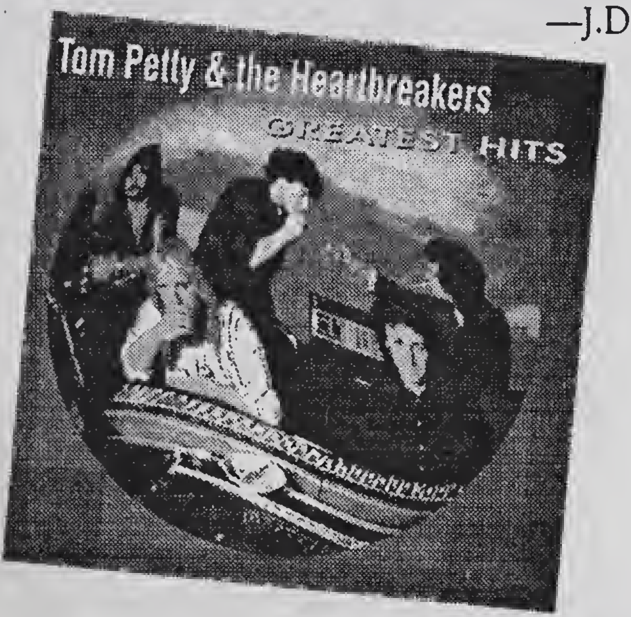
Every Bob Dylan album is worth listening to. Some of his later efforts, granted, have been better than others, but Bob Dylan is on a roll.

World Gone Wrong, like its predecessor, Good As I Been To You, is a collection of covers of old folk and blues tales. Especially notable is Dylan's version of "Broke Down Engine," a song by Blind Willie McTell, who Dylan eulogized in a beautiful song that appears on his Bootleg Series. While Dylan's superb acoustic guitar playing ostensibly grabs the spotlight that normally shines on his writing, that doesn't mean, by any stifling of the imagination, Dylan has abandoned his never-ending quest for higher meaning.

Dylan has obviously chosen World Gone Wrong's songs very carefully. He sees forgotten truth and inner beauty in the songs' gamblers, lone wanderers and misfits who remain withdrawn from a superficial, corrupt establishment driven by ulterior motives. "Billy didn't have an insurance plan, didn't get airsick yet his ghost is more real & genuine than all the dead souls on the boob tube," Dylan writes about "Stack A Lee" in his liner notes.

Dylan's abstract liner notes hint at the honesty and reality he finds in World Gone Wrong's songs. He contrasts the inner beauty of 'simpletons' who refuse to join the establishment with the demagoguery of the establishment's evil charlatans. A feast of food for heavy thought.

—J.D.



Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers

Greatest Hits
MCA

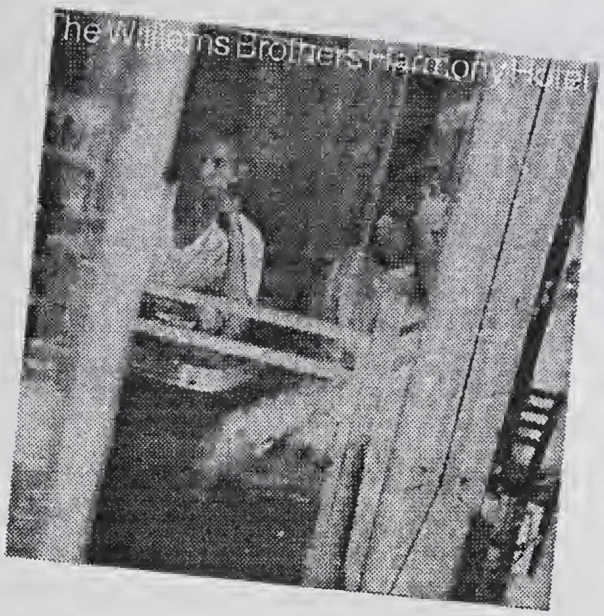
Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers are one of America's great rock and roll bands, and, since the band has been recording since 1976, a greatest hits collection is probably overdue.

Unfortunately, this collection highlights commercial achievements rather than artistic achievements. If you remember a Tom Petty song from the radio, chances are it's on Greatest Hits. Some of Tom Petty's greatest artistic moments have seen commercial success, to be sure, and a few of them, like "The Waiting," "American Girl," and "Listen To Her Heart," found their way onto the greatest hits album.

Also on the plus side, the collection includes two previously unreleased songs, "Something In the Air" and "Mary Jane's Last Dance." The latter is a dark, desperate tale which Petty wrote and is especially worth listening to.

But mysteriously absent from Greatest Hits is any material from one of the band's best albums, 1987's Let Me Up (I've Had Enough). Equally baffling: Southern Accents contained some poignant, beautifully written songs like "Rebels," "Dogs On the Run," and the title track that were left off in favor of "Don't Come Around Here No More." Still more amazing is that, from Long After Dark's material, the mediocre "You Got Lucky" beat out powerful songs like "Deliver Me" and "Straight Into Darkness."

—J.D.



The Williams Brothers

Harmony Hotel
Warner Brothers

Harmony Hotel, which takes its name from a hotel brothers Andrew and David Williams stayed at during an excursion with Mandolin Man Marvin Etzioni, takes a mellow peek into the facets and emotions surrounding relationships ("Friction" and "Broken Things"), and elements of sanity from which to draw strength in a predominantly insane world ("Love Is The Language").

Both brothers and Etzioni share songwriting credit on seven of the 10 songs.

The quiet musical compositions that bolster David Williams' soft vocals are smartly composed, with Etzioni's trademark mandolin chiming and a milieu of other instruments lending support to the acoustic melodies. These compositions are especially effective in "Where Would I Be" and "Wonderful Blues," in which Etzioni defines an interesting concept: mandolin blues.

—J.D.

Concrete Blonde

Mexican Moon
Capitol

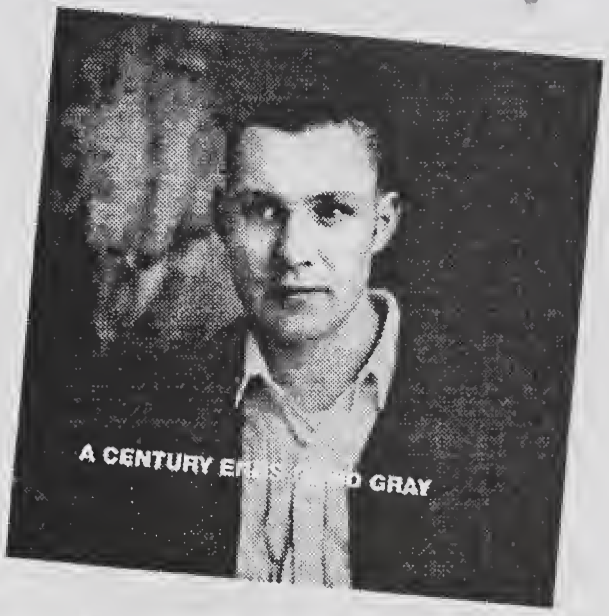
Led by the multi-talented, eccentric Johnette Napolitano, Concrete Blonde has mastered the world of electric weirdness, and the California-based band's latest effort doesn't break with that tradition.

Napolitano charges Mexican Moon's songs with her gutsy vocals, and it's easy to get lost in any part of Concrete Blonde's dark collection of surreal electric minidramas.

Moon's songs cover a range of topics, including love, false prophets and the American dream, but a common thread of spiritual death binds them together. Thus, the "angry young boys and angry young girls" of "Jenny I Read," and the dead ends of the paths charted out by false prophets in "Jonestown."

Napolitano seems to have recently acquired a liking for writing in other languages. On the band's last album, Walking In London, she wrote some lyrics in French; Mexican Moon follows suit in Spanish. The language barrier, however, is not an obstacle for human inquiries into darkness. If you're interested in a high-voltage, intelligent peek into the dark side of life, pick up a copy of Mexican Moon.

—J.D.



David Gray

A Century Ends
Caroline

"Let the truth sting," bellows 24-year-old Welsh singer-songwriter David Gray in his song of the same title. And sting David Gray does with his brash vocals, frantic acoustic strumming and pointed writing.

David Gray is more concerned with exploring the big picture than glossing over its everyday trivialities: "…careful what you say, 'cos reality offends/just sit back and let your soul decay/as a century ends."

His deeply soulful compositions yearn on a much higher plane than today's typical music. From the brazen, fire-tinged "Let The Truth Sting" and "Wisdom" to the razor-edged whisper of "Lead Me Upstairs," every one of the album's songs is in itself a reason to listen to A Century Ends. Gray is a flame that shouldn't be extinguished.

—J.D.

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book review By Mark Bandy, a senior business major and publisher of The Critic

For men only

The Bachelor Home Companion: A Practical Guide to Keeping House Like a Pig

by P.J. O'Rourke

In an effort to better myself and expand my literary bounds this summer, I attempted to read. I knew it would be a challenge, but I figured it was time. For my first selection, I chose Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged . While I knew it was an ambitous goal in attempting this one on my first try, I felt that as an educated conservative, I owed it to myself to check out Ms. Rand's objectivist philosophy. While I may have agreed with much of what Ms. Rand was saying, the way she was saying it and the story she chose to tell it in was sadly lacking of any interest to me. After about one quarter of the book, I put it down and turned my attention to other literary endeavors.

The succeeding books proved to hold my interest no better, and I drifted from fiction to non-fiction and back again. Sleep tended to be a major obstacle as I struggled to finish a page before I dozed, until I stumbled across the crown jewel of my summer reading, P.J. O'Rourke's The Bachelor Home Companion: A Practical Guide to Keeping House Like a Pig.

I believe that P.J. O'Rourke is the funniest conservative writer in America today, as well as probably the only one. As a conservative, I also feel like we get short-changed. Conservatives, some would suggest, aren't supposed to have fun. Instead, we are supposed to be the driven, workaholic type A's who don't have time for such frivolity. P.J. O' Rourke defies the stereotype; not that he isn't driven and hard-working, but he certainly has time for humor.

The book is a collection of pieces first published in 1987 at a time when, as Mr. O' Rourke recalls, "Cash grew on trees... The rich roamed the land in vast herds hunted by proud, free tribes of investment brokers who lived a simple life in tune with money... Every wristwatch was a Rolex. Every car was a Mercedes-Benz." After reminiscing about the glory days, O'Rourke goes on to explain that this book is not trying to cash in on the new men's movement; in fact, O'Rourke goes points out that this book is already a relic in the age of leaders who are "progressive, committed and filled to the bunghole with enormous esteem for themselves."

Briefly, the thesis of the entire book can be summed up by saying, in general, housework sucks, so either make it fun (i.e. don't do it) or talk your girlfriend into doing it for you. Barring either of those two options there, is always the minimalist approach, which O'Rourke strongly endorses. How often should a house be cleaned? O'Rourke suggests, "once every girlfriend. After that she can get to know the real you."

The book gives important tips on how to cope with the inescapable chores of our daily lives, cooking, cleaning and washing clothes, and O'Rourke contributes a significant amount of time to each. One of those household chores is grocery shopping, which O'Rourke suggests be done when one is very hungry, because "it's like Christmas when I get the grocery bags home." He also encourages bachelors to be creative. He points out that nomenclature is important. Example: Italian cheese toast for breakfast is simply another way of saying warmed-over pizza.

He also develops important philosophical arguments in regard to dirt ("If you can't see dirt, it really doesn't exist") and ponders women's aversion to dirt, noting that "women think dog hair is disgusting but silver-fox jackets that shed all over the place are cute."

As for cooking, O'Rourke shows us the ropes in the kitchen by noting that "grease is the key ingredient in bachelor cooking," and he cautions us against meat that is graded U.S.D.A. school lunch and men who rave about freshly cooked vegetables. But the advice doesn't stop with the kitchen. When talking about entertaining guests, O'Rourke points out that the Enormous Drunken Blowout is the bachelor's specialty and can be celebrated just as successfuly by oneself.

I could go on, but if I did, you really wouldn't have to read the book. Suffice it to say that P.J. O'Rourke reaffirms my faith in mankind and bachelorhood by reinforcing its main tenets in a way that will make any single male or female (and all college students, for that matter) proud to be a bachelor.

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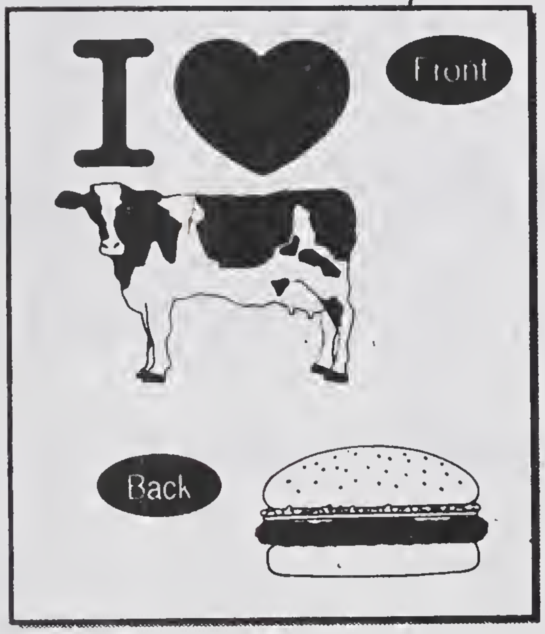

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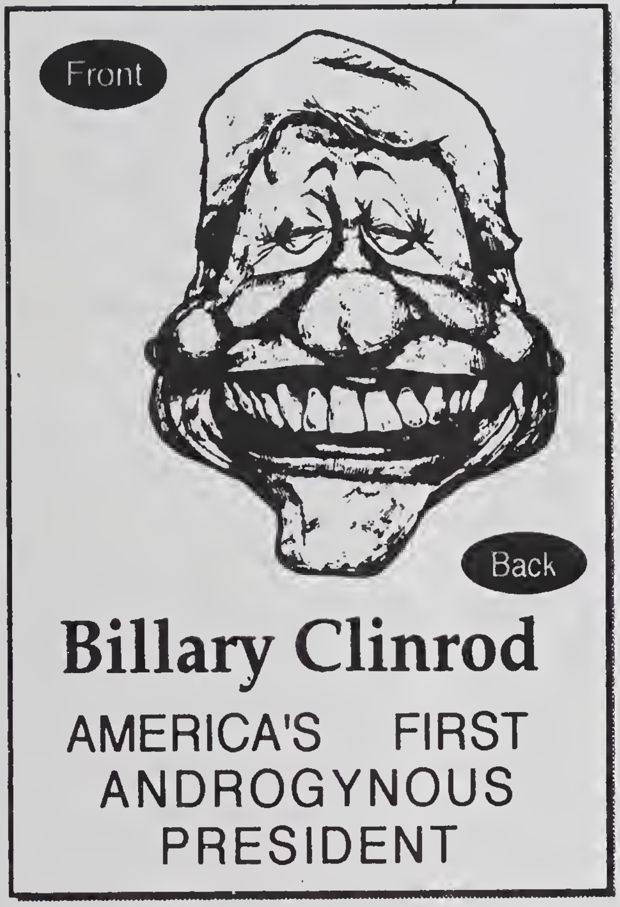

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC

LUME VII, ISSUE 4

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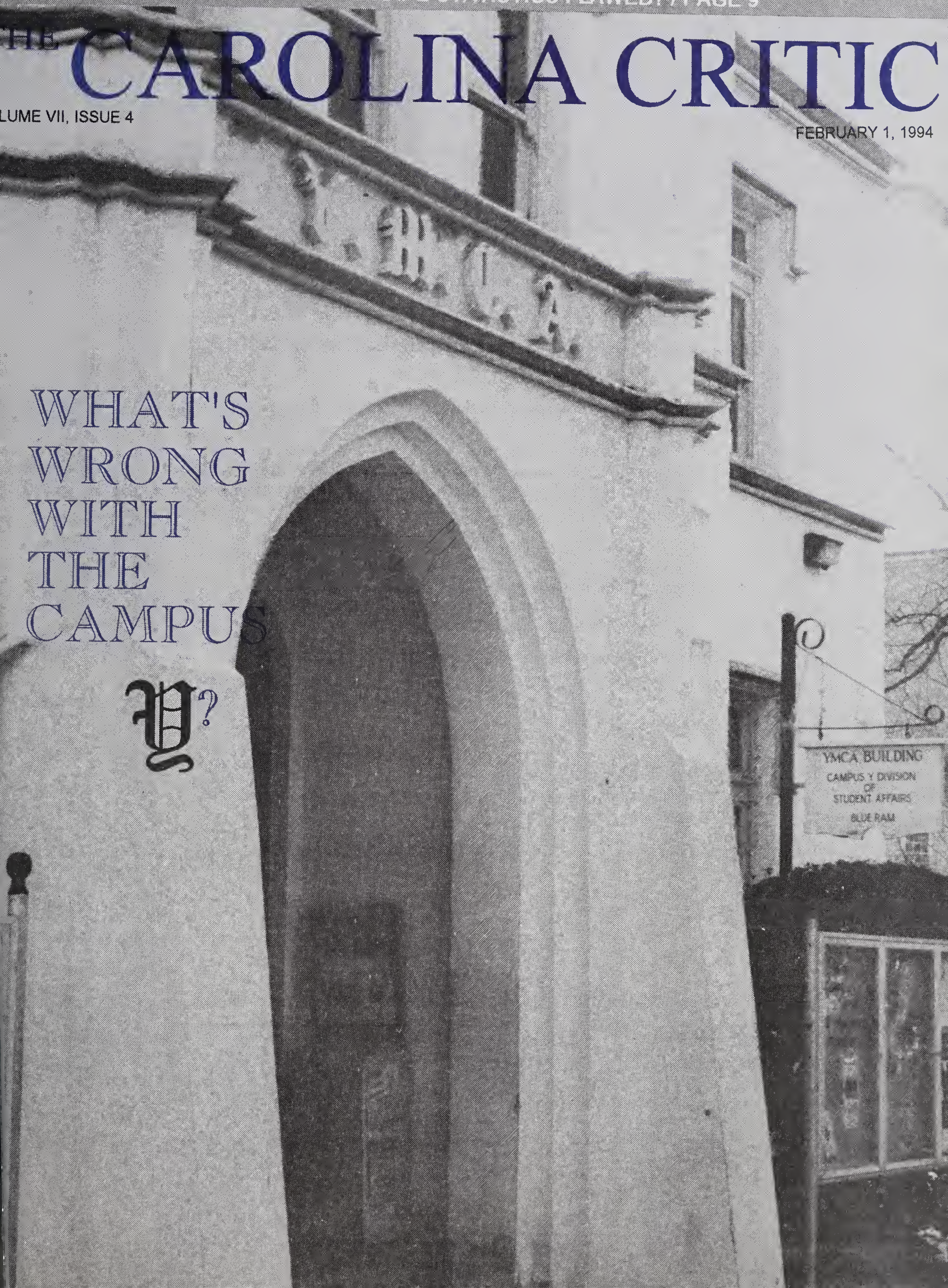

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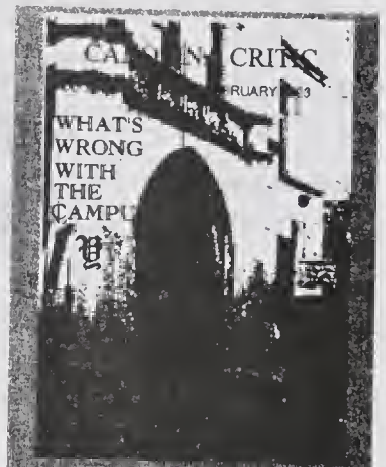

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A look at the [illegible] function of the Campus Y is [illegible] Gabrielle Loperfido. Coverage begins on page 1.

Photo by [illegible]

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC
A student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VII, No. 4

- A few excerpts from DTH coverage of the recent MLK march through Chapel Hill illustrating how Dr. King's dream of peace and harmony has been twisted to suit the self-serving cause of every imaginable special interest:

- "One of the great tributes we can pay (King) is to join the struggle for economic justice" -Larry Farrar of UNC Housekeepers Association

- What the hell is your vision of economic justice, Mr. Farrar? Mine is a six-figure salary, but I seriously doubt I get it by protesting and whining.

- Tax evader and all around hypocrite Joe Herzenberg attended the march, saying that if Dr. King were still alive, he would have been active in modern movements such as the environment and gay rights.

- Perhaps if you had paid your taxes, Joe, you might still be a member of the town council.

- School board member Lying LaVonda Burnette was also present at Dr. King's march in an attempt to clear her name.

- In light of those participating and some of the rhetoric spoken perhaps if Dr. King was still with us he would have skipped his own march this year.

- 3% of our nation's landfill space is filled with junk mail. Each year every American receives 41 lbs., much of which (25 million pieces annually) comes from Greenpeace USA.

- Florida State professor Gary Kleck conducted a survey on the effects of robbery on victims who were armed. Kleck found that robberies were successful 88.5% of the time on unarmed victims, while armed victims were successfully robbed only 30.9% of the time. The same survey found that armed victims were less likely to be injured than unarmed victims by a 17.4% to 25% margin.

- A Kansas professor, Oliver Phillips, on the rip-off artists who sell textbooks to students: "The textbook racket is comparable to selling cocaine to children."

- Heterodoxy defines Bill Clinton's prayer as: "Dear God, please let me get laid half as many times in the White House as Jack did."

- The way up the ladder was with your mouth attached to the anal orifice of the creature - whatever its denomination - in front of you. It was pushing upward and sucking at the same time as you went up th rungs, with junk bonds spilling out of your pockets and your mind reeling from the LSD experience that you had had in the sixties.

- I've come to the conclusion that there's only one party in this country and it's divided into two parts: Republicans and Republican wannabes. The Democrats hav no agenda, and when they speak on any topic, they want to sound as Republican as possible while still finding a way to retain the pork.

-Frank Zappa

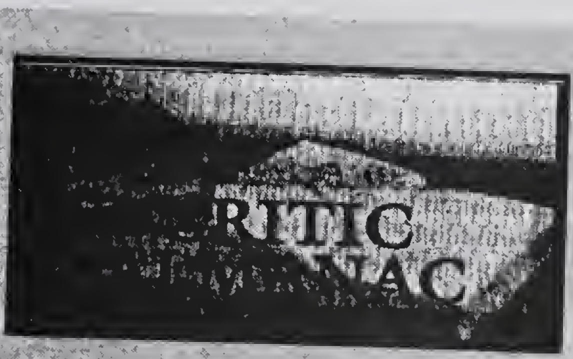
- You know how on the evening news the always tell you that the stock market is up in active trading, or off in moderate tradin or trading in mixed activity, or whatever? Well, who gives a shit?

-Dave Barry

- I hate the Amish. I hate any religion tha forbids you to go to the movies. And I hat them holding up traffic in those carts and talking about "outing the lights" and all that. It's a little too greeting cardish for m I feel sorry for the kids.

- New Age is worse than astrology because old hippies are bad enough, but new ones are really offensive. People ask me what sign I am and I say "feces!" and they change the subject.

-John Waters



Number of Americans robbed or assaulted last year by people impersonating police officers: 25,000

Average number of steps an American adult takes each day: 9,000

Miles of bad checks written by Americans each year: 35,500

Ratio of rats to people in Washington DC: 2:1

Number of subscribers to The Tightwad Gazette: 85,000

Change, since 1970, in the percentage of elderly Americans living in poverty: -13

Change in the percentage of American children living in poverty: +7

Number of letters addressed to Juliet delivered to Verona, Italy, each year: 1,000

Percentage of Americans who say their partner is too romantic: 4

Ratio of federal spending on AIDS research to spending on cancer research, per fatality: 13:1

Estimated percentage change in Russia's money supply since 1991: 700

Source:
Harper's Index

We worship education but hate learning. We worship success but hate the successful. We worship fame but hate the famous. Which is why I decided to come out, so to speak. There's no national glue holding us together because somebody put too much pluribus in the unum. Our fabled great diversity is so divisive that every president is forced to be a fence-straddling "moderate"- we literally make a strong man weak.

-Florence King

From a Soviet Commissars decree in 1918, just after the Bolshevik Revolution: "Instruction in any religious creed or belief shall be prohibited in all State, public and also private educational establishments in which general instruction is given." Does the language sound vaguely familiar?

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APHORISMS

An atheist is a man with no invisible means of support.
-Fulton Sheen

The tax collector must love poor people - he's creating so many of them.
-Bill Vaughan

Diplomacy is the art of saying 'nice doggie' until you can find a rock.
-Will Rogers

Capitalism is the uneven distribution of wealth, and socialism the even distribution of poverty
-Winston Churchill

The way of the world is to praise dead saints and persecute the living ones.
-Nathaniel Howe

Love your enemies in case your friends turn out to be bastards.
-RA Dickson

When you're down and out, something usually turns up and it's usually the noses of your friends.
-Orson Wells

Those who are too smart to engage in politics are punished by being governed by those who are dumber.
-Plato

A young man who does not have what it takes to perform military service is not likely to have what it takes to make a living.
-JFK

How perilous it is to free a people who prefer slavery.
-Machiavelli

Being introduced to literature and art by the feminists and deconstructionist critics is like being introduced to sex via rape.
-Frank Schaeffer

Housekeepers

By Terence J. McDevitt, a freshman computer science major and design editor of The Critic

The Housekeepers Revisited

Imagine the temptation involved when a "large" salary is offered to one who just finishes high-school. How about a $14,000 salary to start? Does it sound ridiculous? More surprisingly, how would it feel to earn this kind of money without ever graduating from high school? To most of us, it would be great, but to many of UNC's housekeepers, it amounts to very little. How can this be possible? Do most people not realize that there are a myriad of graduating college students in the world today who will have some of the hardest times in their lives finding a job at all? Our campus has been struck recently with claims that our housekeepers have been treated unfairly through their salaries, job supervision and exhausting work hours. Why the complaints?

According to many UNC housekeepers, the University is blind when it comes to the status of the housekeepers' jobs. The University, along with Chancellor Paul Hardin, is being accused of hiring these workers at below normal wages, and keeping them restricted in possible job advancements. Where is the justification for these statements? Besides a racial standpoint, most housekeepers have yet to come up with a reasonable answer for their grievances. Why the complaints?

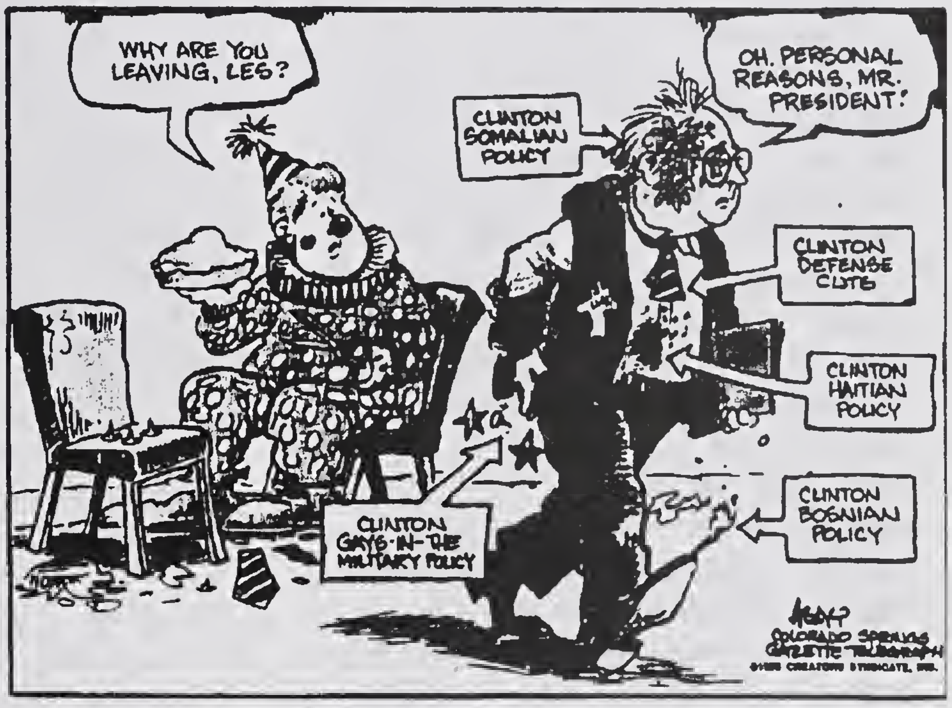
Certainly, the housekeepers cannot be upset about being hired at an average of $14,879 (And no, this does not include possible overtime payment). For a single person without a high school diploma, this cannot be all too bad. But for those housekeepers who have children, this must seem adequate. After all, care of children is quite expensive these days, putting a great deal of stress upon the parents. Again, the University looks out for them and their basic human needs. The University has set up a Child Care Advisory Committee which sets up child care at qualified day care centers, depending upon the parents' financial situation. This is an awfully kind step by the University to provide well being for many of UNC's employees. Why the complaints?

In every job, there is always a boss. Whether the employee likes him or not is independent to every person. Despite personal feelings for this particular person, all employees are required to follow directions from their supervisor, within their working responsibilities. Occasionally, employees must go out of their way at the supervisor's request to get the job done. Throughout one's career, there is almost always one who will supervise, to make sure the job being done gets completed, both correctly and efficiently. In the case of the housekeepers, there seems to be resentment that the employees are constantly being monitored. Of course, the housekeepers complain that these inspections are due to uncertainties caused by race. This claim is beside the actual point because in every "profession," there is supervision. For most workers, the person who supervises is often predetermined. For the housekeepers, however, the choice of supervisor is ultimately up to them. The University distributed questionnaires to every Housekeeper asking for their suggestions on what type of person would be an appropriate leader. Most workers do not get to "choose" their boss. Why the complaints?

Finally, the fact that some of these housekeepers did not finish high school must certainly mean that there is no way for them to obtain a diploma. After all, their extraordinarily long hours of 9:00 to 4:00 do not allow them time for any type of education program. Amazingly enough, UNC watches out for those employees who have not had the opportunity to graduate from high school. The University has created a plan called the Adult High School Diploma program to encourage its employees to gain more education. There are currently fifty-nine housekeepers partaking in this project. What's the cost? Nothing. In fact, those employees who attend these programs get paid an extra three hours a week. Imagine getting paid to go to school. Do the majority of students here at UNC get paid to go to school? Some students often pay more to attend UNC than the housekeepers make a year. Do I have any complaints about this? None.

By Chad Parks, a sophomore history major

A Year of the Clintons


WHY ARE YOU LEAVING, LES?
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CLINTON GAYS-IN-THE MILITARY POLICY
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As Bill Clinton begins his second year in office, he brings to a close a very eventful year. Clinton became the first Democratic president in 12 years, and to his delight found a Senate and House that were also Democratically controlled. Clinton planned to install many of his 50-plus ideas within the first 100 days that he was in office. President Clinton soon found out that things would not always go the way he had hoped.

Clinton started his uphill battle with a very sensitive issue, gays in the military. This was probably not the greatest way to start a presidential term. Before consulting his top military advisors, Clinton openly supported homosexuals' right to serve in the military. Clinton was met head on by Colin Powell, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Powell felt that homosexuals should not be allowed into the armed forces because it would ruin the morale of he soldiers. He also said that if gays were allowed in, he would turn in his resignation. Clinton scrambled to recover and announced that the issue would not be resolved until a later date.

Next on President Clinton's list of military dabblings was war-torn Somalia. In sending troops, Clinton hoped to end the fighting between the Somali warlords. The troops that were sent made little difference in the fighting, as they often came under heavy fire while trying to deliver food to the starving people. U.S. troops soon found out that they were not wanted by the very people they were sent to help. Clinton began to slowly withdraw some of the U.S. forces.

Clinton hoped to pick up speed in his uphill battle when he began to nominate his cabinet . The cabinet was supposed to proportionally represent America with its different races and genders. But instead of picking up speed , Clinton tripped and slid back to the bottom as several of his appointees for Attorney General resigned. Two of the female nominees that Clinton chose were accused of hiring illegal aliens to work for them at their homes. Finally Janet Reno passed the hearings and began her journey that led to her to Waco, Texas.

Going back on a campaign promise, Clinton enclosed a tax hike in his new budget that was frowned upon by many in Congress. Even though the Democrats control both sections of Congress, Clinton needed a vote from Vice President Al Gore to pass the House and won a victory in the Senate by one vote. Clinton called this a victory, but even with control of Congress, he did not get the support that he really needed, or expected.

With Clinton's public approval rating at a new low, he tried to win the favor of the people by toying with the idea of health care reforms. To head this committee he appointed his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton. She held a conference to discuss what should be done with a group of 50 lawyers and no doctors. Clinton's health care will be a socialized health care program under government control. People will be forced to buy certain types of coverage even if it has options that are totally useless to the individual. As an added bonus, the state government will be given the option to put a tax on this coverage.

Ross Perot came back into the limelight as he butted heads with Clinton over NAFTA. Perot protested the agreement because he felt that America would lose many companies to Mexico. This is not necessarily true, because both countries can benefit from free trade amongst the two countries. Bill Clinton made the correct decision and signed the agreement.

Clinton scored another victory when he presided over the signing of the peace agreement in the Middle East. This hotbed of violence came to the United States and settled its differences at the peace talks. The signing gave Clinton a big lift and a great photo opportunity.

As of late, Clinton has begun to stumble again as tales of affairs and bad deals begin to surface. State Troopers from Arkansas alleged that they used to accompany then-Governor Clinton on his many escapades with women. Within the last month or so another scandal has arisen, Whitewater. This real estate deal that went wrong is being tied to a failed Savings and Loan in Arkansas. Clinton says he has turned over all the documents, and we must sit and wait to find out exactly what happened.

President Clinton got off to a rocky start and has really never smoothed things out. As he begins his second twelve months, we can only hope that this year is less eventful. Less than 1090 days and counting.

Art

By Jennifer Durham, a senior journalism and history major and editor-in-chief of The Critic

Art Belongs to Individuals

Conservatives should be in the business of encouraging the development of quality individuals as lifesavers to throw into America's raging sea of anti-individualistic bureaucracies, political buffoonery and status conscious disciples of greed. All too often, though, conservatives limit their war efforts to fighting obstacles to individual character development, like meaningless regulations and political correctness. We tend to fall short on actually encouraging the individual to develop depth and morality. In the process of neglect, we have allowed the dominant liberal establishment to define us as shallow, regressive stooges and deny us access to positions of power. One of the ways conservatives can fight back and contribute to the strengthening of the individual is to reclaim the arts from liberals and encourage people to enjoy them.

One of the great modern ironies is the almost unchallenged claim liberals stake on the arts. The irony lies in the fact that art is profoundly individualistic, which sets it directly at odds with paternalistic and collectivist-minded liberal ideology. The grip liberals have on the arts, however, is unnatural. It derives not from any inherent liberal tendencies in artists, but from a falsely defined conception of art.

It is important to distinguish ideology from politics when discussing art, for good artists often shun politics. Artists interested in communicating honestly what they believe are not interested in a largely dishonest cast of power-hungry charlatans acting out political dramas.

In order to argue any point about art, one must first establish an idea of what art is and what it is not. Good art has several characteristics. A good work of art is the product of the artist's honesty to himself. Art produced in conjunction with ulterior motives, like political propaganda or money, lacks the credibility of artworks created purely with the desire to creatively express a vision or idea. Good artists display mastery of the medium they use to express their ideas, and they use that medium effectively to get their vision across. The depth of the artist's vision contributes or detracts from his artwork. A good artist appeals to the universal rather than the immediate present; generations to come will understand his work. A very important point: the artist and his vision are essential components of his work.

It's difficult to put the experience of enjoying art into words. Though listening to music, reading a book or eyeing a painting is partly an intellectual experience, art appeals to something beyond the mind - to the visceral and the spiritual. It contributes to a much deeper understanding of what it means to be human. Good art puts one onto a higher plane of understanding, beyond the mind where love, sadness, pain, fear, desire, hate, spirituality, and companionship lie. Enjoying a work of art leads to an intuitive understanding of truth.

The Union Art Gallery
CRITIC PHOTO BY MATTHEW SCOTT

Part of the reason liberals have usurped the arts is because they have succeeded in redefining art to serve their own purposes. As painter Martha Mayer Erlebacher discerns in American Arts Quarterly, "Distinctions between art as an intellectual, poetical and philosophical activity and art as decoration, therapy or politics have disappeared." Modern creative work that serves as 'decoration, therapy or politics' either conveys some sort of propagandistic message that most conservatives choose not to listen to, or it becomes a hacked vision, like a once-thriving tree chopped into insignificant self-serving pieces of dead wood by ax-brandishing critics.

Three years ago, the Union Art Gallery housed an "art" display made up of pictorial denunciations of Jesse Helms. The exhibit is a prime example of the mainstream liberal conception of art. While it may have served as some sort of political therapy for its creator and admirers, Ivan in Moscow would get nothing out of such an exhibit. It appeals to no aspect of his existence, to nothing universal. In 20 years, Johnny in the United States won't even understand it.

Modern entertainment has succumbed to this false perception of art. Movies, television shows, music, books and paintings all participate in propaganda efforts. Oliver Stone recently used film to throw out a wild conspiracy theory on the John F. Kennedy assassination. Television producers Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason are as famous for schmoozing around with the Clintons as they are for their television efforts. Musicians have even bought into the false perception of art, and they contribute songs to Greenpeace and "pro-choice" benefit albums and play in Amnesty International benefit concerts. *Rolling Stone* serves up political action in the entertainment industry on a silver platter, as if it comprised an important part of the art world. Madonna didn't vote when she campaigned around telling others to visit the polls. Farm-Aid, Band-Aid, Live-Aid or many other -aids raised an enormous sum of money for this or that cause. In a few years, the populace will have forgotten these causes.

It is important to note that modern

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

By Tara Servatius, a sophomore journalism major and assistant editor of The Critic

Feminist Rape Mentality: Date Rape Statistics Flawed

"One in two women will be a victim of date rape before graduating college."

No, actually that's "one in four women will be a victim of sexual assault sometime in her lifetime."

Wait, wasn't that "two out of three women, with one of those two being raped twice?"

Well, either way you put it, you'll probably be raped anyway, according to these statistics, (all of which, having been verified by the media of course, appeared in national magazines and publications) and even if you aren't, all your friends will. Thus, your overwhelming fears of assault are not only justified, but you, the weak, vulnerable female, are in great need of protection.

The truth, however, is very different from what it may appear from these numbers; in fact, a virtual rape hysteria has been produced by the media over this "hidden crime." In an amazingly short time, a huge amount of literature on this subject has sprung up, most of it originating in women's studies departments, later to be quoted on Oprah or Geraldo and finally to be reported nationally, cited at congressional hearings, campus rallies and generally treated with ittle skepticism.

Where are these questionable statistics coming from? These claims are based on figures from several studies, one of the most widely quoted of which was the Ms. Magazine Campus Project on Sexual Assault by Mary Koss. In this study, 6159 students at 2 colleges were surveyed, and, according o Koss, 42 percent of these students had een the victims of rape in the past year and 2 percent of those had been raped an verage of two times between the ages of ourteen and twenty-one. Questions asked y Koss included "Have you had sexual ntercourse when you didn't want to because ou were overwhelmed by a man's arguments? Because a man gave you alcohol or rugs?" Koss classified a positive answer to ther of these as a rape or attempted rape.

Interestingly enough, when Berkeley rofessor Neil Gilbert asked the very same omen directly (in a much lesser publicized llow-up study seemingly available only in dusty edition of Society located in Davis or Undergrad.) if they believed they had been raped, 73% did not believe that they had, and of those, 42% said they had sex again with the man who raped them. Another popular study in the Journal of Sex Education cites comparable figures, even though its questions included a definition of forced sexual intercourse with "use of force" defined as including "verbal persuasion-protestation by the male to 'go further' because of sexual need, arousal, or love." Yegidis, who conducted the study, explained that "this study showed that most of the sexual encounters were forced through verbal persuasion protestations."

Surprisingly enough, national figures gleaned from surveys by the Bureau of Justice and Statistics, asking such questions as "Were you threatened or attacked in any way in the last year? Did anything happen to you that you thought was a crime, but you didn't report it to the police?" found a rate of rape of 1.2 per 1000. While you could speculate that this rate may be flawed due to inevitable statistical flaws, the fact still remains that if you double, triple or even quadruple this figure, the Koss statistics and others in the same mathematical range continue to dwarf them. Not only have these national surveys shown the rates quoted in the media to be radical, they also found a decline in rape and attempted rape of 30% between 1978 and 1988.

Why are these statistics so inflated? What purpose do they serve? It seems advocacy groups are using these figures in unprecedented, and largely unchecked ways, particularly because it is so difficult to criticize advocacy research without giving the impression of caring less about the problem than those bent on magnifying its size. These very same statistics have been cited to Congress in support of the Violence Against Women Act of 1993, a bill which classified all "gender motivated" acts of violence as civil rights violations. The bill is lavish in its provisions for sensitivity training and would be a virtual self propagating boom to the rape-crisis movement, which would now receive a large amount of federal funding. (None of which specifically has to be used to help rape victims, of course).

In the end, though, these figures and the radical ideas behind them promote the notion that most men are rapists and create a form of scientific legitimacy for social programs and individual behaviors that act on this idea. They also do damage to the very cause they hope to further.

It can be nothing less than demeaning to women to suggest that they are so vulnerable to manipulation and emotional pressure that they must be protected by the law. Gillian Greensite, founder of the Rape Prevention Education Program at the University of California, Santa Cruz, wrote that the "seriousness of rape is threatened by the growing tendency of some feminists to label all heterosexual miscommunication and insensitivity as acquaintance rape." Characterizing this type of sexual encounter as rape trivializes the pain and trauma of the many women who are the real victims of this crime and may ultimately make it harder to convict those who rape them. In the end, using these exaggerated figures exaggerates the problem. It does damage to mutual respect between the sexes and provides no realistic ground for dialogue about sexual assault that is based in reality.

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By Tadd Wilson, a sophomore english/pre-law major and assistant editor of The Critic

"What is the State of the Union?" Don't believe your ears...

Coming on the heels of a "successful" European tour and 60 percent approval ratings, President Bill Clinton fulfilled his Constitutional obligation to deliver an address to Congress on the State of the Union. Amidst the overabundant applause, President Clinton managed focus on four areas of concern: welfare reform, health care reform, foreign policy, and violence at home.

Before delivering the body of his speech, Clinton reviewed some of the events from his first year in office. He also made a feeble attempt at humor, asking if the right speech had been loaded into the TelePrompTer. Now we ask: What is President Clinton really saying? Clinton claimed that the American people gave a call; in reality, over half of American voters voted against him. Clinton also claimed that he has experienced the most successful work with Congress in 30 years; in reality, several prominent pieces of legislation, including the budget and the NAFTA treaty, were passed by only a handful of votes.

President Clinton also touted the "reinvention" of government by Vice President Al Gore, along with his progressive tax plan, claiming that he raised taxes for only the wealthiest 1.2 percent of the population. He seems to have forgotten signing one of the largest tax increases in history, a hike of $255 billion. All TelePrompTer jokes aside, Clinton is trying to take credit for economic recovery from a recession that in recent times has been almost entirely perceived.

White House sources do confirm that Billy is now working with Hillary on a plan to reduce income taxes simply by reducing income. Clintonomics are so simple.

In the direction of welfare reform, Clinton emphasized education, training and skills, as well as a single standard for all schools (and do away with quotas??). President Clinton also called for a reemployment system, claiming that welfare defies our values as a nation and that we must turn to a system of responsibility (as if hese were new ideas!!).

Clinton also proposed a revision of current policy, which penalizes parents who stay together while rewarding unmarried parents as two households. President Clinton also added that after two years of receiving welfare benefits, anyone who can work must. After hearing Clinton actually use the words "work" and "responsibility," Rev. Jesse Jackson promptly fell into convulsions and had to be taken to Canada for adequate health care. Actually, Jackson has avoided getting a real job so he can keep his Medicaid benefits.

Speaking of health care, President Clinton detailed an employer-based plan of universal coverage, and he pledged to veto any legislation which did not guarantee irrevocable, universal coverage. Just what a recovering economy needs: another burden for middle-class small business owners. Incidentally, Clinton began to waffle on his promise less than a day after his speech, agreeing that perhaps universal access would be a better idea. President Clinton also included a plan to cover prescription drugs, preventive care, and eventual incorporation of long-term health care. He also called for responsible use of the new system, improvement of health habits, and an increased tax on cigarettes.

Then, in a brilliant display of self contradiction, Clinton called for the end of the bureaucratic nightmare. Furthermore, he claimed that research would not suffer, and that our nation would continue to produce the best health care professionals (even if he socializes the medical industry and gives large numbers of established physicians a 33 percent tax increase).

President Clinton also neglected to mention the $1 trillion he still needs to fund the plan. Maybe Hillary left that figure behind closed doors?

Clinton's foreign policy joke became even more laughable. He proclaimed the pursuit of a "durable peace," a renewal of leadership abroad and support of democracy world-wide. Perhaps William should remember that he has reduced our military strength to pre-Pearl Harbor levels. As evidence for Clinton's savvy as an international leader, Russian President Boris Yeltsin celebrated the President's visit by removing all but two reformists from his Cabinet.

The final topic on the President's list was violence within America itself. Clinton detailed four points of his new crime plan: the highly publicized "three strikes and you're out" for repeat violent offenders; 100,000 more police officers in the field, largely as part of community policing; banishment of all assault weapons; and attacking drug use, including treatment and "boot camp" for juvenile offenders, as well as additional drug education. President Clinton also praised the passage of the Brady Bill, which requires a five day waiting period on firearms. Never mind the fact that Washington, DC., is one of the most violent cities in the nation, even though firearms have been outlawed there for 18 years. How about a proposal that amounts to more than symbolism: a five year waiting period on parole for all violent criminals?

Clinton attributed the violence in America to the breakdown of our nation's communities, families and work ethic. He also promised government aid in rebuilding

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

Cover Story

By Gabrielle Loperfido, a graduate student in comparative literature

What's Wrong with the Campus Y?

Walking from Cameron street toward my classes in Dey Hall I often pass, going between Gerrard and South, a modest, neat, white-painted-brick building with a YMCA engraved in Gothic letters above the imposing double doors. A signpost beside the portal announces this is the YMCA building. Glass covered announcement boards flank the doors, but the announcements contained within have little to do with the swimming and basketball I have always associated with "the Y." Having already passed a rather substantial looking YMCA on Airport Road on my way into school, I cannot help but wonder what we have in our campus midst. So, What is it? Who runs it? What does it do, or What is done under its aegis? How does it identify itself? What purpose does it serve?

Director Zenobia HatcherWilson very kindly took the time to enlighten me in her office last week. The Campus Y, in its current manifestation, is an incarnation of what was originally founded as a Campus Young Men's Christian Association in 1860 to provide the link with community and the vehicle for students (of course all male) to serve those around them. Hence the claim in the STATEMENT ABOUT THE Y that appears on the inside of their brochure, "The Campus Y is a 132 [now, one would suppose, 134] year old student organization . "

The neat white brick building that the Campus Y occupies was built in 1906 with private funds to house the YMCA. For this reason the building still retains the YMCA plaque. In the 30's, with the advent of the arrival of women on campus, arose the need for the YMCA's companion institution, the Young Women's Christian Association. The two groups formed an alliance in the 1950's thus institutionalizing the still active tradition of copresidents and cotreasurers one male and one female for each position. The insistence on equality of outcome is meant to foster opportunities for leadership and managerial experience in young men and women.

In the 1970's the Campus YMCA became disenchanted with the national leadership of the organization and broke ranks. The YWCA affiliation remained until the 1980's. The name of the Campus Y, sans national emblem, is in no violation whatsoever of the rights to the name YMCA or YWCA. The Campus Y is in actuality a university department within the Division of Student Affairs. Its full-time staff: Director, the aforementioned Zenobia HatcherWilson, Associate Director, Pamela Cheek and Secretary/Receptionist, Joyce Remick, are paid by the State of North Carolina as are all University of North Carolina employees. Aside from University support for staff, the Campus Y supports itself through membership (which costs $3 per student) and an annual fundraising foot race as well as various other activities throughout the year. The current Director, Ms. HatcherWilson, succeeded Carol Holcomb who now practices law here in Chapel Hill. Ms. Holcomb was preceded by Edith Wiggins who now Associate ViceChancellor/Associate Dean of Student Affairs on campus. Ms. Wiggins' tenure was preceded by Anne Queen who directed the Y for 20 years.

Our concern here lies with the Campus Y's committees' preserving, or perhaps fostering, the dignity of service to others. No one would deny that those who volunteer their time and effort reap enormous rewards from the experience.

Ms. HatcherWilson, a native of North Carolina, came to her current position here at Chapel Hill eight and a half years ago from the University of Cincinnati where she was an Associate Professor of Social Work Director of Field Instruction. She has also worked in Lansing, Michigan and Newark, New Jersey. She has a graduate degree in Social Work from the University of Chicago and holds her undergraduate degree from Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina. Ms. HatcherWilson, a soft-spoken, forthright, quietly determined lady who looks to the Serenity Prayer for guidance, clearly has lived her life according her belief that belief in ideas must translate to action in accordance with those ideas.

Action in Ms. Hatcher Wilson's leadership of the Campus Y takes the form of presiding over the administration of the two main branches of Y activity volunteer projects and social issues, "social" are perhaps more accurately identified as political issues. According Ms. Hatcher-Wilson, the various activities of the Campus Y exist on a continuum of advocacy and action ranging from the "micro": one-on-one tutoring, visits to the elderly, working with teenagers, literacy projects, to the "macro": more globally oriented, forthrightly political action groups such as the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), Students for the Advancement of Race Relations (SARR), Human Rights Week, Women's Forum and the Rape Free Zone.

For fostering the spirit and deed of voluntarism, the Campus Y is to be heartily commended. There is little that is as precious to a free society as the individual's own perception of his or her own relationship to the community, of the capacity of each to contribute to his or her community and the conscious free choice of each individual to actively participate to the extent that is possible for him or her to do so.

It is a great privilege to be in a position to offer assistance to those in need of it. For the most part, such an attitude of humble service does characterize the various committees' descriptions of themselves. There is also, however, an element of the vaguely glamorous and an emphasis on what the students each will gain from their volunteer experiences. The Child Advocacy Program (CAPP) whose "innovative and motivated" members "seek to end the abuse of children," welcomes "old and new members to an exciting new year."

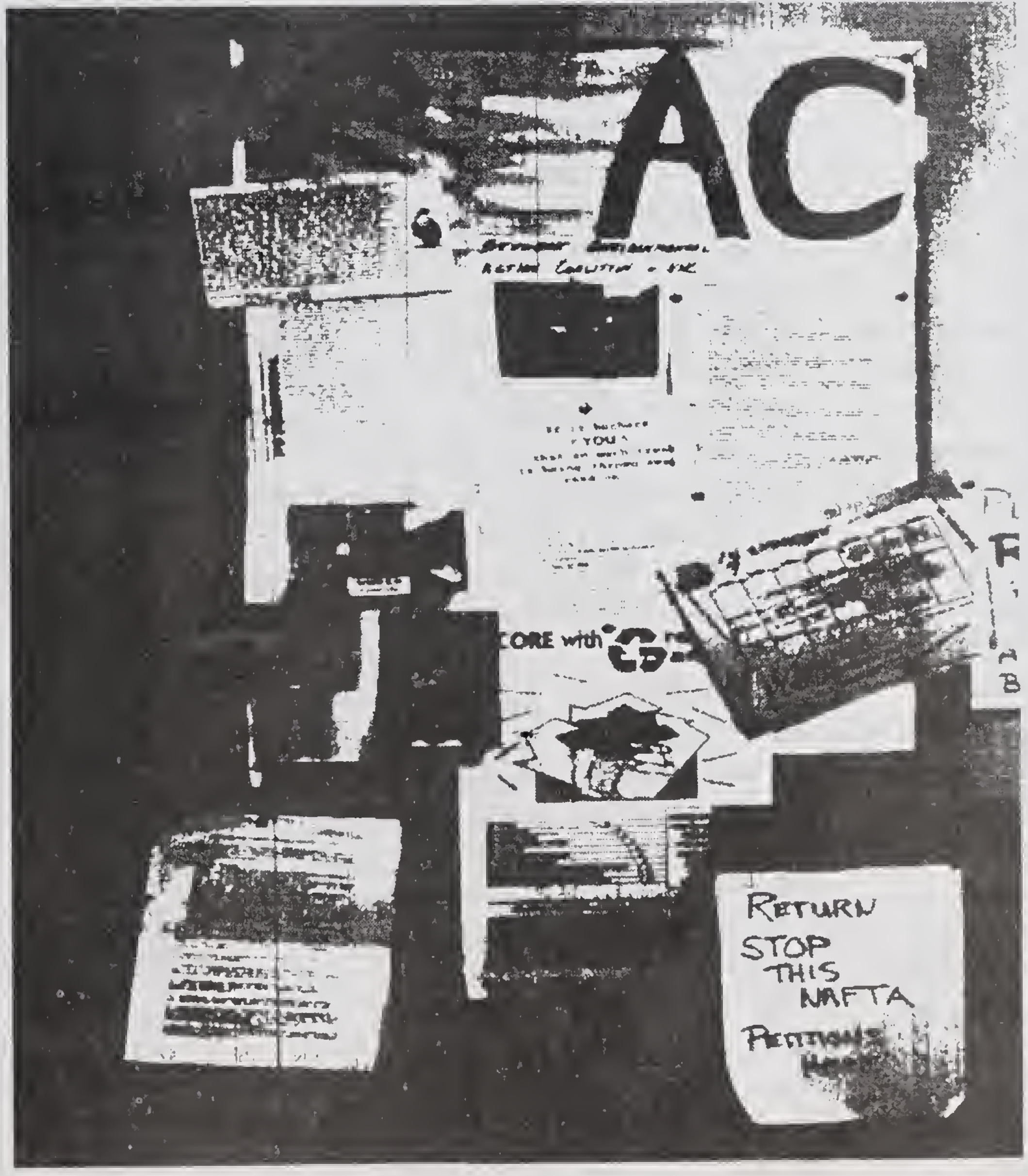
Other committee statements include the following: The Big Buddy Program (not to be confused with the national Big Brother/ Big Sister organization, nor with the Eunice/ Anthony Shriver sponsored Best Buddies) states that "Although the basic time commitment is two hours a week, the benefits of the relationship extend far beyond this boundary." This statement implies a relationship of identity between "basic time commitment" and the "benefits of the relationship."

The Habitat for Humanity appeals to those who wish to feel superior to their more regularly festive fellow students: "Saturday mornings, when UNC slumbers in the wake of weekend activities, a diverse group of students are dedicated to serving the community." Is this statement supposed to imply that those who have gone out to socialize for perhaps six to eight hours on Friday night are incapable of or somehow disqualified from serving the community during the remaining 160 hours of the week?

Our concern here lies with the Campus Y's committees' preserving, or perhaps fostering, the dignity of service to others. No one would deny that those who volunteer their time and effort reap enormous rewards from the experience. Indeed, we would not value volunteer work and voluntarism if it were not for the enormous rewards reaped by all involved: the recipients, the contributors and all who benefit from a strong and thriving free society. But, in the spirit of clarity of motives we must ask: should personal benefit or the idea of some vague moral superiority be the selling point for recruiting members?

In addition to the foregoing marketing stratagem, we have the Hunger and Homelessness Outreach Project. This committee starts out its self description with the statement that "Homelessness and hunger are two of the most critical issues facing us globally, as well as locally." No one will deny that there are always those among a society in need of food and shelter. But perhaps our idea of need has expanded to an unprecedented breadth. On the one hand such vision and idealism is a priceless driving force within a community, perpetually holding all to a higher standard. The efforts sponsored to combat these problems, ostensibly in pursuit of satisfying hunger and providing shelter, are stated as Oxfam Fast, the Hunger Cleanup and the local InterFaith Council shelter.

Since the greatest gift is that of the opportunity to provide for oneself, it would be lovely to see the Hunger and Homelessness Outreach Project forge links with area businesses to see what might make these needy people employable and self-supporting. A real innovation in terms students' contribution to the community would be to provide daycare or baby-sitting services to single parents who might not be able to work because of an inability to afford proper care for small children.



Charleton and Darren Allen's favorite hang-out
CRITIC PHOTO BY ANNA YARUR

The Tutoring program ("As a tutor, you will share your talents so that other students may realize and develop their own."), the Project Literacy ("Volunteers work one-on-one or in a classroom situation either with adults who want to improve their reading and math skills, or read to groups of Head-start children.") and the Youth for Elderly Service (YES) ("Volunteers perform and invaluable service weekly by bringing outside diversions and one-on-one contact with elderly citizens and nursing home patients.") seem already to possess, embody and perpetuate the true spirit of enabling independence, may they continue to do so.

These volunteer activities are complemented by a host of political committees mentioned above. Ms. HatcherWilson says that each year each committee is expected t define its role at the Campus Y with regard to the Campus Y's overall stated mission. such thoroughness with regar to organizational consistency is admirable. But what have the RapeFree Zone, the Women's Forum, the SEAC. the South African Awareness Project. the Students for the Advancement of Race relations, and Human Rights Week to do with the Youth for Elderly Service, the Project Literacy. the Hunger and Homelessness Outreach Project, Habitat for Humanity Tutoring, the Child Advocacy Program, Youth United and the Big Buddy Program?

What do these committees have to do with each other and how do they all fit under one mission statement? The key to their relationship lies i the mission statement itself: "The mission of the Campus Y is the pursuit of social justice through the cultivation of pluralism." This mission statement was drafted in 1991 as the mission of the Campus Y was reaffirmed in conjunction wit the Division of Student Affairs request for a 5 year plan. This mission statement replaces a previous one dating from 1965, the days o official affiliation the YMCA and YWCA which included references to faith and religion.

The key that lies in the mission statement is concept of "pluralism" which directly following the mission statement in the campus Y brochure, is as it was defined by Dr. Sonja Haynes Stone in George Street Journal article: "Pluralism as a social condition is that state of affairs in which several distinct ethnic, religious, and racial communities live side by side, willing to affirm each other's dignity, ready to benefit from each other's experiences! and quick to acknowledge each other's contribution to the common welfare."

The concept of pluralism, according to the Campus Y's own statement about itself, prioritizes pluralism over diversity: Dr. Stone 'challenged us to move from diversity to pluralism." According to Ms. Hatcher-Wilson, the difference the board saw ,eLweer,d,versity and pluralism and hence their choice of pluralism over diversity was that between the mere coexistence of differences (diversity) and the celebration of those differences as strengths in and of themselves.

Dr. Stone's definition of pluralism departs from the traditional notion which is closer to that which the Campus Y considers to be mere diversity. Pluralism as a "social condition." (again, here, one may take social to mean political), or at least the possibility that a plurality of views may exist, has never been a a goal unto itself, but rather the means to a greater end in the service of truth. Pluralism only has meaning if it exists among individuals who hold that truth exists, that it is, at the very least partially knowable and that, in order to know it, we must each of us continually hold up our positions our very meaningful differences to the light of challenge to illuminate the significance of our differences and grow in our knowledge.

Ms. Hatcher-Wilson knows the value of disagreements. She acknowledges that there are differences of opinion ever. among the members of the Campus Y and sees these as strengths. As she wisely puts it: "You don't want Yes-people. They are a dangerous thing to have."

The difficulty with the celebration of pluralism as an end in itself stems from is that it ultimately fosters and cultivates not a plurality of views, but rather the single view that all differences are equal, which is to say there are no significant differences. and that everyone must believe exactly this. The celebration of pluralism as an end in itself excludes the possibility of the existence of the view that pluralism as an end in itself is not the best social or political circumstance. I asked Ms. Hatcher-Wilson about the place of members who might disagree with the celebration of pluralism. She responded that it was the responsibility of any member who seriously differed with the overall goals of the organization to resign his or her

The "cultivation of pluralism" breeds precisely its antithesis - uniformity. Indeed, if we take a close look at the cross-section or humanity, or even a cross-section of the student bodi here at Chapel Hill, the subset of population who actually celebrate the "differences," perhaps disparity, among the stated amalgam of political action groups is quite small and rather homogeneous.

Evidently it is possible to disagree about differences that are taken to be equal and therefore nonexistent, or at least, if existent, insignificant. But it is not possible to Question the very nature of the mission of the Campus Y. Were the Campus Y an entirely private, entirely self-supporting organization, this exclusion would be perfectly acceptable.

The Campus Y, however, is not an entirely private, entirely self-supporting organization. The Campus Y is supposed exist as the "crossroads of the campus and the community." As a university department, we the university community, must ensure that it be possible for students wishing to participate in the plethora of exceedingly worthy volunteer efforts administered through the Campus Y, regardless of agreement over the stated mission of the Campus Y.

The Campus Y has been directed by a succesion of strong leaders presiding over the bountiful resources and energies of the students' volunteer spirit. A powerful force on campus and within the community, the Campus Y has the capacity; to do, to keep doing great good - perhaps in spite of themselves.

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Deconstructionism By Tadd Wilson, a sophomore english/pre-law major and assistant editor of The Critic

Deconstruction: Literary Theory or Moral Crisis

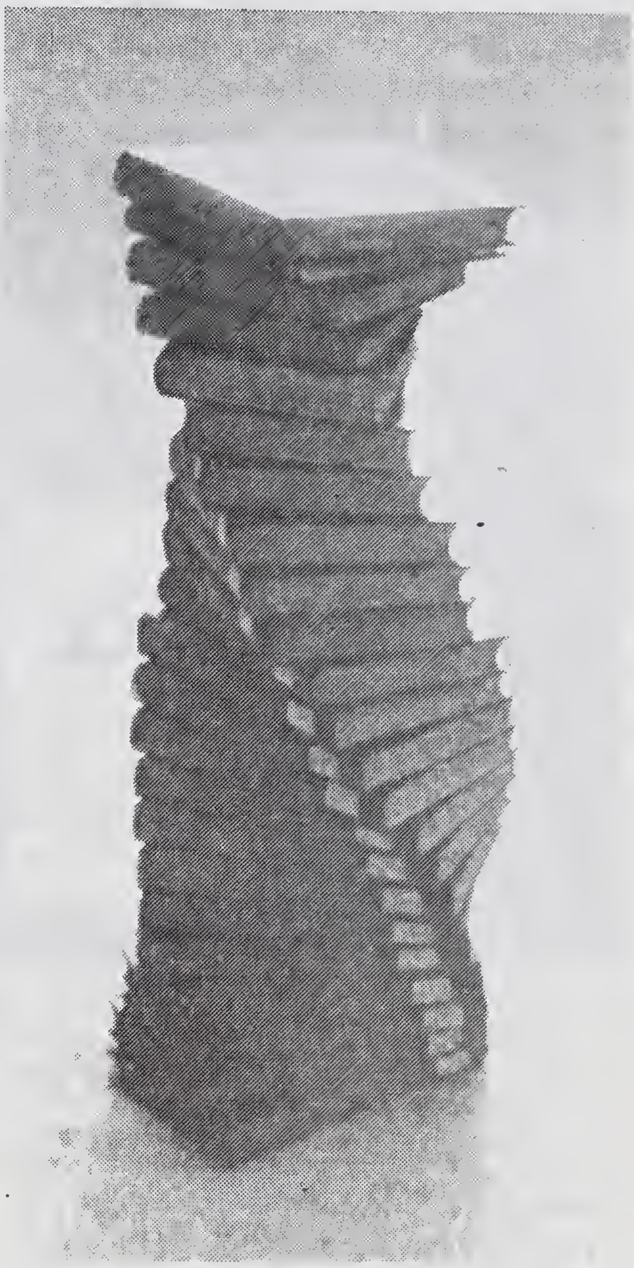
As a literary theory, deconstructionism has its roots in the Structuralist movement of the 1960s. In brief, structuralism maintains that reality is apprehended via arbitrary symbols, and furthermore, that the power to signify comes from patterns of these symbols rather than from any direct representation of "reality." In essence, the traditional notion of the originality of a work is questioned, and the role of the author is problematized. Derived from the works of philosopher Jacques Derrida and psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, post-structuralism and later deconstructionism take literary criticism to a more radical level, claiming that language has no meaning even in terms of its own code. For a deconstructionist critic, a work of literature, or any composition of a coded system, has no determinate meaning, and thus is independent of authorial intent. Potentially, an infinite number of meanings can be derived from a single text by a potentially infinite number of self-authorizing readers.

Oddly enough, the proponents of deconstructionism are often also the advocates of "political correctness" and speech ordinances. These positions seem oddly incongruent. How can any institution, even one as practical and efficient as our own government, hope to regulate the employment of a code that is both arbitrary and intrinsically meaningless? In order to regulate the use of specific words, lawmakers would have to assume that these words carried some offensive or potentially incitious meaning. However, this assumption cannot be reconciled with deconstructionism's rejection of determinate meaning. The alternative is to allow that certain words are particularly offensive in certain situations, and that their usage in such cases would be illegal. However, this view is unacceptable. Who decides when these words can and cannot be used? Tipper Gore, right? Big Brother maybe? Since the meaning is derived from the receptor , any person can decide to be offended at any time. The result: a frighteningly constructed Orwellian world of hypersensitivity, not to mention an irrevocable sacrifice of personal freedom and the right to speak. Ultimately, deconstructionism and political correctness are contradictory, which is all the more reason for rabid Liberals to embrace them both.

Aside from free speech, one of the favorite targets of left-wing deconstructionists is the concept of family or traditional values. While it is undeniably necessary for a society to examine itself and evolve, the wholesale rejection of a particular moral tradition is at once intolerant and irresponsible. In "The Trial and Death of Socrates", Plato presents a debate between Socrates and Euthyphro about the nature of piety, Athens' equivalent of traditional values. In typically witty fashion, Socrates demonstrates that tradition does not necessarily grant moral force to a law or custom, yet neither does tradition deprive a law or custom of moral value. Despite advocating an almost obsessive questioning of authority and tradition, in no way does Socrates support change merely for the sake of change. Likewise, while family values are based upon a traditional morality, these values should not be rejected as if they were "mere" tradition without instrumental value.

This is not to say that traditional values should remain stagnant or unexamined. While we are the inheritors of a cultural tradition rich in literature, art and all endeavors, we must also acknowledge the darker legacies of racism, sexism and violence to which we are heir. However, even in light of the myriad problems extant within our society, a categorical abandonment of thousands of years of moral theory and tradition seems a highly irrational and ultimately destructive "solution".

Like most theories, deconstructionism is not inherently liberal or radical in its assessment of society. Indeed, deconstructionism actually provides an invaluable means for understanding culture and social phenomena as constructions. Understanding society as a system of constructions allows one to explore how a particular norm or trend affects members of that society, and to examine how constructions perpetuate or alleviate adverse trends. More importantly, by maintaining that constructions are artificial, deconstructionism points to the possibility of changing oppressive constructions. It is to this end that deconstructionism is taught as a literary theory. By examining the constructions at work in a piece literature, one can understand their effect upon the outcome of the work. Carrying over to reality, constructions can be recognized and challenged in an on going process of cultural self examination.



Untempered deconstructionism has dangerous ramifications for traditional morality and social progress

CRITIC PHOTO BY MATTHEW SCOTT

However, though inherently artificial, certain constructions are necessary for the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

Intellectual Freedom

By TJ Hemlinger, a second year doctoral student in the school of Journalism and Mass Communication

Conference Promotes Intellectual Freedom

One-third to almost one-half of the U.S. public colleges and universities operate outside the First Amendment by having rules designed to punish or regulate speech of various forms, and someone needs to flog these miscreants back into line. It's no longer acceptable to imply a need to protect people from debate, for by now they should be able to participate in the marketplace of ideas; nor is it proper to argue speech codes promote or foster an improved learning environment. They are shortsighted, improper in the 1990s and, to be blunt, unconstitutional.

Dr. Joan DelFattore, author of *What Johnny Shouldn't Read*, speaks at a conference on intellectual and academic freedom at the Friday Center
CRITIC PHOTO BY MATTHEW SCOTT

That should be quite enough, but unfortunately too many universities are ruled by the craven, the hardheaded, the elite of academe who by virtue of their self-assumed position of moral superiority presume to impose their values on us, the befuddled, undereducated (in their eyes) non-liberals. Taking them to court, however, is time-consuming and expensive. Frequently the maligned is forced to drop out of school or transfer, once he or she can finds one willing to take him. Public attention and ridicule can be an effective weapon. It worked at the University of Pennsylvania, although the president of the Ivy League school subsequently was rewarded with an influential government commission chairmanship for allowing the persecution of an undergraduate unwise enough to cross swords with some vociferous female students.

What is needed are more efforts like the recent one by UNC. The Intellectual and Academic Freedom Conference, part of the University's Bicentennial celebration, reinforces the conviction there are intelligent people willing to fight the good fight.

Edwin Yoder, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, noted that Duke University Professor Stanley Fish claims that freedom of speech does not automatically extend to some groups. "His redefinition (of freedom of speech) rests on an appeal to high-mindedness: civility or community. The rules must be more inclusive, but on what terms?" asked Yoder, a UNC Distinguished Alumnus. "Traditionally, the more neutral and inclusive, the better for all concerned."

This extends naturally to speech codes, which seek to insulate specified groups or individuals from criticism, debate and challenge. "We must surmount the parochial instinct to exclude a class from the liberties of the open forum," said Yoder, a member of the UNC School of Journalism Hall of Fame. "The tendency is to close down the forum when the unthinkable becomes thinkable.

"The ability to teach, think and talk openly clearly is being challenged. We attune the rules to the sensitivity of a particular group, but do they see the implications of their actions? They are seeking to promote civility by sinking below the standard available to the nation at large. The best answer to a bad argument is a better argument, and the best answer to incivility is a higher level of civility."

A 1993 study by the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center -- conducted by UNC graduate student Arati Korwar -- showed that 36 percent of public colleges and universities surveyed have rules punishing "verbal abuse based on membership in specific groups," rules that likely are unconstitutional, and 47 percent prohibit lewd, indecent or profane speech, another category protected by the First Amendment.

These rules quickly become a problem when the nature of the self-appointed cognoscente is considered. University of Wisconsin law professor Gordon Baldwin assessed them accurately: "The rules will be administered by regular, ordinary people -- sometimes rather stupid people -- deans, professors and dorm counselors who have their own peculiarities, prejudices and goals."

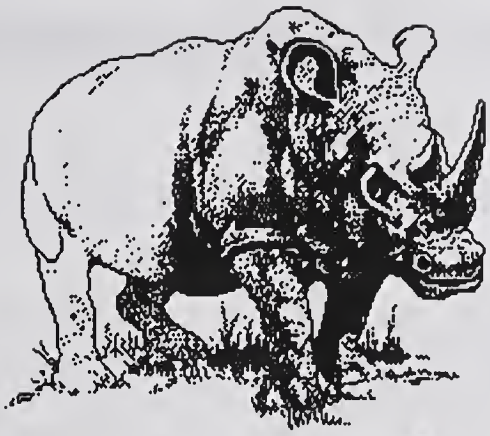
All is not lost. Baldwin pointed out that "free speech versus civility can be dispensed at modern universities.... The university should be a place of ferment, ideas, adversity."

Lest anyone think speech codes are proper and objection to them is unfounded, reactionary or right-wing, consider the words of William Van Alstyne, law professor at Duke University: "The inspiration for dampening campus conversation is coming from within. It's also coming from the federal government. There are statutes proscribing discrimination that seek to establish an environment where one should not feel less confident, proscribing a discriminatory, offensive environment. This is apace with the worldwide bounty on the life of Salman Rushdie.

"One needs to hear these expressions of rage. They provide a social utility. When students confront the issue later, they will know how to respond, and it will be because the university did not treat them as inferiors and hermetically seal off the campus."

Students who are allowed and encouraged to think, to speak, to respond, to debate will be better citizens. Their egos will be bruised along the way, their feelings will be hurt, their tempers will rise, but they will be forced to participate and will experience the rush of freedom. If they are not driven underground, they will be forced to defend their positions, their actions and their words. Their thoughts and ideas will compete for acceptance with the thoughts and ideas of others.

It will be a healthy exercise. It's called democracy.



GRAZING PAGES

A dietary supplement to The Critic
provided by Craig Hendrix and Greg Konig

Craig Hendrix is a senior philosophy and history major.
Greg Konig is a senior philosophy major. Both are
senior editors of The Critic.

Note: The following piece was cut short in the December 1993 issue. We apologize to Craig and Greg and hope that reprinting their piece appeases them.

The Editors

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE HOUSEKEEPERS

Now that the UNC Housekeepers Association has threatened to a lead a strike of the University's housekeepers, we thought it would be interesting to see what claims of social injustice they were asserting this time. As it turns out, they have presented Chancellor Paul Hardin with a list of grievances and demands that must be met, or else. Or else, they will lead a strike of UNC housekeepers. Or, they might take advantage of the sick-day benefits that the state presently gives them and go home for a couple weeks.

Their most symbolic demand is that Hardin sign a petition that recognizes the HKA Steering Committee as the official representative body of the University's housekeepers. In other words, they are pressing Hardin to autocratically decree that an oligarchical group within the HKA as being the official activist group of the UNC Housekeepers. Notice the twisting of the meaning of "representative." It's not 'representative" we speak of as a democratically elected body of officials who represent, or sit in place of, a larger body of citizens. Rather, its "representative" as in 'our interests are the same as those of all housekeepers; therefore, we represent their views before the public.' Translated, that means 'all housekeepers would like more money (wouldn't everyone?); we want more money, too; therefore, we will represent you before the public.' And aren't' these democratic socialists the same sorts of people who denounce the 1980's as the decade of greed?

Despite this ridiculous demand, there is another that bleeds of even more gall. The HKA is demanding that the University, who was recently victorious in a law suit brought on by the HKA, file a joint motion with the Court of Appeals to speed up the HKA's appeal of the decision. Why would the party of the defense, the University, want to help out the party that is suing them, namely the HKA? Get real.

One additional demand called for the elimination of the turkey distribution to housekeepers as a Christmas gift. The turkeys were given out by the Carolina Campus Cares organization, who only wanted to "contribute to the holiday spirit" with their act of charity. Instead of recognizing the CCC's benevolence, the HKA is calling the gifts "patronizing;" i.e., a ten-dollar turkey isn't enough--we want a cash bonus!

We've heard enough of this bitching. It's time the University took serious measures to settle these disputes. We recommend they look to the precedent they set a couple decades ago when the Lenior Dining Hall workers went on strike to protest low wages in 1969. The governor broke the strike by calling in the National Guard. But force did not end the problems. In 1971, the University ended all grievances with the workers once and for all by contracting the dining services to a private company. Free market solution? We think so.

The University should take bids from private janitorial firms for the University contract. The contract would stipulate that the University's present housekeepers would receive special consideration in the firm's hiring of housekeepers to fill the contract. If any grievances arose in the future, they would be settled by the firm and its employees (we hope they would be non-union, but that's highly unlikely). If the workers went on strike, then either the company would quickly negotiate a settlement so that the University housekeeping services were not neglected, or they would replace the striking workers, or the University would replace the firm with a new one. And thousands of dollars of tax revenue would be saved from years of litigation and appeasement.

PUBLIC EMBARRASSMENT

At a march celebrating Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, LaVonda Burnette, the newly elected and controversial Chapel Hill-Carrboro Board of Education member, was quoted by the Daily Tar Heel as saying, "The mistake I made was made by LaVonda Burnette. It wasn't a black mistake, it wasn't a white mistake. It was a LaVonda Burnette mistake." This isn't just a fine example of the rhetorical use of repetition by one of the area's most progressive politicians; Burnette is focusing on the irrelevant topic of "not making an issue out of race" in order to avoid facing the utter humiliation that strikes normal people when they have, by lying, lost much of the voting public's trust and respect.

NAACP spokesman Rev. Gene Hatley said, "...we believe these actions are unethical, immoral, and disreputable." But criticism of Burnette was not forthcoming; he was actually condemning the discussion of possible replacements for her by the rest of the board. Burnette and her supporters must have in mind some sort of program for diversity in ethics, or some multicultural moral standards. It is just too appropriate that Doug Ferguson defends her as a motivated activist/ oppressed victim. (Incidentally, that is how he used to portray himself every week in the Daily Tar Heel.) Burnette persists in her position because she and her supporters have "pushed the race button"-- a hot political weapon in liberal Chapel Hill- Carrboro. Her unwillingness to resign in the face of overwhelming public embarrassment leads one to speculate why her motives for serving are so personal: is public office the appropriate place to "prove yourself"?

Most politicians base their self- esteem on what the mass public thinks of them; it's a job requirement to give a damn about the herd and how they might react to your floundering. Burnette amply demonstrates the excesses of this all too pervasive attitude.

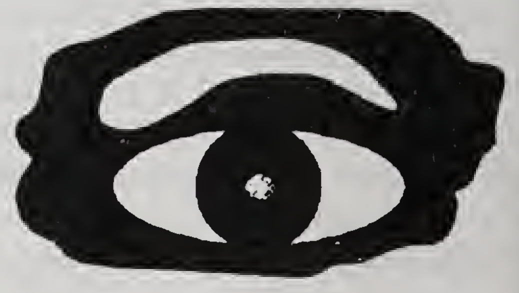
EQUALITY AND MEDIOCRITY

The use of affirmative action in college admissions and hiring practices has lowered the entry barriers that non-whites and women had traditionally struggled to break. Yet, it has been suggested that there is something fundamentally wrong with a student body that has x% women/minorities and a faculty that has much less than x% women/minorities, or, with a society that has a roughly equal ration of men to women but whose corporations only have a handful of female CEO's. Some believe that institutional racism/sexism is responsible. Because there is a significant disproportion in the percentages with respect to gender and racial differences, it must be because society has intentionally chosen the racial and gender difference as an important factor in performance. The fact that we have a history of social inequalities in which racial and gender differences were the deciding factor is used in support of this claim. Thus, they conclude, that we only have a few women or blacks in prestigious positions is discriminatory and must end. We must place considerations of merit on the back-burner and pick out a few beans so that the number of female professors is proportionate with the number of female students, and so forth. Otherwise, we will never break the cycle and women and minorities will be relegated to mediocrity.

We politely dismiss this explanation of the problem and this proposed solution. Our history of social inequalities should serve as our explanation of why there are so few women and minorities in certain positions, but not in the same way some would have us to believe. This history of discrimination tells us that until the changes in social attitudes that began with the civil rights movements in the 1960's, and which are still (and always will be) developing, there were very few women and minorities who had the opportunity go to college or gain quality managerial experience. If until twenty-five or thirty years ago there only a few women and minorities in these positions, then how can we expect there to be a large pool of women and minorities qualified to serve in these roles? Perhaps there is something intuitively askew with the disproportions we see, but are there qualified women and minorities to fill the positions?

It does seem wrong for a history department to have dozens of faculty members, but only a couple who are female or are non-white. But how many female or non-white persons are there that meet the qualifications? The candidate must have a doctorate in history, and if one seeks more than an entry level position, one must also have experience in the field. Thus, the pool of candidates consists of persons who are either so old that they went to school at a time when women and minorities were not generally admitted, or they do not have the necessary experience to qualify. The problem is further complicated by the recent rise of multiculturalism. Many of the women and minorities who have obtained doctorates in history since the 1960's have been lured into other departments, such as women's studies or African-American studies. You probably know several women who are women's studies majors, but how many female friends do you have that are majoring in history? In medieval history? How then, can we expect to find even a few women qualified to teach medieval history?

This pattern applies to prestigious vocations throughout society. Why are there very few females or minorities who are chancellors or hold executive management positions? Because there are very few females or minorities who are both old enough to have the necessary experience and who also managed to obtain this education and experience at a time when this was not generally possible considering the social attitudes of the period. Now that women and minorities are able to gain this education and experience, we will gradually see an increase in the number of prestigious positions they hold. There is no need to hinder the natural evolution of society and empower women and minorities through affirmative action hiring. This is the quickest route to mediocrity.



By Mark Moore, a graduate student in the school of Journalism and Mass Communication

The Spiritual Nature of the Culture War

"Conservatives" have made a dangerous mistake by concentrating on a political struggle with "liberals" for the direction of American society. The fate not just of American society but of the entire world depends on the struggle being fought for American culture. America is at a crossroads, and the direction we take as a society depends on whose vision of reality prevails.

The culture war that many social conservatives, particularly Pat Buchanan, William Bennett, Pat Robertson, Robert Bork and Thomas Sowell, have been talking about for the last couple of years is essentially a struggle between antagonistic visions of reality. And though on one level those visions are as varied as the individuals that make up our society, on another level, the essential struggle is between visions based on nihilism (or ultimate nothingness) and transcendence (or eternal meaning). Nihilism in the sense used here is the belief that all truth is produced by the human mind, and when the mind ceases to exist, truth ceases to exist. Transcendence, here, involves the belief that a higher source of truth exists outside and independent of the human mind.

The passage of laws and the election of presidents and legislators have only a minimal impact on how reality is defined in a democratic society. Political action tends o follow from a commonly accepted reality ather than create that reality. Social reality s the result of cultural processes that include government but also include much more complex and subtle interaction among people that defies empirical analysis. Social cientists, for instance, are out of their eague when it comes to understanding ulture.

Social reality changes over time as a esult of the impact that individuals' new deas have on culture, despite claims to the ontrary by many left-wing social scientists who believe reality is defined by economic, olitical or technological conditions. The istorted perception of left-wing social cientists, who have even influenced the hought of many on the right, results from heir common philosophical belief that ranscendent truths are illusory. They deny piritual reality and are left only with the aterial world. Thought is spiritual action, and its importance can be understood and appreciated only in the context of its spiritual significance.

Ideas must be communicated to be effective and can be communicated most powerfully through the arts, the media and education. These cultural institutions are far more important than government in communicating a vision of reality, and it is in those areas that conservatives should be concentrating their efforts if they wish to win the hearts and minds of the American people. Politics is the realm of power and force. Culture is the realm of persuasion and truth.

Churches are the only institutions left outside the clutches of a nihilistic cultural elite
CRITIC PHOTO BY MATTHEW SCOTT

In A Conflict of Visions, Thomas Sowell describes the differing realities people live by as intuitive "visions," which differ from rational interests and ideologies. "Visions may be moral, political, economic, religious or social," Sowell writes. "Where visions conflict irreconcilably, whole societies may be torn apart. Conflicts of interest dominate in the short run, but conflicts of visions dominate history."

The major conflict of visions facing America today involves a combination of moral, political, economic, religious and social visions divided into two pervasive world views: the nihilistic and the transcendent. The culture war that is being fought today is on as great a scale as the competing visions of Christianity and paganism in Roman times, and the 20th century's struggle between totalitarianism and democracy. The nature of the current struggle is not one of violent conflict, however, but of internal spiritual and psychological strain.,

Pat Buchanan horrified many on the left and the center at the 1992 Republican National Convention when he declared that America is in the midst of a cultural and religious war. Worse yet, he called on the majority in America to wake up and fight for their beliefs in God and Truth that are being undermined by a small, but insidiously powerful, secular, liberal "cultural elite." The news media immediately went into damage control mode to prevent Buchanan's message from having its intended effect. Media commentators went for the jugular of one of their own for communicating to the public that which the media establishment attempts to hide behind a veil of ignorance and disinterestedness. Character assassination is the preferred method of the cultural establishment when a rebel with the truth gets out of hand. Buchanan was vilified as an irresponsible, misanthropic fascist demagogue filled with hatred and bile, as if he were an American Zhirinovsky. The substance of his message was ignored with scorn as if irrelevant. But the worldly sophisticated, highly intelligent Buchanan was actually sacrificing himself politically for the sake of his message.

America, however, is experiencing a spiritual civil war of unprecedented proportions, as most members of the "cultural elite" are aware, since they are the ones who started it. Buchanan was not the first one to voice the message that a cultural war had begun and was in full force, but he was the first politician to speak about it in such clear terms.

University of Virginia sociology professor James Davison Hunter made the same point as the scandalous, "right-wing" Buchanan over two years earlier in an article in the Spring 1990 issue of the Brookings Review, which was later expanded into a book published the next year titled Culture Wars.

Hunter sees a fundamental cultural divide in contemporary America between those with "progressivist" and "orthodox" cultural orientations. The "progressivists" ground their belief systems on autonomous human reason, which means that they believe that the human mind is the beginning and end of all truth. The "orthodox" appeal to a transcendent order for enlightenment beyond that which the mind can supply. The primary cultural conflict, then, to Hunter, is a religious one of "competing moral visions" between those whose truth emanates from God and those whose truth emanates from the human mind.

If Hunter is correct, a very interesting consequence follows: not all "conservatives" are "orthodox" and not all "liberals" are "progressivists." This means that many political liberals and conservatives who currently oppose one another should in fact be helping one another in the culture war. Likewise, many of those allied together in the "conservative" and "liberal" camps are in reality philosophical enemies.

"Cultural conflict is about power - a struggle to achieve or maintain the power to define reality," Hunter says. With the exception of the churches, "progressivists" control all the major cultural institutions, especially "the 'reality-defining' mechanisms of contemporary American society." "The entertainment, news, and political media and the educational establishment, ... and the so-called helping professions, [law, medicine, counseling, etc.] are demonstrably anti-orthodox," Hunter says. "The very ethos of the modern state is unsupportive of a broad cultural system rooted in, legitimated by, and promoting (through public policy) a commitment to transcendent ideals." The "progressivists," therefore, have the advantage of social position in the culture war, for they are the cultural establishment. They are the elite not because they have superior ability, but because they have seized the power of our cultural institutions.

Hunter explains the effect of the established cultural elite on the public: "While ordinary people participate in the construction of their own private worlds, the development and articulation of the more elaborate systems of meaning, including the realm of public culture, falls almost always to the elites. They are the ones who create the concepts, supply the language, and explicate the logic of public discussion. "

The "elite" who dominate American cultural institutions (including universities) are essentially nihilists, though they would passionately deny such a description. The two nihilistic philosophical extremes, left-wing, socialistic materialists of Marxist orientation and atheistic existentialists of Nietzschean lineage, do not consider themselves nihilists. However, they sneer at the vision of a transcendent reality, which leaves them with nothing but the ephemeral workings of their own mind.

These "cultural elite" find their inspiration from and mimic the prophets of the absurd, such as Marx, Nietzsche, Fellini, Bergman, Camus, Sartre and Beckett, who the American public usually ignore. They believe that the greatness of their thought will lead us on to a glorious new age, where meaning in life will emanate from them. Hail the new gods. But whenever they express their visions, they are filled with the darkness and the emptiness of the void they worship.

The terrifying fear that life is meaningless lurks somewhere within everyone's soul. For some, the fear remains forever within their subconscious, appearing only momentarily in sleep-shattering nightmares. Others confront the fear in full consciousness, are awed and overwhelmed by it, and bow down and worship it.

Nietzsche elevated to godhood those few "higher men" who look into the great void of meaninglessness and yet courageously live on to create their own meaning in a world ruled by the weak and deluded masses who believe in the empty lies of religion. Marx predicted society must eventually be organized on the great truth of ultimate meaninglessness, that there is no God or transcendent reality. Lenin and Mao attempted to force the dark, bleak vision on unwilling millions and ended up murdering them instead. But only now are we in America beginning to see the fulfillment of the prophecies of the nihilistic visionaries revered by the cultural establishment.

Desperation pervades American society. From the hopelessness of the poor in inner cities to the economic worries of mind-dead, materialistic suburbia, the once-characteristic American confidence in a brighter future has been shaken. A cloud of darkness and a sense of foreboding have entered the land.

Depression afflicts millions who silently suffer. For many, the agony becomes so intense, they die spiritually and mentally long before their physical death, succumbing to negative forces and wasting their abilities. When meaning and purpose in life vanish, desperation sets in. If a sense of meaning and purpose cannot be regained, mind and spirit disintegrate.

Enter the "progressivist" cultural elite to save us from social breakdown. They are not saviors, however. They are destroyers. They attempt to take what little hope, faith and sense of purpose people have away from them.

Self-proclaimed "liberal" Stephen Carter, in The Culture of Disbelief, speaks of the disdain America's intellectual, economic and political elite shows toward any type of religious belief. Carter explains that they are out of step with the vast majority of Americans, whether Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal, black or white, rich or poor, who claim some awareness of a transcendent order.

But as James Davison Hunter writes in Culture Wars, the anti-transcendent "progressivists" dominate our cultural, "reality-defining institutions," such as the media, the arts, education and government. Their influence, therefore, is greatly magnified far beyond their numbers in society. Because the "progressivists" control our reality-defining institutions, they have the power to elevate in the view of the public those who agree with themselves and disparage those they oppose. But despite the arrogance of the cultural establishment, it can never succeed in redefining truth. Truth is beyond their grasp, and there will always be individuals who see it as it is and refuse to conform to the insane dream world the establishment has created.

An example of the "progressivists'" influence on our culture is how the literary establishment praises writers who tell deconstructionists, Marxists, feminists and existentialists what they want to hear. The primarily pessimistic, cynical, inane and absurdist fiction and poetry pushed by the publishing conglomerates and literary journals are read by countless millions, who think they are reading good literature because the cultural establishment told them so. In spite of the literary establishment's condescending critiques, some writers with a transcendent vision have still succeeded in the marketplace, such as Ken Kesey, Larry McMurtry and the woefully misunderstood and ill-fated Jack Kerouac.

Truly sensitive human beings feel unbearable pain and agony at the thought of the meaninglessness of life, but the dead souls of the cultural establishment glory in their insensitivity, which they call intellectual strength. The effect of their vision is to create a Kafkaesque world ruled by narrow-minded, egotistical, legalistic organization men who murder or drive to madness the

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Music and movie reviews
from The Critic
by Matt Scott
and Tadd Wilson

Rock *&Reel*

Cracker

"Kerosene Hat"
Virgin Records/
1993

The first thought that strikes you when you hear Cracker's "Kerosene Hat" is that it sounds an awful lot like Screaming Trees, but halfway unplugged. The second thought that strikes you is that Screaming Trees would have done better. Actually, there are a few tunes from "Kerosene Hat" that manage to jam a little, notably the first track "Low." However, "Low" is about the only track that manages to rock. With few exceptions, the remaining fourteen selections comprise an enormous crash from a less than ecstatic high.

The recipe for the title track "Kerosene Hat" is simple: one Tom Petty imitation, one acoustic guitar, and a generous helping of lyrical prattle so senseless that Kurt Colbain would be jealous. Objectively, it is not the music that undermines Cracker so much as a poorly integrated vocal track of an uninspired vocalist. However, despite all odds, Cracker does manage to put together a few interesting pieces of music: an odd combination of Led Zeppelin and country in "Sweet Potato(e)" (right, Dan?); and a knee-smacking hoedown in "Lonesome Johnny Blues". In "Everything I Want", the vocalist's voice for once blends fluidly with the simple quiet chords of the guitar, resulting in a tune which is musically the best on the album. Finally, in a moment of depression, the music closes with "Loser+", a desperate melody that rivals Trent Reznor's work as the ultimate expression of self-loathing.

In short, if you were going to buy Cracker's "Kerosene Hat" because of the song on the radio, wait for the single.

-Tadd Wilson

Candlebox

"Candlebox"
Sire/ Time
Warner/ 1993

The self-titled debut album by Candlebox begins with something of a novelty: a solid, hard rock tune built around a sturdy, drum-driven rhythm. Nothing fancy, no computer samples, no 140 beats per minute, just a good song. In a surprisingly versatile effort, this California quartet displays a wide variety of influences, ranging from the harsh sweetness of a "Coverale-esque" shout to some vocal work on no sense that is strangely akin to Drivin'n' Cryin'. As diverse as the influences present in the music are the rhapsodic changes of mood throughout the album and within each song. The album glides from the anger of "You" to the regretful sorrow of "Far Behind", ending with the acoustic/electric mixed melancholy of "Cover Me" and "He Calls Home".

Reflective of the album's diversity is the wide range of musical styles within each song. Jazz and blues riffs mix with power chords to form a mixture somewhat resembling a highly orchestrated and polished Pearl Jam. Warning: Do not make the mistake of lumping Candlebox with the seething masses of grunge bands. Surprisingly, Candlebox has managed to define an original yet listenable style in the midst of the alternative/ hip-hop wasteland. The rhythms are driving, the guitar work is at once precise and engaging, and the drum track is scrupulously clean and clear, resulting in a production of exemplary musical and technical quality. Candlebox's self-titled debut is an excellent album, one well worth experiencing from start to finish, many times over. In a nutshell: it just sounds good.

-Tadd Wilson

Swervedriver

Cat's Cradle
January 22, 1994

Swervedriver is a band, all the way from rainy England, who came to Chapel Hill on Saturday the 22 of January to play a show at the new Cat's Cradle in Carrboro. They were supported by local acts Vanilla Trainwreck and The Belltower. I was there for the show and, honestly, I was a little disappointed. This disappointment comes most likely from the ideas I had about Swervedriver before going to the show. I had read the countless comparisons to, a personal favorite of mine, My Bloody Valentine, and I guess what I really wanted to see was My Bloody Valentine. Unfortunately, they weren't there. I really don't see where the comparison came from. Anyway, Swervedriver started their set out with an older song, Reel to Real, which I had heard on the radio before, and therefore I liked it. They then played several other songs which sounded remarkably similar to the first. During this time, I was trying to convince a friendly Cat's Cradle employee that I really should be allowed to go into the area to the side of the stage to snap a photo for my article. He wasn't convinced, so I went back to my previous location and listened to the

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Conservative Art

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liberal ideology, which abandons morals in favor of value judgments and character in favor of self-esteem, is easily capable of abandoning artistic standards in favor of therapeutic value or whatever false feel-good philosophy happens to be popular. This type of relativistic ideology dominates the government, the media, the educational world and an increasingly large portion of the American populace, and the liberals' modified view of art fits in comfortably. No absolutes. Whatever you want to make it.

There are liberals and conservatives who understand art, and there are many on both sides who do not understand it. Liberals tend to be guilty of one of two sins on the subject. Some judge the work of art by the message the artist conveys, or simply misjudge the message altogether. The following remarks on Bob Dylan's *Slow Train Coming* by rock critic Dave Marsh in the 1983 *Rolling Stone Record Guide* exemplify both mistakes: "...given the lyrical biases of the initial Christian LP, *Slow Train Coming*, Dylan...seemed to be using religion to front for some newfound right-wing political views...If the songs weren't so utterly devoid of Christian charity, the project might have succeeded; but with Dylan simply ranting ceaselessly about the perils of unbelief, the result is sterile and unsoulful."

Marsh, like many reviewers, completely misinterpreted Dylan's album. *Slow Train Coming* represents Bob Dylan's vision of what is true. The album has little to do with politics and everything to do with Bob Dylan's deeply religious vision. It is interesting that Marsh should attempt to define 'Christain charity' for Bob Dylan, who is a devout Christain. Because Bob Dylan's deeply religious vision is incompatible with or offends Marsh's, Marsh not only misunderstands the album and the artist's intent, but dismisses it altogether.

Other liberals refuse to acknowledge the artist's message and use the artwork to find their own meaning. University English departments have proven themselves particularly adept at ignoring authors' (artists') message and intent. Feminist professors glorify or condemn works of literature based on how the author portrays women. A "good" book, by their flawed standards, portrays women in the proper manner. Deconstructionists assert that biases and forces from without are more important than inspiration from within in shaping an author's work. Modern artistic and literary destroyers share one common lie: that the artist's vision is unimportant. As author and filmmaker Frank Schaeffer observes in his 1990 book *Sham Pearls For Real Swine*: "The feminist, deconstructionist and Marxist interpretations of the arts and humanities...are arrogant attempts to steal from the people of the past their legitimate place in history and their voice...Fundamentalist book-burners use matches and gasoline; feminists, et al., use symposia and journals. They are parasites, living off the very culture they are destroying."

Some conservatives have also been guilty of misinterpreting art, and, unfortunately for conservatives' image, the media and the academic establishment haven't wasted any time pointing out their mistakes. Among the most notable artistic rogues of the right are book-banners, who, often in complete ignorance of a work's larger message, condemn books for the use of profanity or some other absurd reason.

Miscreants aside, art is extremely important to the development of character in the individual. When we learn to appreciate artists who are honest and genuine, we learn to appreciate those qualities in other individuals. Similarly, when we appreciate artists with depth, we see depth as a desirable quality to be emulated. As Schaeffer observes: "Great art, while challenging our ideas, often restrains man's rapacity and sinful tendency toward chaos and destruction; it assists in creating societies that know their worth...The arts create a climate in which ideas concerning mankind's meaning can be discussed."

Art, then, can be used as a tool for the regeneration of America's individuals. Conservatives should encourage the appreciation of real art for the deeper understanding of humanity, and to instill a sense of worth in America's individuals. We should let people know there is something more personally important and worthwhile than politics and careers, beyond mini-worlds they have constructed around themselves.

Many conservatives of today have bought into the grand illusion that art belongs to liberals. This misconception stems from the false image of the arts that liberals have concocted in the press and in the classroom. Conservatives can reclaim credibility in the artistic world in several ways. First, we can take it upon ourselves to learn the difference between art and entertainment, and learn to be entertained by art. Second, we can encourage others to do the same. Third, we can enter the artistic world with our own visions. It's time for us to wake up.

Culture War

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

most sensitive among us who cannot function in a world without meaning.

The primary purpose of culture is to add to the realization of meaning in life from which a society can improve itself. The barbarians who have invaded our cultural institutions and have set themselves up as the cultural establishment seek to prove that no transcendent meaning in life exists. Although they have won many converts, so far they have succeeded only in throwing America into massive confusion and conflict.

Nihilism is always self-destructive, whether to the body, mind or soul. A society founded upon a shared nihilistic vision is a suicidal society. If sanity and peace of mind are to return to America, the dark, nihilistic cynicism of the cultural establishment must be overcome by a new, enlightened idealism generated by a passionate desire for transcendent meaning in life, a rejection of materialism and a willingness to sacrifice for one's beliefs. All that is good, all that is beautiful and all that is true must once again be commonly accepted as worthy of admiration and reverence. Only those who perceive the transcendent reality of life can bring about a revitalization of American culture. Without this revitalization, political struggles are meaningless.

Deconstructionism

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

eaceful interaction of individuals, and the wholesale removal of all constructions must nevitably end social anarchy. Thus, the onstant reevaluation of society must be balanced between the extremes of chaos and stagnation. Social constructions must evolve n light of the expansion of human experience and knowledge. However, while enlightened change is a necessary result of his social evolution, change merely for the sake of change is a haphazard abandonment of thousands of years not only tradition but rogress.

There is a paradox to be found in the bandonment of progress. Any intellectual ndeavor, including the examination of ociety, requires a certain amount of leisure s well as a provision of basic needs. raditional family values, education and ocial structures provided the opportunity for his contemplation by organizing society and aising an increasingly growing number of eople above the level of mindless, physical abor. Even though the strict institutionalization of traditional constructions contributed o the oppression of those who did not or ould not conform, such constructions were ecessary to bring society to a point where elf-examination was possible. While the ppressive aspects of traditional culture hould be eliminated with all reasonable peed, the essential foundations of a society annot be removed without dangerous repercussions. Thus, traditional family values annot be categorically eliminated without hreatening the basis of the society which llows self-examination. While new insights nto morality and ethics may alter certain raditional values, the nihilistic discarding of ll family values cannot help but to undermine society along with any hopes for a olid foundation to build upon.

Ultimately, for the enlightened and isionary intellectual, deconstructionism is a oth a tool for constant examination of the onstructions of a society and a means of reserving the essential advances that have lready been made. For the irresponsible and yopic radicals, deconstructionism is a isguided justification for the rejection of ot only free speech and traditional values ut also for the betrayal of centuries of ocial progress.

State of the Union

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

communities through a "Community Empowerment Agenda" and guaranteed bank loans.

Despite pledges of federal support, President Clinton also noted that the problem "goes beyond government," and he urged citizens to become involved in churches and other organizations aimed at revitalizing their own communities. Clinton once again urged a return to family values, saying "governments don't raise children, parents do." After years of debunking traditional morality, work and responsibility, Democratic figureheads have turned to the values that Conservatives have consistently advocated: the very values that our country was founded upon. However, as usual, the Liberal rhetoric has been undermined by reality.

While getting "tough on crime," Clinton and the Democrats have cut the Federal Prison Budget by 20 percent, and the Drug Czar's office funding by 94 percent, all in the name of redefining government.

In the final estimation, President Clinton's State of the Union Address was simply a lot of words (over 6000) and very little appreciable substance. Despite a return to the rhetoric of traditional values, responsibility, and concrete progress, Clinton's own actions demonstrate that his apparent dedication to these principles is less than sincere.

What is the State of the Union? To answer that, President Bill Clinton had the right words, but the wrong actions.

At least the right speech was in the TelePrompTer.

Swervedriver

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

fifth and last song from Swervedriver. Ah, so that's where the comparison comes from. The last song sounded just as monotonous, but was a definite change from the first four. Monotony is not bad, when it is done right. The last song was a good step towards changing my first opinion of Swervedriver, but then the band left the stage and the concert was over. I left the concert to the sound of several other people saying, "Hey, they only played five songs!" I probably wouldn't attend another Swervedriver concert, but don't listen to me. Maybe you should buy their new CD, "Mezcal Head", just to see if it appeals to you.

-Matt Scott

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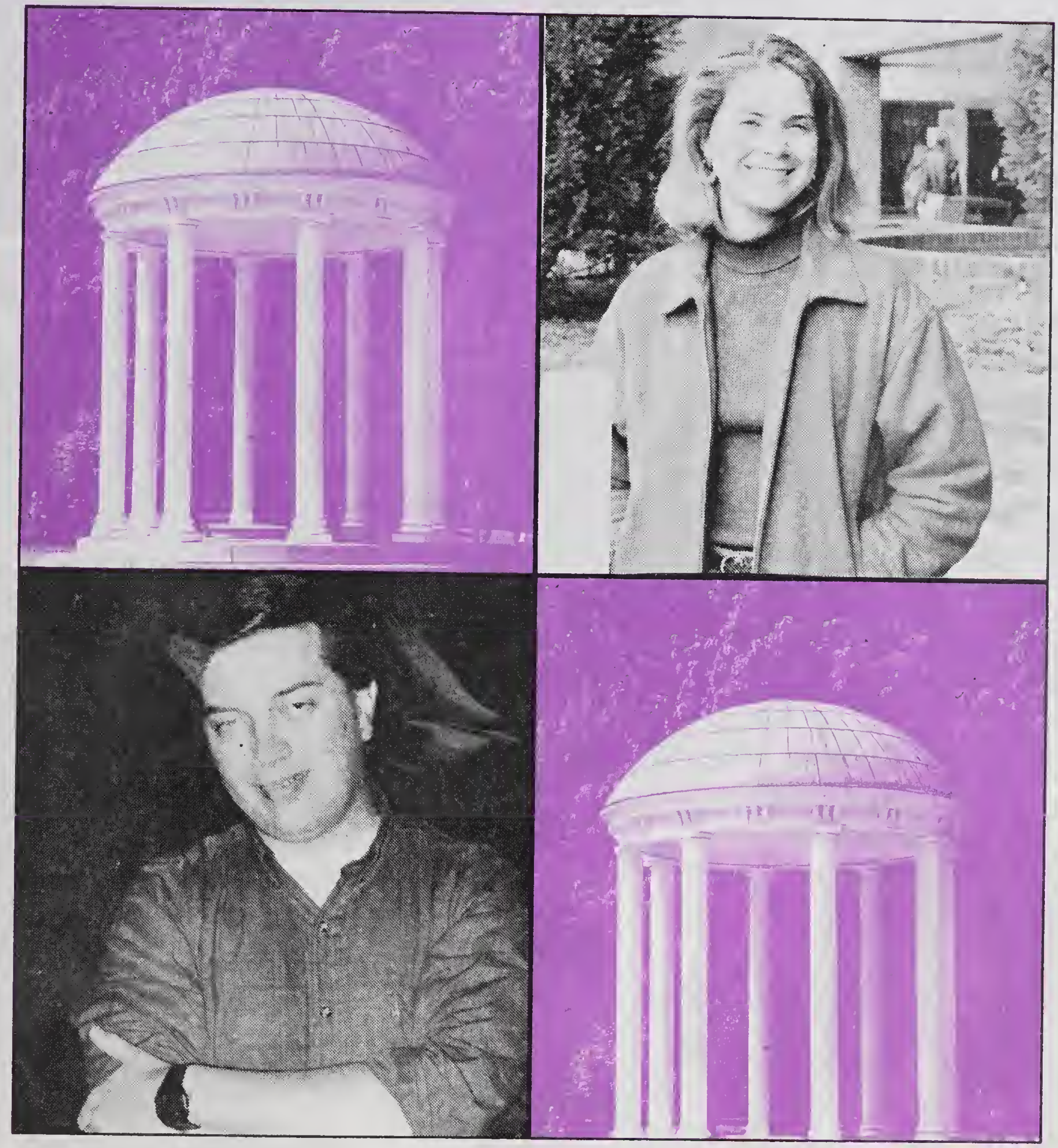

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A look inside new campus factions

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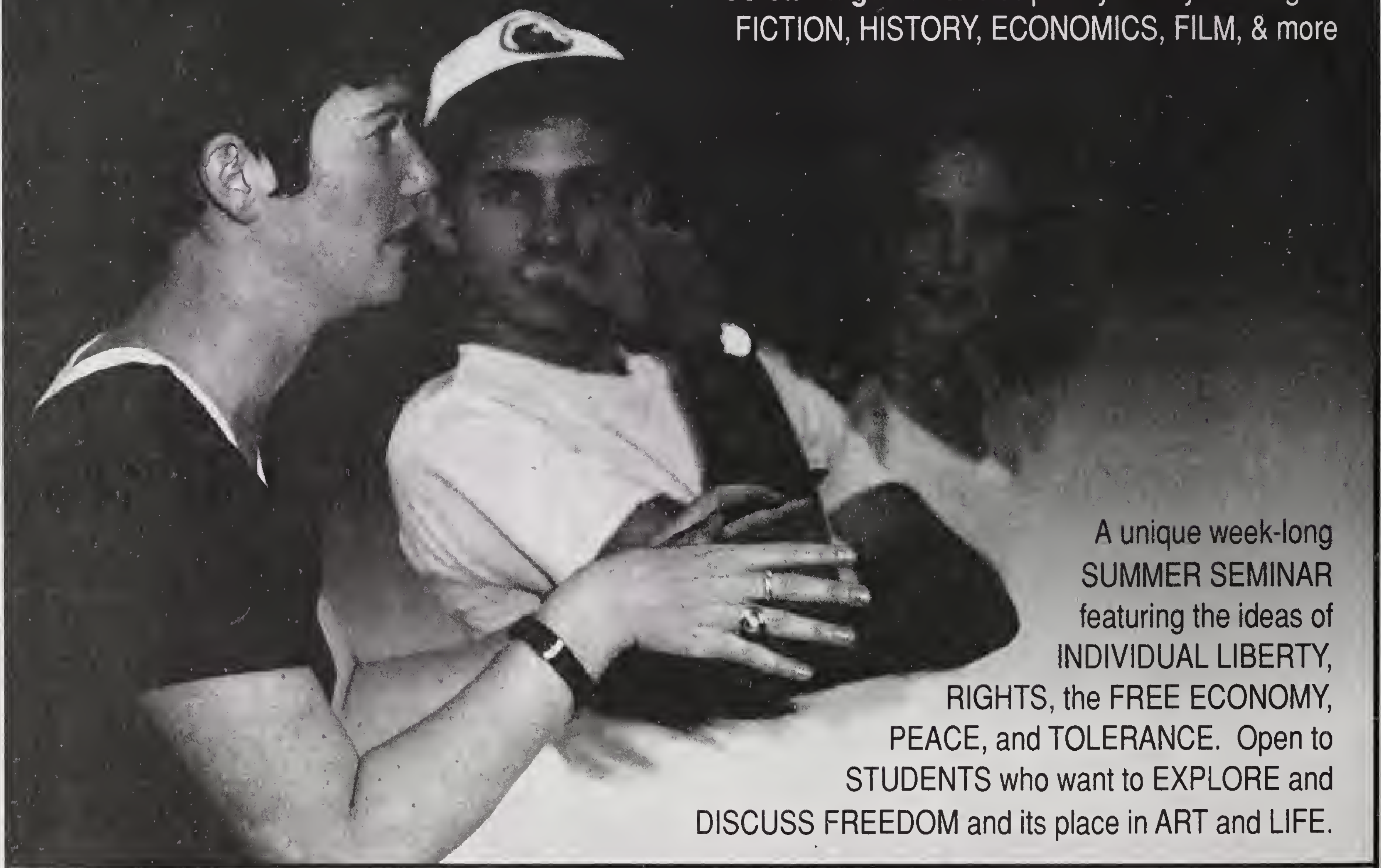

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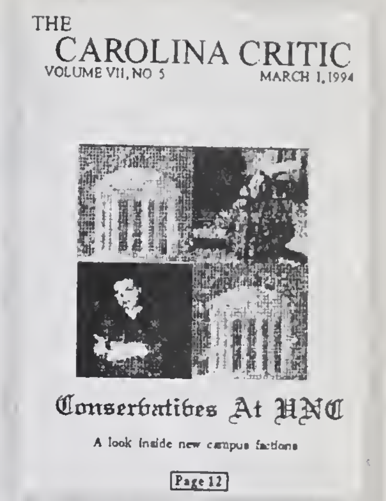

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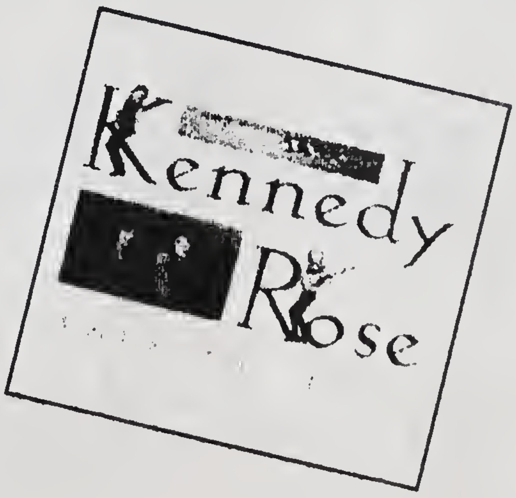

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THE
CAROLINA CRITIC
A student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VII, No. 5

THE CRITICAL EYE

◉ Congratulations, students. You need no longer worry, Marriot will continue to serve those tasty kangaroo burgers thanks to contract renewal. Look for a few new dishes to be submitted for your approval in the coming weeks. They include:

-Old Duke Stew (made from actual dogs named Duke)

-Grant Hill Soup (You'll choke on it every time)

-Quartz bagels (This is a variation of the old favorite brick bagels)

-NC State surprise (It just sucks no matter what)

-Bill Clinton Fries (This is a favorite of leftist faculty, they look OK but taste like crap and will kill you within four years)

-Bend Over Waffles (The administration just loves these)

◉ From *Reason*:

Social workers in Canton, Ohio, took Raymond McIntosh's four daughters away from him because the girls had cavities. Charging McIntosh with abuse for neglecting his daughters' teeth, social workers returned the girls when dad produced dental records proving they visited the dentist regularly.

◉ An Alabama man pleaded guilty to charges of trying to eliminate the Alabama red-bellied turtle from the wild. He had hoped to get rid of the turtles and then receive federal grant money so he could reintroduce the species.

◉ Much like fearful Northwestern landowners who when discovering spotted owls on their property quickly shoot the birds before federal officials have time to discover their presence. Left-wing environmental policy triumphs again.

◉ Quoting Florence King:

The Constitution as written and intended no longer exists, so I can't very well support it. I would fight to restore it, to wrest it from the clutches of those ACLU types who are using it as a cover for their collectivist-egalitarian agenda.

◉ I'm for prayer in the schools because ritual and ceremony are calming and civilizing, and the little fartlings should be tamped down whenever possible. I am against sex ed in schools because sex is more fun when it's dirty and sinful.

◉ I didn't masturbate until I was seventeen-find the man who can say that.

◉ Creative semantics is the key to contemporary government; it consists of talking in strange tongues lest the public learn the inevitable inconveniently early.

-George Will

◉ One popular new plastic surgery technique is called lipgrafting, or "fat recycling," wherein fat cells are removed from one part of your body that is too large, such as your buttocks, and injected into your lips; people will then be literally kissing your ass.

◉ No one likes lawyers, so why would you deliberately set out to be one? It's like saying, "I'm going to be a leper when I grow up."

◉ It's a challenge for most Americans to visit Miami because it's bilingual. I still don't know what the other language is besides Spanish.

-Dave Barry

◉ Margo Kaufman on sports:

I'm sort of fascinated by trash sports, like tractor pulling or dwarf tossing. Are people really that bored? There's cat chasing, where sky divers throw the cat out of the plane and try to catch it.

Percentage of Americans who are in a good mood every day: 2

Average number of days each year that an American is in a bad mood: 110

Percentage of Americans who say they ove doing their taxes: 2

Number of square feet of lawn in the U.S. for every American: 5

Price of 10 pencils made from “recycled wigs” from the Nature Company: $39.95

Number of people murdered in U.S. family courts during the last year: 8

Percentage change, since 1991, in the circulation of *Women and Guns* magazine: +50

Chances that a viewer of an Amy Fisher TV movie could cite a reason for the war in Bosnia: 1 in 5

Percentage of Americans who say they use prayer as a form of health care: 25

Number of times Drew Barrymore says she has been “to hell and back”: 1

Ratio of the number of thumbs up given last year by Gene Siskel to the number given by Roger Ebert: 4 to 5

Source:
Harper Index

The baby boom is rapidly turning into the
nescence Swell. Those of us born between
46 and 1964 constitute one third of the
al U.S. population. And we’re already
rse than our parents. We’re the most vapid,
ew-noodled, grabby and self-infatuated
neration in history. Imagine what we’ll be
e in forty years, wearing roller skates in
walkers, going to see Suzanne Vega in
antic City, grumbling that our heart-lung
chines have gone condo, and buying Ralph
uren cashmere colostomy bags.

-PJ O’Rourke

APHORISMS

Such is the human race, often it seems a pity that Noah didn’t miss the boat.

-Mark Twain

The very ink with which history is written is merely fluid prejudice.

-Mark Twain

Everyone would like to behave like a pagan, with everyone else behaving like a Christian

-Albert Camus

Jesse Jackson is a man of the clothe. Cashmere.

-Mort Sahl

She loves nature in spite of what it did to her.

-Bette Midler on Princess Anne

A wedding is just like a funeral except that you get to smell your own flowers.

-Grace Hansen

The difference between a violin and a viola is that a viola burns longer.

-Victor Borge

When [Phillis Diller] started to play, Steinway himself came down and rubbed his name off the piano.

-Bob Hope

We need a president who is fluent in at least one language.

-Buck Henry

They have Easter egg hunts in Philadelphia, and if the kids don’t find the eggs they get booed.

-Bob Uecker

A narcissist is someone better looking than you are.

-Gore Vidal

Letters to the editor are accepted. The letter must be signed, with your year and major listed. Length is not a factor in whether it will be printed. Please send your letter to:

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Conformity

By Kevin Whiteacre

Campus Conformity: An Open Door Policy

While going to your next class today, keep your eyes open for some of the classic cases of campus conformity. This article will help point out some of the more persistent examples. Foremost of all the conformity cases is the "Double Door Crisis". Whether the doors open to the library or the dining hall, all students will use only one side of the double doors completely ignoring its partner. Immediately after class hundreds of students file through one particular side of the double doors. The sudden influx of students causes a traffic jam in the doorway. Many students will accept this congestion instead of going through the other door. Why is this so?

Some may argue that everyone uses the same door because it has already been conveniently opened by students in front. One can clearly see, however, that students continue to use just one door even after congestion eliminates any remnants of convenience. The reasons for this door dilemma are not known for sure, but rest assured conformity is the main culprit. Fear of embarrassment plays a key role in conformity. No one wants to jump out of line only to slam face first into a locked door. Another reason for conformity is that we want to see the world as others do. If no one else is using the door on the left then they must know something we do not. Perhaps they already saw someone try other door and it was locked, or maybe you are supposed to enter through the right side and exit through the left. Who are you to question all the people stuck in the one doorway?

Fortunately, an occasional dissenter does question the masses and opens the other door allowing the crowd to exit smoothly through the fully open double doors. Once this independent individual has successfully opened an alternative door, others are willing to use both sides.

Turning in exams represents a second example of campus conformity. Anyone who has ever taken an exam has witnessed the "Exam Return Trend". Immediately after the first student has turned in his or her exam, several more students turn in theirs. It is not probable tha this group of students finished their exams simultaneously; rather, it is more likely that they waited for someone else to turn in their exam first. Students who finish the exam before everyone else tend to question themselves. After looking up to see everyone else still hard at work on their exams, the student will uncomfortably look back over the test to make sure no essay question were missed, even if it was a multiple choic test. Double checking and a feeling of awkwardness result from the individual's need to be like others.

The dissenter effect manifests itself once again in this example. When the first dissenter stands up and takes his or her exan to the front of the room others realize they are not the only ones finished with their exams. The pressure of forgetting questions is lifted and everyone feels free to leave at their convenience.

The final and perhaps the most costly (about $7 million) example of conformity is the tendency to unquestioningly accept many of the arguments for the B.C.C.. Some supporters of the B.C.C. have answered doubts about the center with accusations of close minded racism or ethnic insensitivity. The fear of these labels has prevented some students from engaging in a truthful search for what they believe. Who are they to question others? (See how the metaphors come together) This article does not judge the B.C.C. to be right or wrong, though surely public financing would be quite immoral.

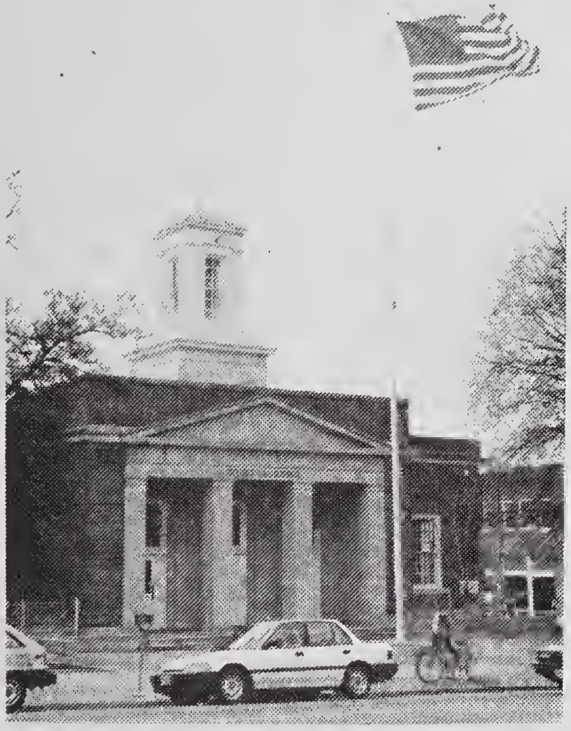
Instead, it challenges each student to ge informed on this and any other issue of such magnitude. The demands started with a cultural center. People conceded. Then a bigger building was demanded. Concession granted again. Then a different site was demanded, and now public financing is being sought. $7 million will purchase quit a few computers or scholarships. This is toc important to let others decide. Take a step through the other door.

By Wesley Deaton, a junior political science major

The Role of Government, Part I: To Protect Rights

The nature of government and the nation has changed throughout history. In earlier times, a nation was seen as the property of a sovereign, to whom the inhabitants owed allegiance. The purpose of the nation, it was thought, was to support and be ruled by the king or queen. At that time, the highest ideal of the nation was that nation's ruler.

Later, monarchy was supplanted in many countries by the rise of nationalism. At this point, the concept of the nation itself, operating almost as a superorganism, became the object of utmost importance. Hence the 19th century German philosopher Hegel came to believe that the highest pinnacle of reason was the German state. In these countries, citizens were still subject to a ruler, but more importantly, they were under the rule of the nation, to which they owed supreme allegiance.



Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

Government should stick to protecting rights and sell off the postal service

Although the United States certainly has shared in the fervor of nation-worship, its conception suggested the beginnings of a third, more egalitarian notion of nation and government. Thus sparked the beginnings of a belief in the importance of individual rights, and the creed that the individual reigned over the nation.

Citizens of democracies now need to ask a question that has been posed over countless centuries: what is the purpose of a nation and that nation's government?

To decide, let us first construct in our minds an imaginary island, unnamed, ungoverned, but inhabited. For our purposes, let's assume at least a few hundred live there in a society that is currently ungoverned. Do they need government?

Life on the island is pretty simple, and in a good and perfect world, things might have stayed that way. However, human nature being what it is, problems eventually arise. A fisherman steals a farmer's corn. Somebody buys a product that turns out to be faulty. Someone is killed in a fight. The islanders, desiring order, decide to form the rudiments of government - a few police, perhaps a judge.

This, then, is the most basic and necessary role of any government: to protect the rights of its citizens. The government should function as a protector and guarantor of rights. These people do not need a sovereign to revere, nor do they have any desire to construct a nationalistic entity in which to take pride. They need, plain and simply, protection - the protection of their rights. The farmer wants his rights (i.e. the right to his property) protected, most citizens want their right to life protected, and so on.

This island has formed a governmental entity that, although rudimentary, could be called a nation or state. Such an entity is a conglomeration of individuals who have united to form it, and as such it should never rise above those individuals.

If the basic purpose of government is to protect rights, what, then, constitutes a right? There are two basic kinds of rights that any person may have, the first of which is a contractual right, a right obtained through agreement and/or exchange. For example, if a painter charges $50 to paint a room, and I pay him that amount, I have gained a certain right - i.e. the right to have him fulfill his services to me.

In an example given above, one of the islanders' rights that needed protection was the contractual right of the consumer - the person who bought the faulty product. Because this person paid for a product, he or she has the right to expect it to measure up to the expectations for which it was bought.

The second class of rights, more important in the discussion of government, are those which we consider to be "endowed" to us by virtue of our existence. These could be called "human rights" or "inalienable rights." These rights are due us simply because we live. They cannot be involuntarily taken from us, although some may argue that certain rights can be forfeited (e.g. I forfeit my right to life if I commit a capital offense); however, that is out of the scope of this essay.

Furthermore, rights can be individual (e.g. civil rights) or collective (the rights of a church or a corporation). In general, a collective grouping is accorded rights because the individuals within the group have rights.

What endowed rights do we have? I could not write an exhaustive list because there are so many, but I can give a general rule that describes our rights - although there may be some exceptions. In general, however, we should have the right to do anything we want as long as it does not infringe upon the rights of others.

That statement sounds far-reaching, and though it is, it is not all-encompassing; to illustrate this I will give a few examples from the previously mentioned island, which has enacted the principles that I have discussed.

On the island I most certainly have the right to own a firearm, and I have the right to shoot it. However, there are times when my right to use it is overridden by more important rights. I do not have the right to fire it when it is pointed at someone else, because I will violate that person's right to life. I also do not have the right to run

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

Campus Y

By Gabrielle Loperfido, a graduate student in comparative literature

We live in the land of equal opportunity. Or do we?

Recent Campus Y elections provide a wonderful opportunity (equal and open to all) to talk about equal opportunity in the context of women's issues, specifically that of the role of women in public life and leadership positions.

The Campus Y maintains a tradition of co-presidents left over from its days of affiliation with the nation-wide organizations of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. The *Daily Tar Heel* in its editorial of Thursday, February 10, 1994, dismisses this practice out of hand as "antiquated affirmative action." The DTH editorial may be accurate in its description. However, it does not trouble to consider the history, the context and the relevance of the tradition that is maintained at the Campus Y.

The genesis of the institution of co-presidency makes sense when taken within the history and context of the co-existence of the YMCA and the YWCA on campus. Their status as separate groups, as campus chapters of entirely separate national organizations, required, or at least made reasonable, equal representation in joint leadership. Their status as sex-segregated branches of the same organization was coincidental.

Upon breaking their affiliation with the corresponding national organizations (which did not occur simultaneously), and acting as a single campus group in the form of the Campus Y, the rationale for co-presidents (one female and one male) as well as co-treasurers, disappeared.

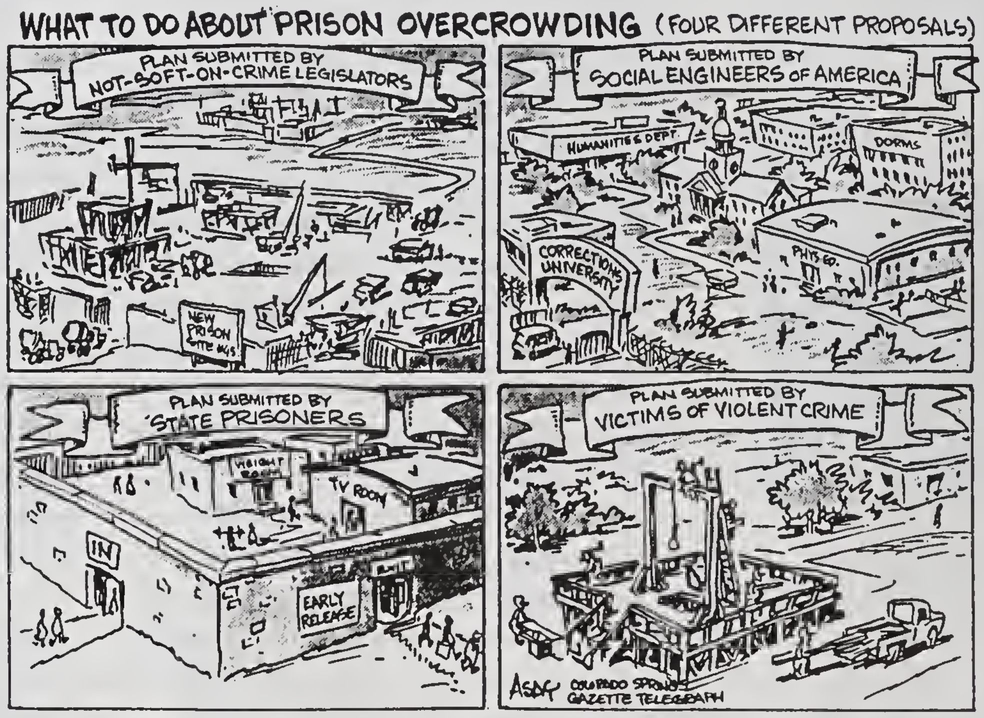
Under the current arrangement, the only rationale for maintaining the institutions of co-presidents and co-treasurers is one based on providing equal opportunities for men and women to occupy leadership positions. The assumption behind protected female positions (on a campus whose female to male ratio is 6 to 4, it is curious that no one ever entertains the idea that women might excel to the extent that men might need protected slots) is that women would not otherwise have the individual courage to take advantage of the opportunities for leadership put at their disposal if women are competing against both men and women for those positions.

There is certainly an argument to be made for fostering opportunities for growth and the development of excellence under protected conditions. We do this all the time while raising children and educating within the classroom. It's a little like staking sapling trees to be sure they grow straight. After all, who could not use a little help in the course of life. Such practices must, however, be recognized as temporary arrangements. For such practices, in creatin an opportunity to strengthen leadership skills, eventually defeat their own purposes when carried on too long. Such practices ultimately debilitate those they seek to strengthen by denying the objects of their protection the very necessary opportunity t develop the skills needed to create and pursue real opportunities.

The real world (and even our not-so-rea campus world) is made up of both men and women. Some of these men and women are often competing against all takers, regardle of sex, to excel, to win single leadership positions. Does the Campus Y not do their members an unconscionable disservice in not adequately providing opportunities to develop the abilities so necessar to move about and lead in the real world? In their efforts to create equal opportunity, do the not undermine and destroy it?

At some point in each of our lives, the hand held out for help is the very hand that will pull us down. The crutch leaned on for too long allows the muscles to atrophy beyond recuperation. "At what point?" i the great question of the day.

Shouldn't young adult women of 17, 18, 19, whatever, who are allowed to work, who are allowed to vote, who are allowed to live on their own, who are allowed to make life and death decisions about a life they are individually responsibl for creating also be allowed to test their own real leadership skills? I mean the ones that really count, the ones that have to do with creating and pursuing not simply occupying as gender tokens, positions of responsibility and leadership.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Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

In the February issue of *The Critic*, Gabrielle Loperfido

By Jennifer Durham, a senior journalism and history major and editor-in-chief of The Critic

The Real Religious Right

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

This is the caption for Jennifer's Story. I'll ask her what she wants here!

The mainstream media would have Americans believe that supporters of the "Religious Right," as they have defined conservative Americans who believe in God and believe God is important, are a backward and sterile swarm of unenlightened pestilent insects.

Supporters of the Religious Right want Americans to return to belief in God, to encourage people to see things in terms of good and evil, and to fight opposing philosophies--the most threatening in the United States being modern liberalism--and all their manifestations.

Indications are that the movement is growing. The Christian Coalition, primarily a political organization, has an expanding dues-paying membership of at least 500,000. Leading figures of the Republican Party, like William Bennett, are openly calling for the spiritual regeneration of America. At a recent speech to the Heritage Foundation, Bennett asked, "*Do we Americans ...believe that man is a spiritual being with a potential for individual and moral responsibility? Or do we believe that his ultimate fate is to be merely a soulless cog in the machine of the state?*"

There are two serious misconceptions about the Religious Right.

The first is that it is composed of a homogenous group of fundamentalist Protestants. While fundamentalists certainly make up part of the movement, they by no means constitute the whole. Bennett, for example is Catholic. Pat Robertson is Protestant. Others would call themselves Orthodox, and some would not associate themselves with any denomination at all. If you asked them, they might not even claim to be part of the Religious Right. All share one thing in common, though: they believe that God is essential.

The second misconception is that upporters of the Religious Right, and in general, that people who are religious, are ignorant. Many people think that professing belief in God entails selling one's intelligence. Though some organizations on the Religious Right have done their share to romote that view, the evidence is otherwise. ome very intelligent Christians, past and resent: Leo Tolstoy, Bob Dylan, C.S. Lewis, William F. Buckley, Jr., etc.

The fundamental problem with the effectiveness of the Religious Right, politically and culturally, lies with the negative image of Christianity that accompanies it. Think of the images that come to mind when one says "Religious Right." Half-crazed abortion protesters. Book-banners. TV preachers, Jim and Tammy and those looney creationists who don't believe dinosaurs came before man. The images all have one thing in common: they give the impression of ignorance, insanity or both.

A large part of the blame for its negative image lies with a hostile press and establishment (government, universities, etc.). One of the most blatant examples of the recent past is the Washington Post reporter who, in a February 1, 1993, article on Christians opposing gays in the military, characterized followers of evangelists as "*largely poor, uneducated and easy to command.*" A recent Saturday Night Live skit featured Phil Hartman dressed up as Jesus. He appeared to a simple-minded woman who prayed ceaselessly before undertaking any everyday action and asked her to confine her prayer to more important things.

The Religious Right is itself partly guilty for the image that accompanies it. One of its great sins is its failure to promote the stellar Christian heritage in the arts and humanities. Christian companies and organizations have their own equivalents to 'secular' music, television, movies, books, etc. Instead of Michael Bolton or Michael Jackson, there's Michael Card. Presumably in opposition to the likes of *Seventeen* magazine, the organization Focus on the Family publishes *Brio*, "with hot tips on everything from fashion and food to fitness and faith." In other words, teen girls are still encouraged to care about materialism - "fashion, food and fitness." Throw in a little "faith," and it makes it all better. Too much of what passes for Christian culture is merely rehashed secular garbage. And what passes for "Christian culture" tars the image of the Religious Right and diminishes the effectiveness of desirable political goals.

When P.J. O'Rourke visited Heritage USA, the now-fallen pinnacle of Christian cultural refuse, he concluded the following: "*There's only one explanation for Heritage USA. Jim and Tammy were working for the other side. Their own recent behavior seems to make that obvious. And consider the other evidence: a bookstore without books, a record shop without music--what else could these be but the vain and empty works of the devil?*" Unfortunately, O'Rourke's conclusion exemplifies the conclusion many people draw about Christianity. This image of ignorance spills over into politics, and people equate the positions they take on political issues with that cultural image.

The Religious Right could greatly

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By Mark Moore, a graduate student in the school of Journalism and Mass Communication

The Danger of Secularism to American Government

Conservative Christians sometimes wonder why their presence causes secular liberals to react like vampires to a cross. Filled with compassion and good will toward all, Christians have trouble understanding hatred. Whenever they reveal the certainty and depth of their faith, they are maligned and scorned by liberals as if they are brain-damaged barbarians. When conservative Christians attempt to influence public debate on crucial issues, liberals spew out venomous vituperation with unrestrained ferocity.

William Bennett recently observed, "*In America today, the only respectable form of bigotry is bigotry directed against religious people. This antipathy toward religion cannot be explained by the well-publicized moral failures and financial excesses of a few leaders or charlatans, or by the censoriousness of some of their followers. No, the reason for the hatred of religion is because it forces modern man to confront matters he would prefer to ignore.*"

The so-called Religious Right has borne the brunt of the irrational hatred of religion in this country. Liberals attempt to marginalize conservative Christians with the use of that term, which connotes a tinge of fanaticism, many Christians complain. The media certainly promotes an erroneous image of conservative Christians as an indistinguishable mass of unthinking, uneducated, sectarian fundamentalists who desire to impose their wacko religious beliefs on an otherwise sane and secular public.

In reality, Christian conservatives represent a cross-section of American society. Although they share a faith that is real and relevant to their lives, those labeled as the Religious Right hold a wide diversity of views that simplistic, knee-jerk liberals ignore and misrepresent. Secular liberals concentrate on the excesses of the least educated and least intelligent fundamentalists as if they represent all conservative Christians. The vast majority of those on the Religious Right are better described as evangelicals, who are distinguishable from literal-minded fundamentalists by their openness to different ideas and willingness to engage in the greater culture outside the church. Although far more open-minded and enlightened than secular liberals, evangelicals who speak their mind in public are immediately attacked by the liberal pack as ignorant oafs who threaten democratic civility with their outmoded and dangerous beliefs.

Stephen Carter writes in *The Culture of Disbelief*, "*More and more, our culture seems to take the position that believing deeply in the tenets of one's faith represents a kind of mystical irrationality, something that thoughtful, public-spirited American citizens would do better to avoid...When citizens do act in their public selves as though their faith matters, they risk not only ridicule, but actual punishment.*"

The most disturbing aspect of the tendency of liberals to publicly mock and ridicule those with profound spiritual insight and experience is that without religious belief, we would be without our concept of the inalienable natural rights of the individual. Contrary to the claims of contemporary historical revisionists, the American system of government was founded upon the religious belief that "*all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights...That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men.*" The American system of government, far from being secular in origin or purpose, exists to perpetuate and strengthen religious civilization.

Just as nonreligious secularists pretend that God does not exist or is irrelevant, they pretend that government is a completely secular institution without religious purpose. Religious views, secularists say, have no place in government. Our government, however, was created out of a religious view with the purpose of protecting that religious view. For without adherence to the recognition of God's purposes in creating man, the constitutional guarantor of our individual rights disappears, and the way is cleared for the creation of a collectivist society where the interests of politically powerful groups override individual liberties.

As John Adams once wrote, "*[R]eligion and virtue are the only foundations, not only of republicanism and of all free government, but of social felicity under all governments and in all the combinations of society.*"

Somehow, left-wingers in our universities and on our courts have deceived the American public into thinking that religion has no place in American government. So, now, when people with religious convictions want to get involved in the public policy process, liberals cry that a separation of church and state exists that precludes the involvement of the religious. And the uninformed majority in America fall for their craftily devised fictions and lies.

The purpose of the left-wing America is clear. They seek a completely secular society devoid of religious insight, experience or influence. That experiment has already been tried elsewhere, however, and it failed miserably every time. The absurdity of the left's claims that the constitution names secularism as the guarantor of democratic government and freedom would be laughable to the Founders as well as our more recent forefathers. But the secular left has succeeded in deceiving the contemporary American public into thinking that religious philosophy is dangerous to democratic government.

The left-wing's misinterpretation of the First Amendment's freedom *of* religion clause to mean freedom *from* religion has even led the federal government to attempt to eradicate religious freedom in the private sphere. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is on the verge of passing a new regulation prohibiting "religious harassment" in the workplace. Under the proposed regulation, any employer could be sued by an employee for allowing the employee to be exposed to religious speech that the employee finds "offensive." In other words, private companies would be forced to pass policies prohibiting their employees from speaking about religion in the workplace. Perhaps the ignorant, liberal bureaucrats at the EEOC should read James Madison's "Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" wherein he wrote: "*Torrents of blood have been spilt in the old world, by vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish Religious discord, by proscribing all difference in Religious opinions.*"

The First Amendment's guarantee of

freedom of speech and freedom of religion have never been as tenuous as now. The continual drift away from a religious world view in the 20th century has caused an inability to understand the intent of the Constitution to protect our God-given rights. The Supreme Court has become a purely political institution swayed by public opinion since it rejected its religious roots and purpose.

The disdain liberals have for the original intent of the Constitution is not surprising when their objective to subvert the religious foundation of America is revealed. Constitutional scholar and former judge Robert Bork warns of the imminent danger of the subversion of the Constitution posed by errant, secular liberal philosophy in *The Tempting of America*. The secular liberal establishment by some sort of unnatural trickery has fooled the American people into thinking that religious people threaten freedom with their commitment to transcendent ideals. But without those transcendent ideals, freedom would lose its meaning and society would be ruled by brute force.

The bizarre nature of the secularist spell that the American public has fallen under becomes apparent when the historical fact is uncovered that the Founders were all deeply religious men, as evidenced by their own writings. The Founders based the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution on their Christian world view. With the exception of the deists Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin, all of the principal Founding Fathers identified the Bible and Jesus Christ as the foundation of their religious belief. Whether their personal theology led them to orthodox Christian belief or a Doubting Thomas type faith that depended on reason over mystical revelation, they were all essentially Christian. We would have no democracy and freedom without their religious world view.

Religion is the foundation of American government. Contemporary secularists distort the philosophy and intentions of the Founders to serve their own purposes. The Founders, particularly Madison and Jefferson, sought to strengthen religious influence in society by freeing religion from the control of government. The first clause of the First Amendment prohibits Congress from passing laws that interfere with the activities of churches and the freedom of individuals to act according to their religious convictions. "*Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*"

The Founders intended to curb persecution against individuals and groups who hold unpopular religious views. They had absolutely no intention of creating a secular government or society wherein religious views are discouraged. Jefferson originated the concept of "*building a wall of separation between Church and State*" that liberals misuse to keep conservative Christian views out of government. Jefferson was a sincere but unorthodox Christian who secular liberal academics commonly misidentify as an opponent of Christianity or a deist because of his belief in the revelation of God through reason. Liberals wish to forget or attempt to hide that Jefferson also argued for the necessity of religious influence in our government. Jefferson went so far as to say that Christian ministers should be office-holders in government: "*I observe however in the same scheme of a constitution, an abridgement of the right of being elected, which, after 17 years more of experience and reflection, I do not approve. It is the incapacitation of a clergyman from being elected.*"

Contemporary liberals are children of the French Revolution, which did indeed attempt to exclude the Christian religion and create a secular society based on naturalistic principles. The French Revolution resulted in bloody and barbaric tyranny despite the language of commitment to human rights. The American Revolution was essentially religious in nature with its appeal to a transcendent Creator and Judge from whom all just government is derived. Secular liberals confuse the two revolution, saying they were both inspired by the same ideas.

In a personal letter, John Jay provides a revealing anecdote that exemplifies the difference between the two opposite philosophies of the French and American revolutions. Jay related the conversations he had while ambassador in France "*with atheists about their tenets.*" One man, Jay said, "*very abruptly remarked that there was no God, and he hoped the time would come when there would be no religion in the world. I very concisely remarked that if there was no God there could be no moral obligations, and I did not see how society could subsist without them. He did not hesitate to admit that, if there was no God, there could be no moral obligations, but instead that they were not necessary, for that society would find a substitute in enlightened self-interest. I soon turned the conversation to another topic, and he, probably perceiving that his sentiments met with a cold reception, did not afterwards resume the subject.*"

The "*enlightened self-interest*" that guides secular liberals includes utterly destroying their opposition. Diversity and pluralism in a democracy requires and ability to see the sacred nature and purpose of each individual. Secular liberals are devoid of this understanding and therefore lack the respect toward their fellow man that is required to sustain a democracy.

William Bennett eloquently summed up our predicament in a speech given at the Heritage Foundation: "*I submit to you that the real crisis of our time is spiritual. Specifically, our problem is what the ancients called acedia....[A]cedia is an aversion to and a negation of spiritual things. Acedia reveals itself as an undue concern for external and worldly things. Acedia is spiritual torpor, an absence of zeal for divine things. And it brings with it, according to the ancients, 'a sadness, a sorrow of the world.' Acedia manifests itself in man's 'joyless, ill-tempered and self-seeking rejection of the nobility of the children of God.' The slothful man hates the spiritual, and he wants to be free of its demands. The old theologians taught that acedia arises from a heart steeped in the worldly and carnal and from a low esteem of divine things. It eventually leads to a hatred of good altogether.*"

The extreme contempt the secular left shows toward conservative Christians reveals a bitterness rooted in something deeper than mere political disagreement. The hysterical claims that religious people threaten democracy are simply ludicrous, since religious people created democracy. Conservatives in America gain their name from the fact that they adhere to the original democratic principles of the Founding Fathers. The left has always advocated "progressive" ideas intended to move us away from the "anachronistic" philosophy of the "racist," "sexist," "elitist," dead white males who founded the nation on imperfect, relative truths derived from their unique historical circumstances. In short, secular liberals believe that the principles and ideals of the American Revolution are wrong for contemporary society, and they seek to free us from the religious world view that undergirds those principles. Conservative Christians stand in the way of the secular revolution and constantly remind the public of the Founders' belief "*that God governs in the affairs of men.*" It is God, not men, that secular liberals hate.

By Tadd Wilson, a sophomore english/pre-law major and assistant editor of The Critic

Conservative Factionalism on Campus

Upon first inspection, the conservative movement on campus seems to be a single haven of sanity amidst the torrent of liberal special interest groups fattening themselves on student fees and state tax dollars. However, in an increasingly public and confrontational manner, two distinct camps of conservatives have emerged since the beginning of the fall semester.

The factions are centered around two campus publications: *The Carolina Review*, and *The Carolina Critic*. *The Review* was established in the fall of 1993 at the climax of a conservative backlash against the Black Cultural Center. Published by Charleton Allen with an editorial staff headed by Darren Allen, *The Review* was not merely a response to the BCC but to the liberal movement in general. According to Darren, the BCC issue simply provided “free publicity.” Since the first issue in October, *The Review* has published a second issue focusing on B-GLAD. *The Critic* was first published in 1987, primarily as a libertarian opinion journal, rather than a conservative paper. However, in eight years of publications, *The Critic* has expanded to encompass both libertarian and conservative views, and has employed both a Rhodes Scholar and Student Body President Jim Copland as editor. *The Critic* is currently lead by Publisher Mark Bandy and Editor-in-Chief Jennifer Durham.

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

Charleton Allen of the Young Republicans

Not surprisingly, both publications agree on nearly all campus and national issues: both oppose the BCC, B-GLAD, and the Campus Y; both reject the housekeepers claims of job discrimination, gun control bills, and the infectious jargon of the PC movement; both find Billary Clinton reprehensible and hypocritical; and both claim adamantly to be the definitive conservative voice at Carolina.

However, these coinciding views cannot completely conceal the antagonism that exists between the two publications. According to Charleton Allen, *The Critic* “on rare occasions has been consistently conservative,” more often following a libertarian line on social issues, such as drug legalization, and overall, reflecting a classical liberal philosophy. Charleton also stated *The Review*, on the other hand, represents more of a “national mainstream conservative” philosophy.

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

Amanda Scoggins, chairman of College Republicans

Critic editor Jennifer Durham agrees that *The Critic* still has some libertarian writers on the staff, namely Senior Editors Craig Hendrix and Greg Konig, writers of the “Grazing Pages” section. However, Durham maintained that the libertarian writers did not speak for the entire *Critic* staff, and *The Critic* shows there “are still some intelligent conservatives.”

The conflict between *The Review* and *The Critic* cannot be reduced to mere politics. A major rift between the publications occurred after *The Critic*'s “Grazing Pages” of the December 1993 issue denounced *The Review* as a “public display of hypocrisy” for requesting $4,795 in student fees, even after vehemently arguing that “the idea that government or even society as a whole owes us anything... is absurd.”

According to Darren Allen, last year, there was a standing agreement between he and Mark Bandy (who was then Editor) that neither publication would openly comment about the other. The “Grazing Pages” article violated this agreement, prompting a minor respons in *The Review*'s second issue, said Allen. However, Jennifer Durham stated that she “was not aware of any agreement,” and tha Mark was no longer editor.

Despite mutual wariness and suspicion, Darren Allen argued that the possibility of a future merger between *The Revie* and *The Critic* was still viable. Jennifer Durham disagreed somewhat, however, stating that there are two distinct groups, “one concerned with power, the other with ideas,” though not everyone at either publication fits into one group or the other. Amanda Scoggins, chairman of College Republicans, agreed that *The Critic* “should not have the same reputation as *The Review* in order to appeal to a larger audience. Mos likely, as Charleton Allen claims, the best t be expected is a “peaceful coexistence,” an a “two-way commitment” to mutual avoidance of negative comments concerning the other publication.

Along lines similar to those of the conflicting publications, conservative student organizations on campus are split into factions: the Young Republicans aligning with *The Carolina Review*, and the College Republicans siding with *The Carolina Critic*. Though the alignment of the two groups is largely incidental, the leadership of *The Review* is composed near exclusively of YRs, while the Critic staff works more closely with the CRs officers.

The Young Republicans organization was established at Carolina in 1924 as a state level organization for Republicans between the ages of 18 and 40. The Carolina YRs are currently run by Joey Stansbury and Chris Handy, and report a membership of 400-450 students. (The YR information in this article was provided by Charleton Allen, chairman of the Carolina YRs for three years, as Mr. Stansbury declined to comment).

The newly emerging College Republicans chapter was formed in the autumn of 1993 by freshman Amanda Scoggins. Unlike the YRs, the CRs are a college level organization, established to bring a "fresh voice" to the conservative movement at Carolina. The CRs currently maintain a membership of 250, and hope for 500 by the end of this semester.

Recently, the YRs have been involved in President Clinton's visit, as well as combating the use of student fees for "bizarre projects." However, according to Amanda Scoggins, the CRs seek to participate in a more activist role, not to "oppose every single piece of legislation," a role demonstrated by the CRs protest at Bill Clinton's Bicentennial speech, and participation in state conventions.

In comparing the two groups, Darren Allen saw "no ideological difference," claiming that competition is "always healthy." However, Charleton disagreed, stating that "the split hurts the conservative movement." Also, some rumors surfaced that the YRs tried to delay the recognition of the CRs at an official level, hindering the initial organization of the group.

Regarding future activities, the YRs plan to oppose liberal misuse of student fees through Student Congress. In particular, the referendum to end forever student funding for the *DTH* was a project of Joey Stansbury's. The CRs plan to once again attend the state convention, as well as to host "Conservative Awareness Week," including Bay Buchanan and Lauch Faircloth as potential speakers, along with a "straight pride" rally and Rush Limbaugh broadcasts in the Pit.

Indeed, regarding the future, what is the future of the Carolina conservative movement as a whole? Four years ago, a libertarian *Critic* and a nominal Young Republicans organization comprised the entire conservative presence on campus. Now, two publications and 800 organization members work to further the ends of our "silent majority." With the decline of the BCC struggle, what will be the next issue for conservatives to respond to?

Both Darren Allen and Amanda Scoggins see the student funding of B-GLAD as a particularly important and potentially explosive campus issue. Jennifer Durham disagrees somewhat, stating that B-GLAD is old news, although this "shouldn't

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Conservatives

By Sam Ravenel, a senior english/pre-med major

Conservatives Must Stick Up For Their Beliefs

A professor of mine once told my class that 70 percent of what we learn in college will be learned outside the classroom. As my final semester here marches inexorably forward, I have found myself reflecting on this statement and discovering its validity. UNC and my life as a student has presented me with many lessons. Some of them, like the laws of physics and the causes of weather, I have accepted at face value. Others, I have been reluctant to believe. Not everything you are exposed to in college is necessarily the truth. And because of this, one of the most difficult lessons I have learned here is to stick to my guns.

UNC is quite possibly the best education for the dollar in the country. I am proud to have done well at such a fine school. But Chapel Hill is, well, very liberal. It's a little scary how subtle the influence of one's environment can be. Anyone with moderately to strong conservative beliefs is assailed from day one here with phrases like "fascist" and "ignorant" and, my personal favorite, "closed-minded." I consider my views to be grounded in reason and reality, the best kinds of views to hold, but it doesn't matter what my reasons are—my conservative white male viewpoint is completely discredited by the "popular" liberal ideology. And I get this same message every day.

Here are some of the lessons I have gotten from the liberal culture in Chapel Hill: that minorities are incapable of competing with others in the job market or for graduate schools (affirmative action); that sex is a "fun, healthy kinda thing to do" (Joan Petit, Jan. 12 *DTH*); that people should be rewarded for laziness or unwillingness to work (perfectly capable people on welfare for six and eight years). I do not believe these things are true and good. Sue me. But for disagreeing with these viewpoints, I am labeled as some sort of right-wing fascist. It is always easy to agree with the crowd, and I think many of the students and even professors at UNC should sit down and really figure out where their beliefs originate. I like the lesson I learned in a Bioethics class: that one should form the best opinion possible on a subject; this means really digging and learning about something, and then forming an opinion based upon reality and reason.

I am not saying I know everything about what's right and wrong. I don't think anyone but the good Lord above does, either. What I think is that everyone should take time to form their own opinions based on their own insight, and not just on what seems like the "in" thing to say, or on the common rhetoric thrown in their faces each day. What I would really like, though, is a little credit. I have no problem respecting other people's views while vehemently disagreeing with them. That is a lesson I have learned from my four years here, and I find it a shame that so many other people have not. There is something wrong when someone hears which side of the political fence you sit on and discounts your opinions entirely, labelling you as "closed-minded." Yet this happens every day, and it is really these people who are closed-minded.

As a departing senior, I have decided to share some insights that, while not exactly ground-breaking, many people don't seem to understand. Don't always accept things at face value. Just because it's the popular view in one area doesn't make it right. This may come as a shock to some of the "liberal intelligentsia" here, but Chapel Hill is not an accurate cross-section of the rest of our nation. Don't assume that because the most vocal people disagree with you that you are wrong. Develop your own best opinion, and you will earn respect, at least from the people whose respect is worth having. Stick to your guns.

Condoms

By Steve Sciame, a freshman business major

Condom Wearers Beware

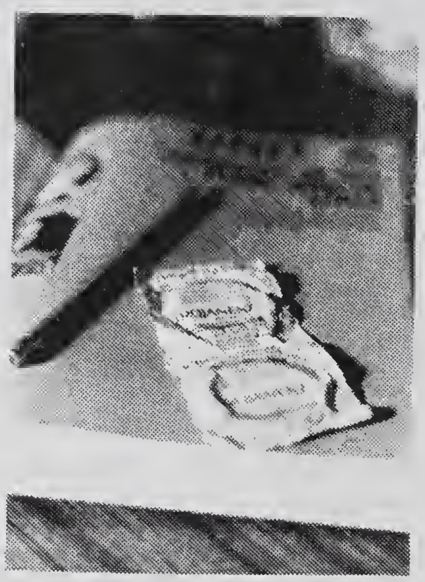
Most of you know that Monday, February 14 is Valentine's Day. This day kicks off the begining of National Condom Week. This is a week when schools all across America put on seminars to demonstrate correct condom usage. Shocking, isn't it? Many high schools even distribute condoms to their students throughout the entire school year. At first, to some people, this seems like a wonderful way to control the spread of AIDS, but as with any problem, the best way to do this is to confront the problem head on.

The source of the problem should be treated, not the symptoms. The idea behind distributing condoms to students is based on the ridiculous assumption that students are going to have sex anyway, so they might as well be protected from diseases. This mass condom distribution encourages sexual activity because to the student, it is viewed as consent from adults to be promiscuous. It is almost as if the school adminastration is saying, "Here do whatever you want with whomever you want, just wear a condom and everything will be fine in the morning."

This is a destructive message because it fails to teach a very important message in life. This message is called abstinence. It is very important to learn self control in life because we cannot have everything we want in life. The idea of being able to have sex whenever you want is a selfish idea in itself. It stems from the need for immediate gratification without taking responsibility for one's actions. "Give me what I want now because there are no consequences for my actions."

The message used to be, "Don't have sex because you could get pregnant," but now, the real message should be, "Don't have sex because you could die. Also, a condom is far from being 100 percent effective. The pro-condom crowd doesn't seem to consider this. Think about this. You are at a party with a friend who met someone who he was going to go home with, and you know that this person has AIDS. Would you say, "Hey pal, just wear this and have fun." Of course not. The thing is, you never know who is infected.

Instead of promoting the use of condoms, we should promote the practice of something that works every time it is tried. That which I am talking about is less expensive than condoms plus it is 100 percent effective. It is called abstinence.



Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

The recent distribution of condoms in area schools has led to much concern among parents and other adults

Join the conservative student movement

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COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

By TJ Hemlinger, a second year doctoral student in the school of Journalism and Mass Communication

Governor Hunt's Anti-Crime Package

So the North Carolina legislature is meeting in special session to consider Gov. Jim Hunt's anti-crime bill. What will the legislators vote for: more prisons? longer prison sentences? public executions? more police? fewer guns? All of the above? None of the above? A and B only?

Many people decry one thing or another, saying things just aren't the way they used to be: the decline of family morals, the elimination of prayer in public schools, the welfare state, liberal judges and politicians, disillusionment with a corrupt federal government and its give-away programs, the disenfranchisement of practically an entire underclass, drugs, violence on television and in the movies. The simple fact is that things never will be the way they used to be. We're not cruising down Main Street to the malt shop anymore; we are entering the on-ramp of the information superhighway, and people standing with their thumbs out underneath the sign that says "No pedestrians, motorized bikes or horse-drawn vehicles" won't even get to the first rest stop.

Nine people were killed in Raleigh in January alone. At that pace, the city will record 108 violent deaths this year. Three people were murdered in Carrboro in 1993. People have been mugged and beaten while celebrating on the streets of Chapel Hill after football and basketball games. Students are robbed at gun point on the UNC campus. People are being denied their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Meanwhile, a convicted murderer who has been on Death Row for 14 years received yet another stay of execution.

Chapel Hill police statistics show a leveling off of local crime, but that's small consolation to women afraid to walk alone at night, men punched in the face or robbed while downtown, or joggers shot while out for a 6 a.m. run.

There are two solutions, one short-term and one long-term. We need to address both ends: prevention AND punishment.

In the short run, we need to put violent criminals away for a long time and put to death those who have forfeited their rights to live in our society. Some people just cannot be rehabilitated. Armed rape should be made a capital crime, joining first-degree murder. You cannot take a rapist, give him abstract therapy and minimal job training and expect him to be a productive member of society.

Put the violent criminals in jail for a long, long time and release the non-violent criminals. This is not to say let them off; give them probation, meaningful work release or community service, but non-violent criminals are not the ones people are arming themselves against. Those prone to violence, however, shouldn't be exiled to Rhode Island. Cambodia or Iraq would be better. But wherever they're sent, don't let them back out on the street until they have to take Geritol intravenously.

In the long term, we need to give people education, self-respect, hope and expectations. All of this comes from family and school. Long-run reform is needed for welfare, for beginners, and that will have an impact on families. That can be coupled with changes in education. Here's the beginning: Don't allow people to sign up for welfare, unemployment, AFDC, WIC or any government hand-out program until they have a high school diploma. No one — let's emphasize that — NO ONE can compete in this country as we move toward the cusp of the 21st century without a high school education at a minimum. Computers, foreign languages, writing skills, the ability to synthesize — they can only be mastered with an education. Here's where North Carolina can have an impact: It should demand its citizens prepare themselves to support themselves, be a positive influence in their families and contribute to society. There should be absolute, concrete standards set down for students to pass from one grade to the next and to get a high schoo diploma. Businessmen and women recently told the North Carolina Standards and Accountability Commission — a group set up to recommend improvements in schools to Gov. Hunt — that state high schools were "giving diplomas to kids who can't read and write. What good are they?" Indeed. We in North Carolina are paying the price for a lackadaisical, laissez faire attitude toward education.

The legislature also should give secondary schools the clout to deal with surly juveniles not interested in taking advantage of a free education. Money, of course, is part of it, but schools should be urged to expel those who break the rules. Just as violent criminals are expelled from society, schools should expel those who don't conform or who rob others of the opportunity to learn.

Schools also need to refocus their efforts. Currently they're passing out condoms but not teaching students English; they're inflicting multiculturalism on students but not demanding decent math scores. A student who can read and write and cipher will get a job much more quickly than one familiar with other alternative cultures and wearing a condom.

If people do not want to participate in society and do so by the rules society lays down, then society doesn't owe them anything. Not food stamps, not welfare, not an unemployment check, not job training, not counseling, not housing, not understanding, not sympathy. Nothing. Get an education, get a job, get a life.

Washburn

By Mark Bandy, a senior business major and publisher of The Critic

A *Critic* Interview

As part of the Bicentennial Leadership Conference, Dr. Wilcomb E, Washburn spoke on the role of the public university in America. Earlier that day, I had the opportunity to talk with Dr. Washburn about this subject and UNC, more specifically. That is not all that we talked about, however. Dr. Washburn is a self-described iconoclast and seems to have limitless knowledge on a variety of subjects. A retired Marine Corps Colonel, Dr. Washburn served as a Japanese language officer in postwar Japan before returning to Harvard, where he received his Ph.D. in American Civilization. Besides his post as director at the Smithsonian, Dr. Washburn is a lecturer at George Washington University and an adjunct professor at the University of Maryland. He is also considered the preeminent expert in American Indian history and is on the Board of the *Dartmouth Review*.

When asked what his initial impressions of UNC were, Dr. Washburn spoke of the difference between Northerners and Southerners, especially with regard to manners. Washburn noted that "everyone is so polite here in the South...and nobody dares to talk back or debate issues in the classroom." He noted that in a class on race relations that he attended while on campus, students "simply avoided talking about the issues." While he admitted that politeness was an admirable quality, it sometimes works counter the purpose of a University which should be to foster debate on issues. He felt that the result of this politeness and general sense of deference to your elders was "that your elders get away with a lot." He said that while he was sympathetic to students, the same sense of deference could be seen in the relationship between faculty and the administration.

Dr. Washburn went on to point out the inherent hypocrisy in the University's non-discrimination clause. Like other similar clauses prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, or veteran status, according to Dr. Washburn, they are not true. "We talk about equal opportunity but we don't really mean equal opportunity, we mean special preference. We misuse language this way." Washburn went on to point out that "you don't really follow your own statement...we say that we don't discriminate on the basis of sex, race, etc., but in fact, there is an underlying assumption that you do." Washburn sees this as "a simple violation of honesty." He went on to encourage that instead of simply accepting these statements of belief without question, society should push for more debate on the issue before blindly accepting such contrary notions at once. These dual concepts of equality and special preference, Washburn believes, promote a hypocritical standard for society which works against the very ideals of that society.

Washburn urged all individuals and institutions in society to hold to their principles rather than merely paying lip service to them. Washburn had harsh words for University administrations which abandon principles simply to appease dissenting groups and maintain their own stature. He hoped that college administrators would find new ways of resolving controversial issues besides simply acquiescing to the demands of the most vociferous groups.

When asked about the role of the modern University, Washburn noted that the duality of education and research pursued by most public and private universities poses a difficult problem for university administrators to resolve. Washburn said that, "when professors speak of their work, they are not speaking of their teaching but instead of their research." Washburn pointed out that while some research is beneficial, a lot of research is not and some is just plain bad. With a state school like UNC, Washburn said the various constituents that make up the campus community are free to push for their own interpretation of the "useful education" clause which governs the University's undertakings. However, Washburn went on to say that students do have the strongest case to be made because education is the primary function of the University as outlined in the state's constitution.

One way to reconcile the discrepancy between the University's dual roles is to reallocate professors time more efficiently. He felt that lectures were a poor way to teach any subject, but especially the humanities. "The lecture method," Washburn said, "is essentially a medieval mode of teaching." He felt modern technology would go a long way toward easing the time pressures on professors. Lectures could be videotaped to be watched at the students' convenience, while classroom time could be set aside for more personal instruction. He went even further by saying that many professors cling to the lecture form of teaching because of a fear that modern technology could theoretically make them obsolete.

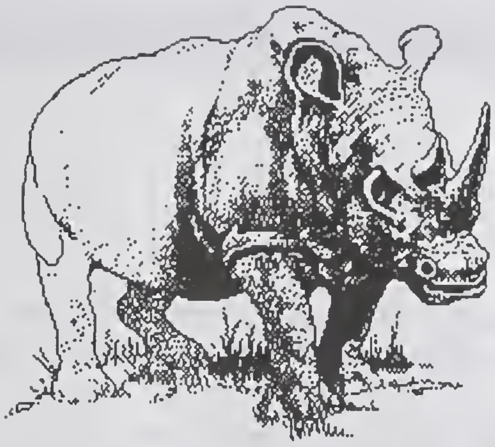
More generally, Washburn touched on the U.S.'s current identity crisis as it struggles to define itself with an ever growing, diverse population. He pointed out that while the U.S. culture is firmly entrenched in the English tradition, it has also created and sustained the most diverse population in the history of man. Washburn went on to say that it is the ideals which this country was founded on which, if held to steadfastly, will preserve the nation through not only these growing pains but whatever other problems the country should face in its future.

FACTIONALISM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

diminish conservative opposition." Durham adds that nothing particularly controversial has arisen in the wake of the BCC struggle. Charleton Allen agrees, noting that the BCC issue is "burned out," and no "super-issue" has taken its place. He sees half a dozen smaller issues, including student fee exploitation, ROTC vs. B-GLAD (and Jim Copland), Carolina Union activities, "political correctness," and talk of a "Woman's Center."

All things considered, the future for Carolina conservatism is at once exciting and uncertain. With changes in the leadership of *The Review*, Young Republicans and *The Critic* due to graduation, as well as the emergence of the College Republicans, a new "post-BCC" stage of the conservative movement is developing, one full of potential internal division yet promising greater involvement and awareness from a growing number of conservatives who are coming "out of the closet" of PC and liberal rhetoric. To quote Darren Allen: "Full steam ahead!"



GRAZING PAGES

A dietary supplement to The Critic provided by Craig Hendrix and Greg Konig

Craig Hendrix is a senior philosophy and history major. Greg Konig is a senior philosophy major. Both are senior editors of The Critic.

COMMENTS ON OUR DEPARTING CHANCELLOR

Recognizing the "absence of a particular racial issue on campus," (DTH, 2-21) Chancellor Paul Hardin announced the formation of a 29-member advisory committee that will hold "candid and open" discussions on campus racial issues. Although he feels there is no specific racial issue causing controversy on campus at this time, generally Hardin believes that there is "no more important issue (than race) at Carolina on a continuing basis."

Is race really the most important issue on campus "on a continuing basis?" Hardin needs it to be if he is to justify the formation of such a large (and no doubt, expensive) advisory committee. But is this indeed the case? What about...

--the education of students, faculty, and others in the university community?
--the retention of quality faculty, graduate and undergraduate students?
--the future of the University?
--the long list of other political and social issues, such as environmental concerns, crime, date rape, and so forth, that usually share headlines with racial issues?
--men's basketball?
--DIVERSITY, pluralism, social justice...?

If race is to be the most important issue at Carolina, then aren't we supposing that race is somehow integral to the mission of the University?

This ridiculous prioritizing of values has consequences; take the case of those who authored the recent report of the Committee on Black Faculty. They recognized the need "to make further efforts to make the school attractive to black faculty and students." Were you surprised when the Sonja Haynes Stone's Black Cultural Center's advisory board advocated the erection of a new and improved Black Cultural Center? What else could we have expected them to say?

So what does all this talk about important and controversial campus issues, advisory committees, and candid and open discussions mean to the future of the University? Most ominously, it allows us to draw two conclusions, both of which, incidentally, have a large following among campus activists. The first view is that the future of the University is integrally linked with (1) relations among the various races represented on campus. This view leads to the predictable, yet uninformative and self-adulating consequences that we noted above in the Committee on Black Faculty's report.

The second point is not merely absurd, but also dangerous to the future of the University. It is the view that the numbers and percentages of persons composing the student body somehow "reflect" or "represent" the racial diversity within society. It implies that the education of individual students, regardless of their race, is philosophically subordinated to the importance of how many of each racial group is enrolled.

Enrolled? What sort of criterion of educational accomplishment is enrollment once one is at a University and pursuing one's education? Sure, it is an achievement and an honor to be enrolled into any university, but once you are admitted, do you strive to obtain an education or do you count the numbers of each race sitting around you in class?

It should not matter how many blacks, whites, Asians, American Indians, and so forth enroll at Carolina; bean-counting has no place in the acquisition of an education. So what if, as the Committee on Black Faculty's report informed us, 52 additional black doctoral students have enrolled at UNC since 1991. We should be concerned that all students, regardless of race, who are admitted also stay and obtain a quality education. This concern should override all other considerations.

That students experience a quality education is a vital and important concern for the future of the University. During the Bicentennial celebration of the University, we should be more concerned with the education of students than with the student body's racial composition. This is exactly why we have and continue to support a University.

CLINTONOMICS 10

Imagine the following scenario: As the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway came to a close, the International

Olympic Committee officials discovered that the entire American downhill-skiing team was using illegal performance-enhancing drugs. Imagine, further, that it was established that all of the gains made by Americans in the past few Olympiads were attributable to the advantage gained by these illegal drugs. The I.O.C. responded by demanding that the United States Olympic Committee consent to a written agreement. However, the U.S.O.C. balked at the proposal and vowed never to accept its conditions.

The agreement would have guaranteed that the U.S. team could no longer destroy the competitive atmosphere of the amateur sporting event through the use of illegal drugs. The guarantee would put in writing specific quantified targets that reflect the expected 'trend line of the future' of American medal performance. This trend would reflect the expectation that Americans will no longer be able to capture as many medals against the international competition, even if the U.S. team continued to use steroids.

However, the U.S.O.C turned down the agreement because it was not free, hence not fair, competition. Moreover, a free or open competitive field is the most conducive condition to improved performance levels because, in order to win the gold, one has to perform better than everyone else, which means that person will probably have to expect to overcome the previous best in that event. Under a system of medal targets, American athletes would have little incentive to compete if they knew that they could only win a few medals, regardless of the merits of their performance. Furthermore, non-U.S. athletes would not be as challenged to perform at higher levels in the absence of American athletes. Regardless of whether the medal targets are set in single events, or even aggregated over a range of events, it is evident that any outcome-based solution distorts the entire competitive process, which in turn corrupts the essence of the games even more drastically than the infusion of the drug-enhanced athletes.

For example, entertain the idea that the U.S. team sweeps almost all of the gold medals in the 1998 Winter Olympics. We would challenge anyone to imagine, and explain, to us a "fair" mechanism that would allow the I.O.C. to enforce a numerical or statistical medal requirement on the U.S. team, assuming that the team's performance could not be explained by any previously designed trend-line of the future expecting poorer results.

In an Olympic event the rules are universal for all competitors, regardless of their natural ability or benefits of excellent training and preparation. All that is required is an even starting ground, which implies an agreement among athletes not to gain an unfair advantage through drugs or other forms of cheating--they are expected to follow the rules established to guarantee fair play. A more just and rational solution would have been to ban any athletes tested positive from competition. To try to compensate for advantages gained by illegal drug use without testing and banning the guilty competitors would make determination of medal winners an impossible calculus. The virtue of a free and fair competitive arrangement lies in the incentive for each person to perform at their peak levels, knowledgeable that the distribution of medals is unhampered by any predetermined targets or the unfair advantages gained through illegal drug use.

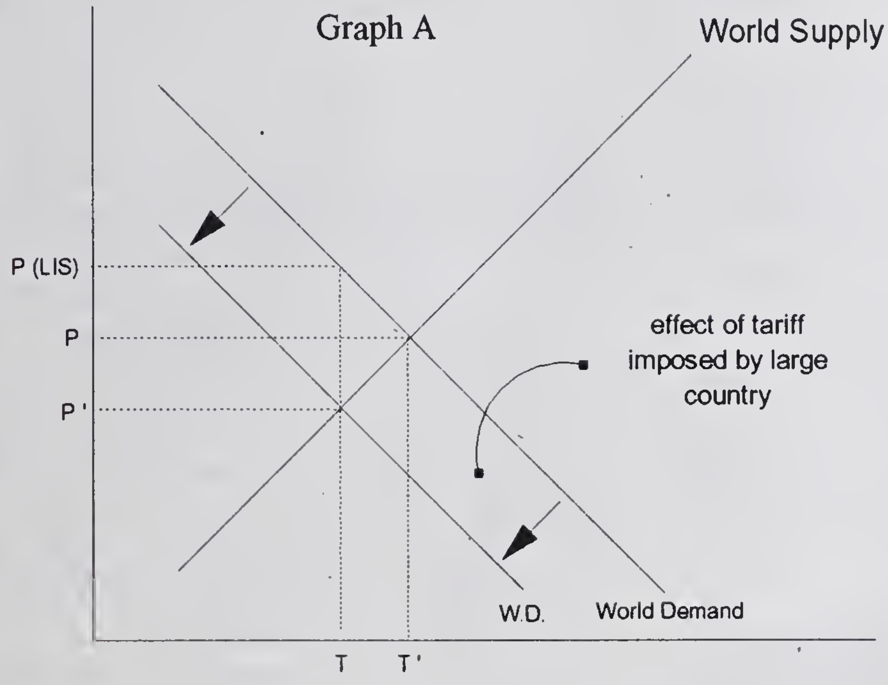
If you believe, in this imaginary situation, that the U.S.O.C. would be doing the right thing by rejecting such a ridiculous proposal, then you will be interested to know that your president believes otherwise. As it turned out in our Olympic scenario, the I.O.C. was acting on the same intuitions as President Bill Clinton when he recently demanded that the Japanese consent to a 'list of objective criteria by which to measure progress' in equalizing the trade balance with the United States. Bill Clinton, particular American industry leaders, and other government bureaucrats, politicians and special-interest groups are trying to convince the American people that Japan should be subjected to numerical indicators of progress in the automobile, telecommunications, insurance, and medical equipment industries. This is because they are cheating, thereby hindering the free-market system with their protectionist trade restrictions.

In political rhetoric, Clinton alternately makes claims to being the benefactor of 'free trade' and 'fair trade.' Although he often uses these phrases interchangeably, he has communicated his intention to make trade with Japan more fair by making it less free through his administration's demands for numerical targets. Just as anyone could reasonably expect, the Japanese blew off Clinton's demands.

Our analogy may be drawn out further. It is completely irrational to impose a numerical or statistical medal target, which will most likely end up arbitrarily punishing a specific Olympic team, and their numerous competitors, instead of instituting a measur such as more thorough drug-testing progran which could actually address the problem a hand. With respect to this hypothetical situation, it is equally irrational to propose such outcome-based economic goods target which will end up punishing the Japanese and the rest of the market. Anyone who has compared the history of Japanese product value in the post-World War II economy to its competitors will realize that they have th potential to buck expected 'trend lines of th future.' Government prediction and determination of future economic trends and outcomes have never had any degree of legitimacy besides in people's imagination.

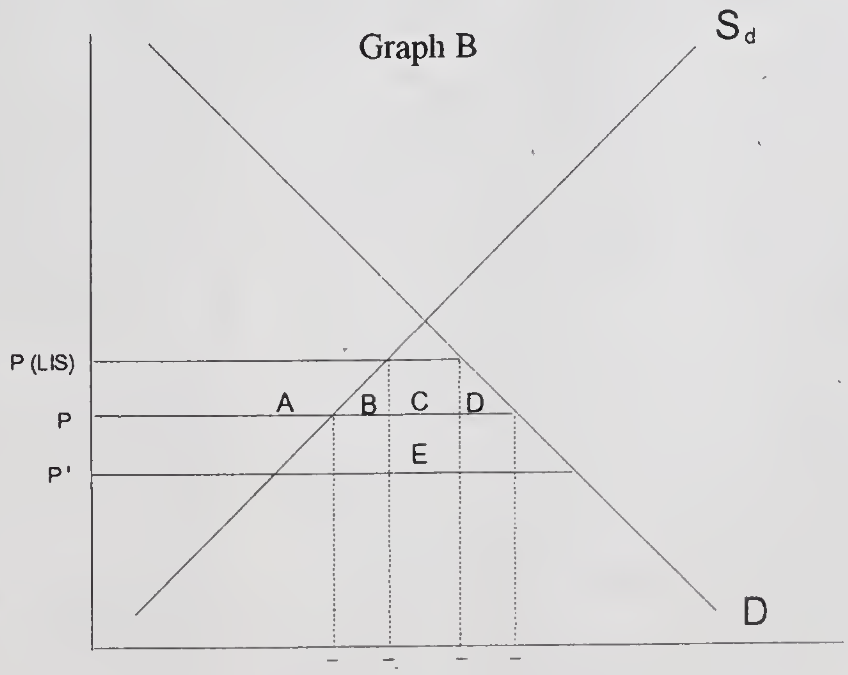
Addressing the problem of Japanese trac barriers to American goods would be much more fruitful if the solutions proposed actually addressed the issue. Therefore, an important question to ask is: Why is Bill Clinton, an Oxford/Yale grad voted preside by American consumers, acting in a way th is seemingly so irrational towards their economic interests?

Libertarians such as ourselves will argu that he has ulterior motives which he does not want the apparently ignorant American public to be aware of--he needs cash for government social programs and he will stoop to almost any level, even tampering with delicate and important foreign relations, to rake it in at the least noticeable co to your average taxpayer. With the Americ people's interests supposedly in mind, Clinton reacted to Japan's middle finger with the threat of fresh tariffs which will harm industries that are, for the most part, popular with American consumers. How curious...



Our supply and demand curves might look complicated, but they actually describe the effect of a tariff imposed upon a country such as Japan by a large country such as the U.S quite clearly. In Graph A, "P" represents the price of a product in a free market. "P(US)" is the price of the product to the American consumer after American government imposes the tariff, while "P'" is the new price that occurs throughout the rest of the world for the product, because slackening of American demand (a large portion of overall demand) for the product has caused Japanese producers to lower prices to sell the surplus.

Graph B conveniently breaks down all the winners and losers from the result of Clinton's 'tough stance' in 'protecting America's jobs', etc. "A" represents the American producer's gain over what he could previously charge (which is the protectionist mechanism). "C + E" represents the government's gain, the operation of the tariff, basically a tax on imports. "B" and "D" represent dead weight losses, which are losses in efficiency attributable to the dis-incentive to compete caused by the tariff. Together, "A + B + C + D" represent the loss in consumer's surplus from the tariff!



That's correct, folks. The next time Bill Clinton tells you that he is imposing tariffs on imports for your own good, he is in fact taking money out of your pocket and using it at the discretion of his government bureaucrats. This friends, is just another simple form of indirect taxation, which liberals such as Clinton have become experts at disguising as something else. Because imposing tariffs causes retaliatory action more often than not, and also because the American public is so naive about the nature of governmental economic policy, "trade wars" have a tendency to erupt.

With this Clintonomics lesson essentially complete, you may have already inferred what a trade war really is: an escalating series of retaliatory actions on the part of two or more governments in order to forcefully finance their own interests, at the expense of their own constituents, both in the short-term from the taxed revenues, and in the long-term from the damage to the overall economy.

Well, at least he didn't puke on his Japanese hosts, right?

A NEW SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

Even rap artists are taking stabs at the bloated government bureaucracy mentality that are the cause of the formation and continued existence of money-sucking special interest groups. Greed in the 90's, victim-style...

"If I Were President":

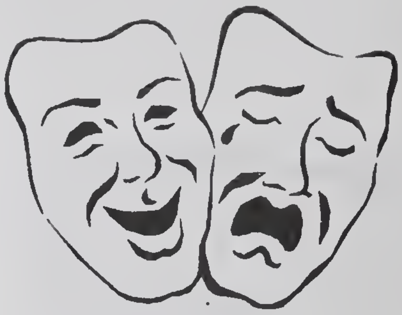
If I were president
If I were president
I'd make sure all the money's spent
on good things
I wouldn't have no lint in my pocket
I'd rock it, I'd rock it, I'd shock it
I would not jock the fact that there are
rich people in the world
Because--yo, I gotta girl
And she needs new clothes and I need new
sneakers
And that's all I know.
If I were president...
If I was president (What would you do?)
I would not carry o-no spare change
I would just re-arrange
the whole government structure
'Cause there seems to be something that's
messing with the flucture
of the money
It's not coming to me...

-THE PHARCYDE
Bizarre*ride II The Pharcyde

Music and movie reviews from The Critic

by Jennifer Durham, Gabrielle J. Loperfido, and Tadd Wilson

Rock *&Reel*



Kennedy Rose

"Walk The Line"
IRS/Pangaea

Mary Ann Kennedy and Pam Rose never lose their honesty throughout the songs on their folk/country/pop second album, *Walk The Line*. The problem is they don't explore the things they perceive.

Their enchantment with life competes with sadness in the songs. In "Real World," "*Seeing is believing/Whether in a touch/Or a vision in the night/Can you give me one good reason/Why it's not more about love/ And less about who's wrong or right...*"

Sometimes love strengthens, as in "Island Home:" "*In your arms, I realize what I'm doing here/I have come to learn love, that's infinitely clear.*" Other times, as in "Surrender," love tears a person down: "*Like a tree, I planted my feet in the ground/ I wouldn't bend, I didn't even know how/ That's how it was, 'til love cut me down.*"

"Iron Horse" captures the spirit of the album: "*All we can do is learn from history/ It's out of our hands.../What will be will be/ Steel on steel, dust to dust/There's an iron horse in all of us.*"

But Kennedy and Rose only scratch the surface of the themes they address, and their songwriting is undeveloped. They have the potential to dig much deeper than they do. *Walk The Line* is an enjoyable and respectable listen, but not much beyond that.

Richard Thompson

"Mirror Blue"
Capitol

Richard Thompson's deeply depressing *Mirror Blue* explores two main themes: love's trials and the ills of 20th century materialism.

"Fast Food Restaurant" is hilarious and depressing at the same time. With mandolin, drum and accordion, Thompson aurally creates the automated circus world he satirizes in the song. It's all convenient and cheery on the surface, but it's an unhappy world underneath for employees and customers alike: "*Shove it in their faces, give 'em what they want/Got to make it fast, it's a Fast Food Restaurant.*" The fast food restaurant goes through all this trouble for horrible food: "*Water down the ketchup, easier to pour on/Pictures on the register in case you're a moron.*" Thompson's apt conclusion: "*I'd rather feed pigs than humanity.*"

Perhaps the same materialistic culture shaped the two characters in "Shane and Dixie," who will go to just about any length to gain fame and love. When their lives as "*two-bit crooks*" don't bring them satisfactory recognition, Shane suggests suicide: "*We'll be household names if we only dare, forever.*" In the end, Dixie survives and Shane dies. At first, it looks like the two have finally gained fame and love. Dixie marries "*the man who came to type out her story,*" and makes a sum of money off the tragedy: "*...the News of the Screws most generously gave.*" Shane gets a new grave out of Dixie's money, but both are soon forgotten. "*Time went by and the weeds grew high/And hid Shane's grave from the curious eye...*" The culture that bred them plowed them under, and they were neither smart enough to realize it nor brave enough to fight it.

The conclusion drawn from the life of the woman described in the somber, melancholy "King of Bohemia" is no less tragic: "*And there is no peace/No true release/No secret place to crawl/And there is no rest/For the ones God blessed/And he blessed you best of all.*"

Thompson's love songs are just as depressing. In "Mascara Tears," two people in a relationship battle to stay afloat. The sorrowful result: "*Mascara Tears, bitter and black/A spent bullet drilled a hole in my back/Salt for the memory, black for the years/Black as forever, Mascara Tears.*" In "Taking My Business Elsewhere," the song's character waits in vain for a woman to show up at a restaurant.

Though *Mirror Blue* seems like a collection of tragic dramas, a certain beauty emerges from the songs. Thompson is perceptive and talented, and the album is packed with sharp, intricate and honest songwriting. The music, basic rock and roll with a plethora of instruments skillfully worked in, is complex, enjoyable and fitting.

Movie Review By Gabrielle Loperfido, a graduate student in comparative literature

In The Name Of The Father

Starring: Daniel Day-Lewis
Pete Postlethwaite
Emma Thompson

In the Name of the Father, starring Daniel Day-Lewis, is a powerful story of one man's relationship to his father and of all too many individuals' relationship to their government.

Day-Lewis' performance is brilliant from beginning to end. First, as Gerry, he is the sullen and aimless Irish petty-thief staking his claim on the strife-ridden streets of Belfast, trying, unsuccessfully, to stay out of the way of both the IRA and the British authorities. Throughout, he is a marvelously complex and highly particular manifestation of the eternal son struggling to assert his own identity independent from his father all the while reacting directly against his father and so, paradoxically, binding him even closer to that which he flees.

Through reconciling himself to his father, Gerry frees himself both literally and figuratively. Gerry's story is a bittersweet "Bildungsroman" brought to the screen. To say that Gerry's life and personal struggle are set against the backdrop of IRA intrigue against British authority is to undermine the powerful way in which the film dramatizes the late 20th Century manifestation of the ongoing dilemma of the individual and his political role as private citizen under increasingly interventionist governments. The horror of the powers accorded the government to hold suspected terrorists without charge for seven days vividly asserts itself within and among the complexities of the lives of the members of the Conlon family and those of Gerry's three friends.

Unlike other films which have dealt with the dramatic and tragic potential of IRA intrigue, like *The Crying Game*, *In the Name of the Father*, to its great credit, resists to a large degree ideological pigeon-holing. Gerry Conlon is pit against both the coercive powers of the IRA and the coercive powers of British authority.

Cinematic parallels are skillfully drawn between the tactics of the two political forces. Where Gerry flirts and allies himself briefly with the IRA operative responsible for the crime for which he is imprisoned, his father Giusseppe cooperates with the prison authorities and retains his faith in the justice of British law. Where the IRA are at first shown to be more merciful to those they round up and hold accountable--Kangaroo-court style--for interfering in their operations, their merciless ruthlessness ultimately prevails. Where the individuals responsible for supporting the integrity of the British legal system willfully transgress their near-sacred offices, the rule of law ultimately prevails.

This must-see is destined to become a classic: *In the Name of the Father* is the particular drama of Gerry Conlon's odyssey and a universal tale about individual freedom.

SECULARISM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

improve its image by promoting a rejection of cultural trash altogether in favor of its great heritage. How much more effective its efforts would be if it identified morality and God with greatness. The Religious Right should adopt Van Morrison's view: *"You brought it to my attention that everything was made in God/Down through centuries of great writings and paintings everything lives in God/Seen through architecture of great cathedrals down through the history of time/Is and was in the beginning and evermore shall be..."* (from the album *Avalon Sunset*).

In the works of Christian painters, philosophers, authors and musicians, past and present, one finds the very view of the world that the Religious Right is trying to spread. Dostoevsky shows in *Crime and Punishment* the evil and neurosis that result when someone (Raskolnikov) tries to create his own reality. Alexander Solzhenitsyn's works deal with the grim spiritual despair that results from Godless systems of government like the Soviet regime. Modern musicians--from Bob Dylan and Van Morrison to the relatively unknown Marvin Etzioni and Peter Himmelman--express a religious world view in beautiful music. Ironically, many fundamentalist elements (the elements that get media coverage) reject much of the above.

The Religious Right has missed out on a golden opportunity in failing to promote the great works of its own. With the emergence of leaders like Bennett, though, that may be changing. In the above-mentioned speech, Bennett cited Solzhenitsyn, Dostoevsky, Walker Percy, William Faulkner and St. Augustine to support his arguments. This is precisely the kind of approach the Religious Right needs to take for two reasons. It gives the correct impression that Christianity is an individual spiritual matter not bound by membership in a particular denomination or institution. Second, it places Christianity where it should be--with greatness instead of garbage.

The Religious Right has two enemies, in sum. First, it has a hostile world view--modern liberalism--and all its products to contend with. Second, it has an enemy within its own ranks--trivialization of Christianity. If it is to gain political success, it must change its image in the cultural world. It could be headed in the right direction.

GOVERNMENT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

around shooting it in the middle of town at midnight, because I will violate the townspeople's right to exist in a reasonably quiet and peaceful atmosphere.

Given that definition of rights, it can be said that the basic purpose of a government is to protect and guarantee the endowed rights and the contractual rights of its citizens. Any government that does not fulfill that purpose has no legitimate reason to exist. Therefore, the foremost objective of any government should be to protect its citizens' rights.

Now that the basic purpose of government has been established, we must ask, "What more?" Should government do any more than protect rights, and if so, how far should it be allowed to go? This will be the focus of the next essay. However, now the question must be asked: should government go any further, and if so, how much?

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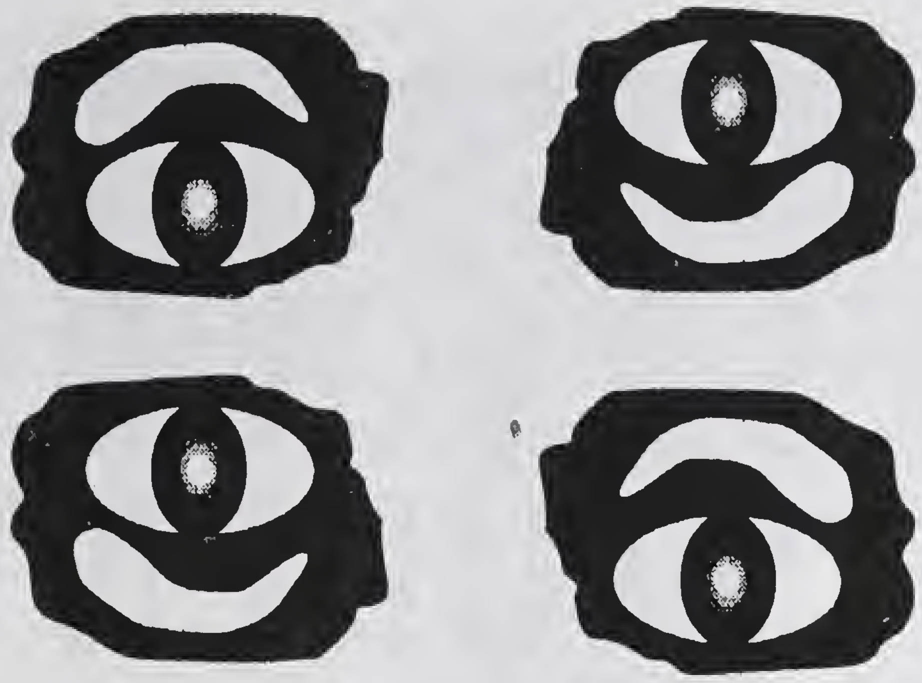

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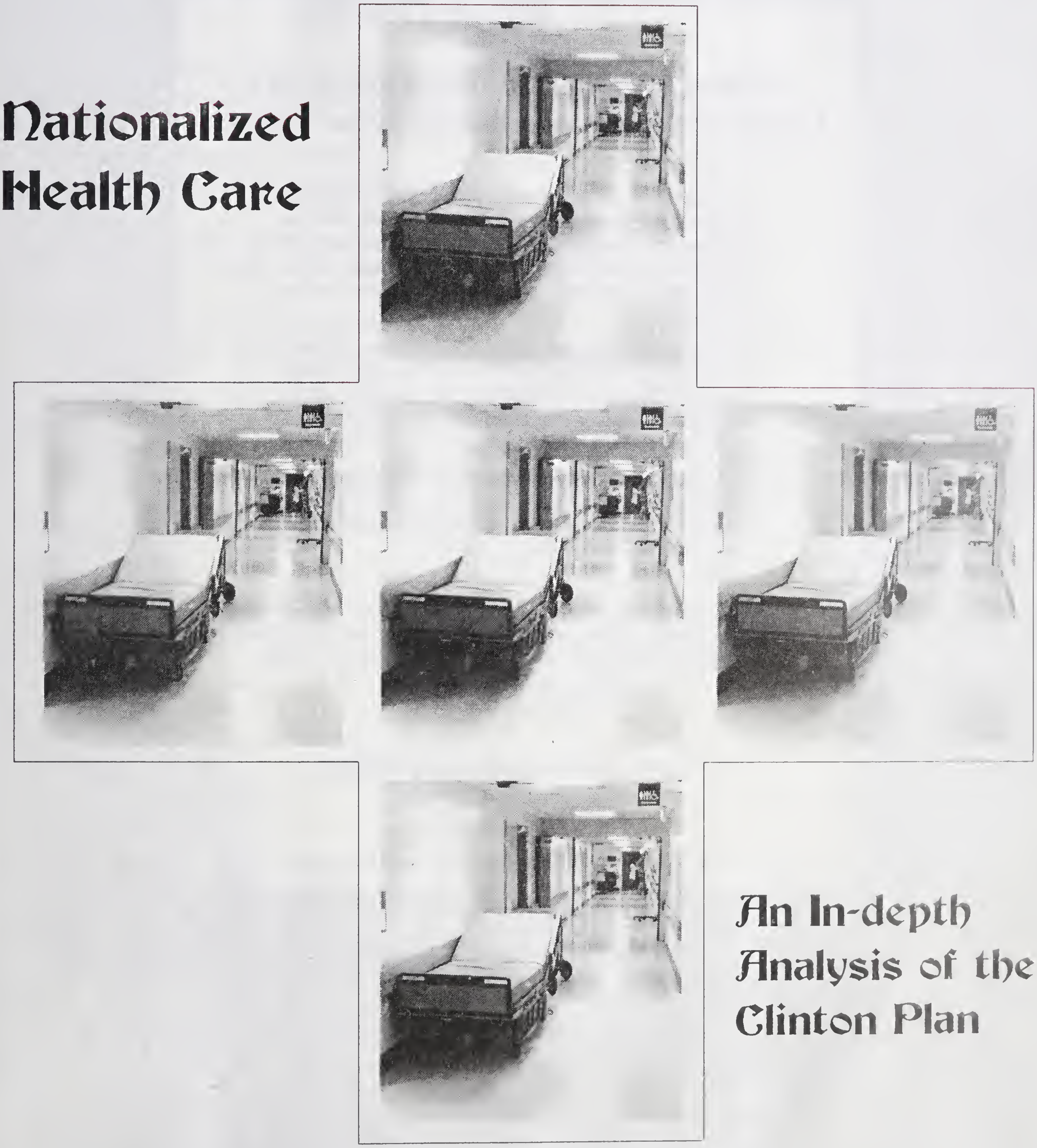
THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VII, ISSUE 6

APRIL 1, 1994

Nationalized Health Care



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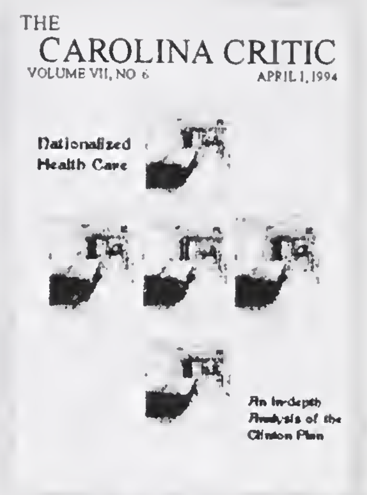

THE CRITIC COVER

Steve Sciame and Tadd Wilson analyze the Clinton Health Plan and its effect on us. Coverage starts on Page 6.

Photo by Matthew Scott

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THE
CAROLINA CRITIC
A student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VII, No. 6

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◉ [illegible] widespread diseases such as cancer? At last count it was about $6 trillion to one.

◉ Michael Caine plays an oil tycoon who really doesn't care about anything but money, which I think is indicative of all oil people.

—Steven Seagal, referring to his recent flop *On Deadly Ground.*

◉ This proves that the public's disdain for PC garbage is stronger than the desire to watch Seagal mow down 6,000 people with a bazooka and a meat cleaver.

◉ In 1992, according to the Competitive Enterprise Institute's annual tabulation of congressional votes on economic matters, 160 (out of 268) Democratic representatives supported free market policies less often than Bernie Sanders (I-Vt), the only self-declared socialist in the House.

◉ Last year, there were a reported 37 million Americans without health insurance at one time or another. But Bill Clinton revealed in his State of the Union speech that there are now 58 million people who lack insurance. This means that either the President is using phony numbers, or nearly one out of twelve Americans has lost his health insurance in Bill Clinton's first year in office. If that trend continues, by the end of Clinton's term nearly one-third of Americans will have lost their insurance. Now that is a health-care crisis.

◉ Suppose you were an idiot. And suppose you were a member of congress. But I repeat myself.

-Mark Twain

◉ "There is only one way to kill capitalism--by taxes, taxes, and more taxes."

-Karl Marx

◉ We thought Marx was a socialist, but apparently he was really a Democrat all along. Go figure.

◉ The persistence of fools in the University world is one of God's great mysteries.

-John Gardner

CRITIC ALMANAC

Percentage of Americans who say they love doing their taxes: 2

Chances that a dollar of federal revenue last year came from corporate income taxes: 1 in 10

Chances in 1963: 1 in 5

Portion of Somalia in which U.S. oil companies have bought drilling rights since 1986: 3/5

Number of Porsches pawned last year at Collateral Lender of Beverly Hills: 21

Ratio of the number of millionaires in Bill Clinton's cabinet to the number in George Bush's: 1:1

Percentage of Americans who favor prenatal genetic manipulation to improve intelligence: 47

Amount NASA spent [illegible] for the sanitary napkin dispensers in the space shuttle *Endeavour*: [illegible]

Average percentage of bank deposits in a minority community that are reinvested in the neighborhood: 4

Average percentage of bank deposits in a white community that are reinvested in the neighborhood: 8

Source:
Harper's Index

☎ Christianity is a religion for losers.

-Ted Turner

☎ Would last year's crappy commencement speech and marrying Jane Fonda qualify as grounds for being a loser also? Or perhaps at the very least, an asshole. Go Braves

☎ We reject the right-wing philosophy that says if you can't afford it, you can't have it

-David Dinkins

☎ Apparently New Yorkers embraced the philosophy that says morons will not be reelected.

☎ In his *March* [illegible] column, [illegible] Bunyan referred [illegible] in *Christian* [illegible] *would* [illegible] *live without* [illegible] *their* [illegible] *History* [illegible]

Feeling [illegible] that he is [illegible] the United States [illegible] principles of [illegible] the Founding [illegible] were [illegible] "[illegible] Mr. [illegible]"

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APHORISMS

I can't understand why people are frightened of new ideas. I'm frightened of the old ones.
-John Cage

These days, the wages of sin depend on what kind of deal you make with the publisher.
-Ivern Ball

Such is the human race, often it seems a pity that Noah... didn't miss the boat.
-Mark Twain

A hick town is one in which there is no place to go where you shouldn't be.
-Alexander Woollcott

Canada is useful only to provide me with furs.
-Madame de Pompadour

There's only one thing that can kill the movies, and that's education.
-Will Rogers

Poetry is nobody's business except the poet's, and everybody else can f#*! off.
-Philip Larkin

Nothing can so alienate a voter from the political system as backing a winning candidate.
-Mark B. Cohen

The public will believe anything, so long as it is not founded on truth.
-Edith Stilwell

Everything in the world may be endured except continued prosperity.
-Goethe

Under certain circumstances, profanity provides a relief denied even to prayer.
-Mark Twain

Health Plan

By Steve Sciame, a freshman business major

Health Care: More Food For Big Brother

As all of us have heard by now, Bill Clinton wants to introduce a new health care plan. Although there is need for change in the present system, I do not think that this plan is necessarily the best way to go.

An ideal health care system would provide universal coverage, allow absolute freedom of choice and would control costs. The truth about this ideal system is that it is illogically impossible. Universal insurance coverage coupled with absolute freedom of choice would make costs uncontrollable. This is true because, if everything was automatically paid for, then what would stop people from using the newest medical technology no matter what the cost?

About 80 percent of Americans are satisfied with their current health care. There has not been a significant loss of insurance coverage in america. The problem seems to be with the costs, which are so high because today's system provides virtually unlimited care for the insured. Right now, health care is 14 percent of GDP and is expected to exceed 20 percent by the year 2000.

Supposedly, there are only two ways to limit health spending: provide less care, and pay less to those providing it. When you pay less to health providers, you lower the actual supply of health care. This is shown with the simple supply curve. As price goes down, so does supply. Other countries with health plans similar to Clinton's have reduced the supply. In Germany, the availability of open heart surgery is one quarter of that of the United States.

Clinton has come up with other ways to cut spending in his plan by cutting down on excess paperwork, greed and profiteering, unneeded surgery and tests, and malpractice suits. This list would not cut costs as much as Clinton hopes, because many of these categories overlap, and you cannot save the same dollar more than once.

In the end, controlling health costs means that we must deny coverage to the very sick. This rationing of health care means that someone else will be deciding who will live and who will die. The Clinton plan is based on two gambles. One is that there is enough waste and misspending in the system to pay for universal health-insurance. And two, that congress actually wants to limit spending on health care.

The basic Clinton plan has a place for everybody. Self- employed workers will pay their own health premiums, but they are able to deduct this whole expense from taxes. The elderly will have their bills paid by medicare. The unemployed will have to pay for their premiums, unless their income is 150 percent below the poverty line; then they qualify for subsidies. Both mid-sized companies and corporations will pay 80 percent of their workers premiums. Small businesses would have to pay 80 percent of their workers premiums also, but with less than 50 workers, government subsidies keep health care costs below 8.5 percent of payroll. College students would be covered by their parents' policies unless they are far away, in which case they would join a local health alliance.

The part that disturbs me about this plan is that I feel that there is an underlying agenda here. I feel that this is just another attempt to make government bigger and to control people's lives. Think about it: what better way is there to control someone's life. You can tell them that they are not covered by a certain plan because of the way they live their lives. For example, to control costs, in the future they might say, "*All smokers are no longer eligible for treatment of smoking related illnesses.*" The bottom line is that we as Americans do not know how good we have it here. This is by far the best country in the world to live in, even with regard to health care. I do not understand why we are moving in the direction of total government control when the rest of the world is moving away from it. I cannot understand why people want Big Brother government to care for them. Whatever happened to the good old American way of working hard and providing for yourself and your family?

By TJ Hemlinger, a second year doctoral student in the school of Journalism and Mass Communication

They just keep spending, and spending...

PAY NO ATTENTION TO THOSE PEOPLE BEHIND THE CURTAIN!
GLOOM-AND-DOOM PREDICTION PANEL
SCHOOL CLOSINGS
NO POLICE
MASS STARVATION
NO FIRE DEPT.
ECONOMIC DISASTER
POLITICIANS
BUREAUCRATS
MEDIA HYPE
TAX-LIMITATION EXPERIENCE
TAX-PAYERS
ASAY
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH
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When does the well run dry? How many trips to the well constitutes one too many? When do we reach the bottom of the bottomless pit? To get to the point, what can be done about the insatiable lust of government for more money, more power, more control, more growth?

Numerous recent examples of stupidity, high-handedness and a general lack of respect for the taxpaying public have fueled this train of thought. In no particular order, they are:

· Carrboro's town government has decided it needs more space, feeling as it does that it has outgrown the present accommodations. Has it ever occurred to anyone in power in Carrboro—that is, anyone sucking at the public teat—that maybe what is needed is not more space but rather less government? Obviously not. If it has, the heretic who came up with the idea probably was kneecapped and thrown into the wilds to be eaten by wolves. His skull will turn up when ground is broken for the new city hall. For if indeed there were an effort to reduce government, then some of the government officials would actually have to find jobs instead of milking the public weal. No; instead, government and the need for taxes will continue to grow and grow until the half of the population that works will be supporting the half of the population elected, appointed, hired and otherwise padded onto the public payroll.

· The Dean Dome is running a deficit. *The Daily Tar Heel* supports a raise in student fees to pay for it: others suggest more tax money from Raleigh. Here's a radical thought: Quit driving away business! Chapel Hill businessmen and women order Town Manager Cal Horton to pull Chancellor Paul Hardin's strings, and Hardin runs the Grateful Dead and Janet Jackson out of town, costing UNC thousands in revenues. How stupid are we to give UNC more money so it can smugly run off guaranteed sell-out concerts? This is just another example of the utter contempt the administration has for students. "*Don't question our motives; just shut up and write that tuition check.*"

· President Clinton—Bill, that is—says people are not being rewarded with higher wages when they work harder. This, incidentally, comes from a man who's never held a private industry job in his life, a man who went straight from college into politics, a man who has no empathy for and nothing in common with the working man and woman. Let me see if I can explain it to you, Bill: It's taxes, stupid. Payroll and personal income taxes go up, making the marginal return less and less for each hour worked. It quickly gets to the point where that extra hour of overtime or that extra notch of productivity isn't worth the effort. When people bring home only two-thirds to three-fourths of their gross pay, they easily see it doesn't pay to put in the extra effort, because government will take it for more Carrboro office space, or more junkets, or more pork in key Congressional districts. Is this too hard for you, Bill? You're the Rhodes scholar who majored in economics.

· So the North Carolina state government spends $50,000 a day during a special session trying to pass a crime bill. "*Three strikes and you're out*"—out of society, into prison, for life. That's just great. Let's keep 70-year-old felons in prison so taxpayers

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

The Carrboro town government doesn't need anymore space

Health Care

By Tadd Wilson, a sophomore English/pre-law major and assistant editor of The Critic

Bill and Hillary Can't Care For Your Health

In the current battle over health care, many arguments have been offered in support of government intervention to end the "crisis." However, in order to condone such intervention, a justification must be strong enough to override the principles of a market economy, not merely demonstrate a case for government meddling.

A possible justification is that health care is a public good, i.e., one that must be provided even for those who do not pay, such as national defense. One major problem with a market economy is that public goods may not be sufficiently provided. If a market cannot provide such goods, then it is the responsibility of the government to step in assume control of their provision. This is the argument being used to justify the socialization of health care: it is the government's duty to provide coverage for all, even those who do not or cannot pay.

Whether or not you agree that the government should provide universal care, it is undeniable that the current system is inefficient. However, this fact alone does not justify intervention, or Clinton's proposal in particular. In examining health care, one must ask two questions: Is there a crisis, or a correctable problem? And is the solution proposed by President Clinton or any legislator more or less efficient then a market solution?

The answer to the first question is largely empirical. While 80 percent of Americans say they are satisfied with the quality of care they are receiving, an October 1993 *Newsweek* poll of 751 people shows that 79 percent felt that fundamental change was needed or that the current system needs to be completely rebuilt. Also, while the current system allows nearly unlimited coverage for insured individuals, the percentage of uninsured Americans has risen steadily since 1977 from 13 to 17 percent.

In terms of raw cost, Medicare/Medicaid benefits represented 16 percent of all federal outlays in 1992. Doctors paid $7 billion in malpractice insurance and an additional $25 billion for defensive medicine, while juggling 1300 different forms for insurers. Moreover, in 1991, only 22 percent of all health costs were paid out of pocket, the remaining 78 percent of costs being deferred to insurance companies.

Herein lies the problem: While the rising costs of increasingly advanced technology and comprehensive care have been absorbed by insurance companies, patients and doctors have been able to take for granted coverage despite exorbitant costs. However, insurance companies, in order to retain profits, have had to increase premiums, limit policies and deny coverage for special cases including hereditary risk, terminal illness and pre-existing conditions. Moreover, doctors fees have reached all-time highs as physicians also seek to profit in the wake of huge insurance costs. The result: a growing number of people with little or no insurance in an environment where the prohibitive cost of medical treatment has made insurance absolutely necessary, yet increasingly scarce.

Undoubtedly there is a problem, if not a crisis, and serious consideration must be given to possible solutions. However, despite the fact that inefficiency is present in the current system, Clinton's plan must justify itself as more efficient than the current one.

Efficiency is understood to mean a balancing between universal access and overall quality, while reducing costs in all reasonable areas. To earn consideration, the Clinton health care plan must ultimately prove itself better than the current system, not simply an alternative.

The plan focuses on universal coverage, and seeks to subsidize such coverage by cutting waste from the current system. The Clinton plan will reorganize the current mass of hospitals, physicians and insurers into Health Management Organizations (HMOs). Under the principles of managed competition (remember Mao Zedung??), the Clinton plan seeks to maximize cooperation between medical firms, while allowing hospitals and doctors to compete for patients.

In this employer-based system, businesses with 50-5000 employees will be required to pay at least 80 percent of each employee's premiums, while small businesses with less than 50 employees will pay 50 percent. In return, the employer will offer several options: HMO arranged alliances of specific doctors, hospitals and insurance agencies; a slightly more expensive "fee for service" program; or a mix of the two.

Under the HMO plan, all approved medical procedures will be covered by insurance. The plan guarantees a large number of services to all citizens: doctor's office, emergency room and laboratory fees; semiprivate hospital accommodations; preventive care, including immunizations, prenatal and infant care; "*pregnancy related and family planning*" issues, including abortion; physicals and mammograms for women over the age of 50; eye and ear care, as well as children's eye glasses; up to 100 days of long term care in rehabilitation centers or nursing homes; up to 60 days of home or outpatient therapy for occupational, physical or speech disorders; dental care for children, and eventually adults; prescription drugs; hospice for terminally ill patients; increased services for mental health and substance abuse patients; and prostheses and braces for preventive and reconstructive measures. Individuals under the HMO plan will choose from among several group plans offered by the employer, paying a $10-15 "co-payment" for each visit.

Under the "fee for service" plan, users will follow the traditional system, paying for all expenses (or splitting the cost with insurance), up o a maximum of $1500 per individual or $3000 per family. Under this plan, users will pay ın estimated 20 percent of all health care costs, yet retain an absolute choice of hysicians.

Self-employed workers will pay lightly higher rates at $1800 per person, 4200 per family, but may deduct the entire um from their tax payments.

In short, everyone is covered, and veryone pays unless extreme circumstances etermine otherwise. Only those whose ıcomes fall 150 percent below the poverty ne will be exempt from paying.

Despite its ambitious goals and univer- al coverage, the Clinton plan falters, as do ıany of Bill's ideals, when confronted with realistic application. Four major problems wait the President's plan.

First, rationing is an absolute corollary f socialized health care. Despite its single ayer appeal, the highly tauted and exem- ified "Canadian System" fails dismally in rgent care and lab work. A simple blood st may take weeks, the technology is out date, and equipment is so scarce that mples must often be shipped to different ovinces for analysis. Moreover, life pport and intensive care are rationed out managerial physicians, not at the scretion of the patient or family.

Secondly, the Clinton plan dooms earch to an ugly and rapid demise, slashing the potential for new cures and simultaneously stagnating technological advances in procedures such as laser surgery and organ transplants. Also, the number of qualified individuals seeking employment as physicians will drop as dwindling profit expectations render the torture of medical school and residency futile.

I HAVEN'T BEEN GETTING ANY SLEEP SINCE I FOUND OUT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN EXPERIMENTING ON UNSUSPECTING CITIZENS, AS IF THEY WERE LAB RATS... INJECTING STUFF INTO THEIR VEINS THEY KNEW MIGHT BE LETHAL... (SHUDDER)
CAN YOU PRESCRIBE SOMETHING, DOC?
SOCIALISM
MAYBE WE CAN TRY A LITTLE MORE OF THIS!
NATIONAL HEALTH CARE
BEND OVER!
ASAY COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH ©1994 CREATORS SYNDICATE

Third, the concept of managed competition is itself flawed. While all competition drives down prices, such artificial competition must also result in hospital and clinic closings, as well as salary reductions for all medical personnel.

Finally, shifting 50-80 percent of the insurance burden onto small businesses will contract the economic expansion that President Clinton is relying on to help fund his plan. In order to cover the demands for additional insurance, no business is going to cut profits: they will cut jobs.

Ultimately for the Clinton health care plan, the numbers just don't add up. Under the plan, low income worker subsidies will consume $169 billion, long term care $80 billion, drugs for the elderly $72 billion, public clinics $29 billion, and a federal budget deficit reduction would slash another $91 billion, for a total expense of $441 billion.

To pay for the plan, Clinton has proposed a 70-80 cent/per pack cigarette tax increase which will earn $70 billion over 5 years, as well as $35 billion from a 1 percent corporate tax increase.

However, over $330 billion remains to be accounted for. Somewhat dubiously, President Clinton claims that $51 billion will come from economic growth due to the reform itself, along with an additional $285 billion which can be eliminated from Medicare, Medicaid and federal employee benefits.

The problem is thus: new technologies and treatments drive up the cost of Medicare and Medicaid, making income from such cuts undependable and unlikely. In truth, Bill Clinton has taken the gamble that enough waste can be cut out of the system to subsidize universal care, even though the plan creates more programs and bureaucracy than it eliminates.

It is a $285 billion gamble that Republicans, Democrats and even the Congressional Budget Office predict Clinton will lose, an irresponsible presidential wager which can end in one of two ways: the installment of a completely underfunded and mediocre system, or more taxes. Either way, the Clinton Health Care plan is more than our nation can afford.

In the final estimation, a cure for chronic health care ills is necessary immediately. However, the Clinton plan falls short of the goals it sets forth and can in no way claim to be more efficient than the current system, and thus cannot justifiably be thrust upon the backs of doctors, taxpayers and small business owners. Despite embracing the ideal of a system of universal coverage, Clinton's health care plan is too bitter a financial pill for America to swallow.

SPENDING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

can pay for their dentures and prostate operations. A better idea—adopted and working elsewhere—is to add 30 years to a three-time loser's sentence. Most violent criminals are young—in their 20s and 30s, at least. An extra 30 years would put them in their 50s and 60s. I'll take my chances with them then. But there would be an empty bed in prison for each of them paroled, and thus reduced demand for prison space. And you politicians better think hard about this—some people already are arguing for a "*three strikes and you're dead*" policy.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

Liberals By Jennifer Durham, a senior journalism and history major and editor-in-chief of The Critic

LIBERALISM DEMEANS HUMANITY

Is fighting liberalism merely a political game conservatives engage in for a little sport? Is every idea just an idea that has equal credibility with any other idea? If your answer to these two questions is not a resounding "no," then it should be.

Every politician, political interest group, etc. claims their activities and philosophies will benefit mankind in some manner. Even the most abhorrent activists and philosophies wear the cloak of benevolence. Without the guise of decency, no aspiring power-grabber would succeed by a means other than force. Nobody would vote for a person whose campaign slogan was "*down with the poor*."

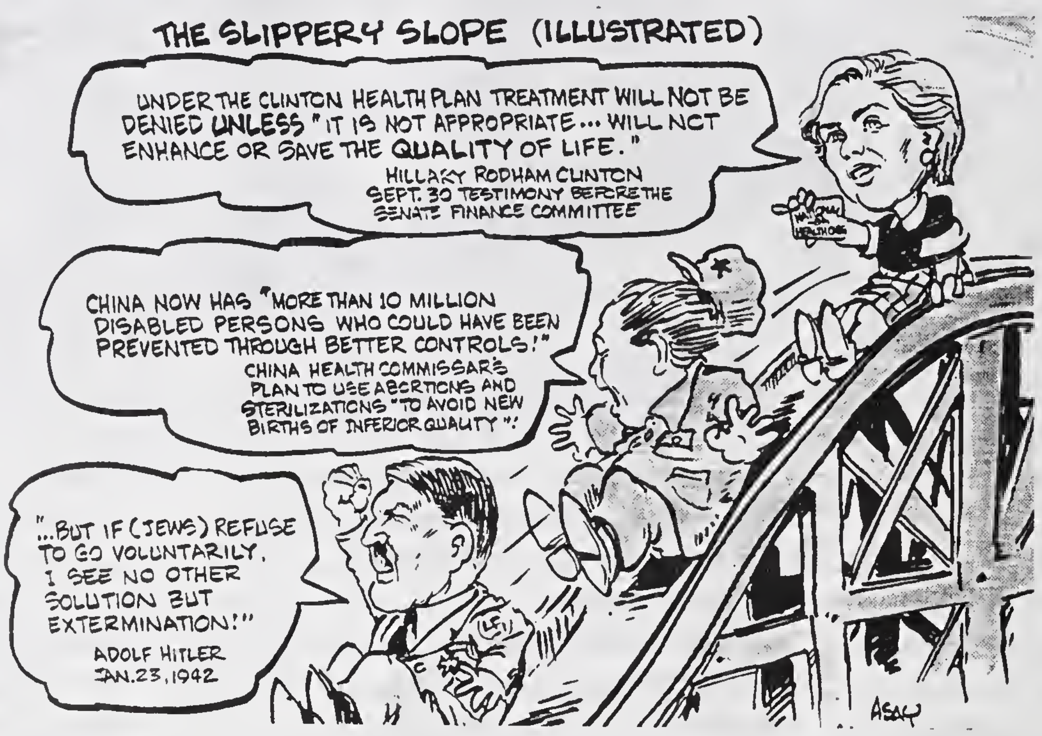
Obviously, not everyone's philosophy is true or good. Evil philosophies wreak great destruction when their adherents gain power. In this age of millions of splinter groups representing what appear to be a million different viewpoints, it is vitally important to look into the larger context out of which the ideas appear. One of the most important questions one could ask regarding a particular viewpoint is how much respect the view gives the individual.

Any good idea must be rooted in the belief that each person is a unique and special individual. His character comes from within, not from without. He is a unique being, different from everybody else, defined from within and capable of shaping himself. He is bound to his fellow man by a recognition of universal human truths--love, pain, sin, emotion, feeling, thinking, etc.--which transcend categories of race, economic status, etc.

Any idea rooted in the belief that something else--race, gender, economic status, etc.--primarily determines who a person is brings dangerous consequences. Equally dangerous is any idea that elevates the rest of nature to the level of man. The major ideas that modern liberalism parades under its false banner of white fall into these categories. Trumpeters of America's varieties of liberalism seek power. When converted to official policy, their ideas, clothed in the jargon of compassion, deeply insult humanity.

Race (Race Man)

Advocates of quotas based on race have tried to replace moral duty to treat every man with dignity and love with duty to treat minorities unequally based on skin color.


THE SLIPPERY SLOPE (ILLUSTRATED)
UNDER THE CLINTON HEALTH PLAN TREATMENT WILL NOT BE DENIED UNLESS "IT IS NOT APPROPRIATE... WILL NOT ENHANCE OR SAVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE." HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON SEPT. 30 TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
CHINA NOW HAS "MORE THAN 10 MILLION DISABLED PERSONS WHO COULD HAVE BEEN PREVENTED THROUGH BETTER CONTROLS!" CHINA HEALTH COMMISSAR'S PLAN TO USE ABORTIONS AND STERILIZATIONS "TO AVOID NEW BIRTHS OF INFERIOR QUALITY".
"...BUT IF (JEWS) REFUSE TO GO VOLUNTARILY, I SEE NO OTHER SOLUTION BUT EXTERMINATION!" ADOLF HITLER JAN.23, 1942
ASAY

Leaders of the multicultural movement simultaneously pronounce the words of diversity and attempt to destroy it. Because they have a racist view of man--skin color and ethnicity form one's being and perspective--they argue that different viewpoints can only be represented in people of different skin colors (In reality, the "diversity" they advocate amounts to people with different skin color who have the *same* viewpoint. "Diversity" does not leave room for those who disagree with its racist concept).

Quotas directly attack man's dignity. Someone who gets a job is left wonder if it was given to him because of the color of his skin or because of his qualifications. Racial quotas also contribute to a neurotic society, as they teach people to determine others' worth by the color of their skin. Once skin color becomes the defining characteristic of an individual, the human spirit under his skin matters little.

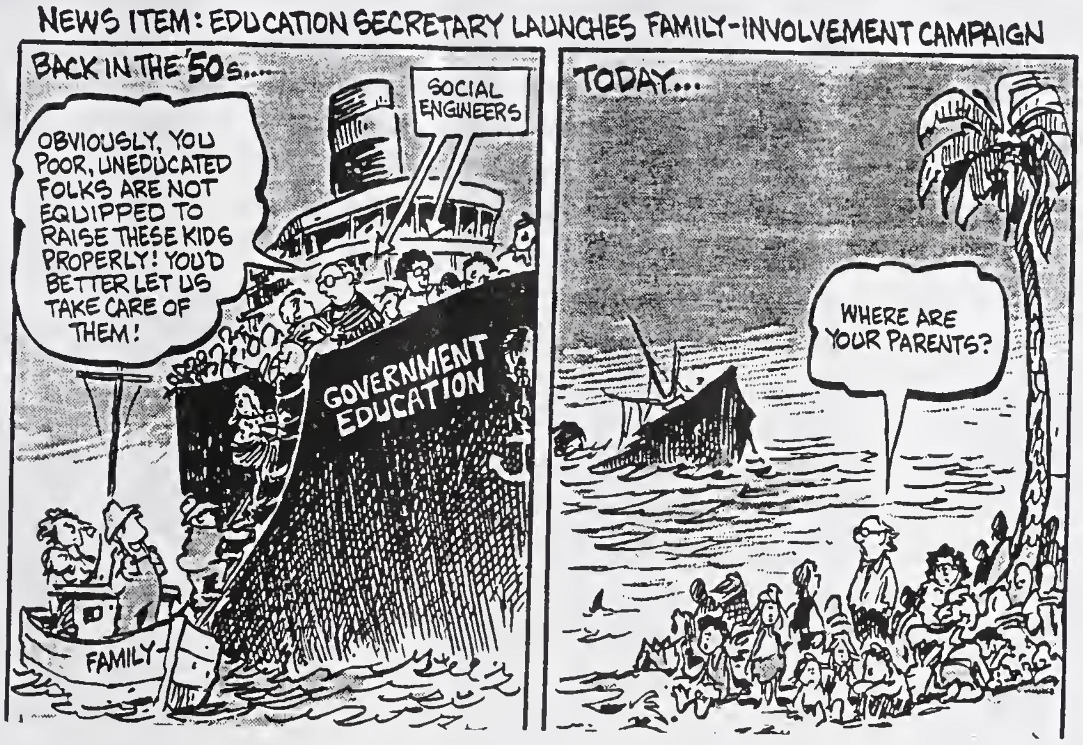
Judgments based on poor character, such as evictions and arrests, take a back seat to someone's skin color. A leader of the expanding black conservative movement, Star Parker, says, "*We haven't held [black elected officials] accountable. There was such a struggle to get blacks in office that no one looked to their character--the very thing that Dr. King stood for: 'the content of our character.*'"

When too many people hold a racist view of man, society splinters along racial lines. Each race begins to consider itself superior to the rest. Consider the frightening words of Afrocentrist Molefi Asante (from a speech he delivered at the Alumni Center last year): "*It is impossible to force, on a multi-cultural and a multi-ethnic population, a civil system that is northern European.*"

Asante further argued, in essence, that a universal human morality cannot bond African to European under a common system. There is no Truth: he argues that different values have inculcated different cultures, and that a race must be allowed to exist under its own system of values. It is very important to note that Asante equates race with values. Anyone who deviates is wrong: "*African people say 'I am not European. I have roots. My experience, my heritage has been very different. My perspective on facts, phenomenon...is all different from Europeans.' The African will always have that view, unless the African has become 'Clarencized.' Clarence Thomas is a very common phenomenon, when you have a situation where the African is detached, amputated, dislocated.*"

All sorts of atrocities inevitably result from a racist view of man. Many whites in the United States convinced themselves they were superior to blacks, and racial slavery continued for more than 200 years. Our constitution only counted slaves as 3/5 human. The Nazis' racist world view culminated in the ghastly slaughter of millions of Jews and other non-Aryans. Reports of ethnic cleansing continue to stream from the former Yugoslavia. South Africa is facing the chaotic and often deadly consequences of years of official apartheid. In all of these tragic situations, people learned to view their fellow man as a "black," a "Jew," a "Croatian," etc. instead of as a human being.

The expanding quota and "diversity" mentality is only a seedling of more intolerant and tyrannical racism. Watch out when the trees grow; America is building its house on the wrong foundation. Parker observes, "*I am getting media attention because of crime. White liberals are afraid. That monster they created in their socialist lab has gone crazy on them, and it is racist.*"


NEWS ITEM: EDUCATION SECRETARY LAUNCHES FAMILY-INVOLVEMENT CAMPAIGN
BACK IN THE '50s....
SOCIAL ENGINEERS
OBVIOUSLY, YOU POOR, UNEDUCATED FOLKS ARE NOT EQUIPPED TO RAISE THESE KIDS PROPERLY! YOU'D BETTER LET US TAKE CARE OF THEM!
GOVERNMENT EDUCATION
FAMILY
TODAY...
WHERE ARE YOUR PARENTS?

Environmentalism (Animal Man) The deliberate and willful destruction of the environment should not be tolerated, and environmentalists are correct in opposing such demolition.

However, beware of any brand of environmentalism that elevates the plight of the environment over the well-being of man. Is man merely an extension of the animal kingdom, evolved from less complicated species, or is he a special creature? If man is merely another form of animal, animals have just as many rights as he does. Udo Middelmann and the late Francis Schaeffer describe the consequences of equating man with animal in *Pollution and the Death of Man*: "*The economic dilemma of India is complicated by their pantheistic system in which the rats and cows are allowed to eat up food that people need. Instead of man being raised, in reality he is owered. The rats and cows are finally given preference to man himself, and man begins o disappear into the woodwork of econom-cs as well as in the area of personality and ove.*"

Unfortunately, this view of environmen-alism has found its way into our government, as the story of John Wood, a Con-ecticut resident, shows. *Heterodoxy* reports that when Wood undertook the ordeal of adding onto his house, he ran into a group f rare Tibetan Wood Beetles. Local authorities got wind of their existence, and Wood had to halt construction. A group of "experts" came in to determine how much Wood had damaged the insects' home. A court eventually ordered him to "*restore the beetles' habitat to its original condition*" or face a jail sentence. When Wood's son accidentally tipped over a coffee maker and burned the entire house down, Wood wound up in jail for five years for destroying the beetles' habitat, polluting the air and polluting a nearby stream. Thus did callous environmentalists put a man and his family put through enormous hardship in the name of preserving insects. Those who dared prosecute Mr. Wood are the real criminals.

Environmentalists are little different from any other power-seeking faction. Like those who prosecuted John Wood, they would attempt to destroy an innocent man and his family in the name of an agenda. Consciously or unconsciously, they treat man with less respect than the whales or spotted owls they campaign to save.

Economics (Material Man) Economic liberals in the United States are fond of quoting statistics about the wealthiest 10 percent or the poorest 10 percent of the population. Like Marxists, they believe that exploitation of the poor by the rich is the root cause of society's problems. To correct the problem, they steal money from one group and purport to redistribute it to another (though they redistribute quite a bit of it to themselves through the bureaucracies they create). They tell people that their worth is subject to economic status; if you are poor, you cannot live a life of dignity, and if you have a lot of money, you are an exploiter. The leaders of this view are power grabbers, gaining control by promising to help an idealized lower class and punish exploiters. Once they gain power, they do their best to punish the "exploiters." In the United States, we attempt to tax them disproportionately; they have met far worse fates when this view is taken to an extreme. The Marxists in Soviet Russia, for example, murdered millions of people in the name of economic equality. Bourgeois and noble elements were sent off to the Gulag or killed (a fate often one in the same).

Material Man, like Race Man, doesn't tolerate dissension. Those who reject the view that economic status determines dignity reject the basis of their power, and thus threaten it.

Abortion (Non-human Man) Perhaps the public numbness to abortion has arisen from the low view of man put forth by the above groups. If man is defined by skin color, what's to stop abortion based on skin color? If economic status determines individual worth, what's to stop people from aborting babies who would be born into poverty? If man is worth no more than animals, what's to stop people from slaughtering them like cattle? Many arguments liberals use to justify abortion spring from a lowered view of man.

A common argument used in the pro-abortion camp is that a child that is "unplanned," "unwanted" or will grow up in a poor environment will only live a miserable life. No hope exists for the child in the eyes of pro-abortionists, because economic circumstances or family circumstances determine the child's future. Little or nothing within the child will save him from his dismal fate. While the statistics they so gallantly offer the public ostensibly support their arguments, they leave no room for exceptions. Every child, based on the situation it is born into, is an unalterable statistic in a hopeless world. So they kill in the name of preventing more terrible statistics. This attitude is a woeful assault on humanity, and it has predictably led to even more frightening rationales for abortion.

Once the public sensibility has numbed,

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LIBERALISM

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once it accepts abortion as merely another medical procedure, people use it for any reason they want. Abort the boys until you get a girl. Abort a retarded child, because it will be too difficult to raise. This mentality inevitably leads to the view that one group of humans is superior to another.

President Clinton recently authorized federal funding for fetal tissue research, which takes abortion a dangerous step further. Not only can we now abort unborn children for any reason, we fund research on the aborted fetuses. When asked what he thought was the most significant event of 1993, author and filmmaker Frank Schaeffer told the Rutherford Institute: *"Bill Clinton's executive order federally funding fetal experimentation was most significant. [This order] is the official revival of the eugenics movement which has not been officially sanctioned by a Western government since the Nuremburg war crimes trials. Fetal experimentation combined with genetic engineering is going to lead us right into the eugenics movement, the search and destroy mission for imperfect babies, unwanted human beings..."*

Individual Man All of the above views of humanity reject the concept of individuality. Though each group views man in terms other than individuality, that doesn't mean they co-exist in harmony. Indeed, they generally don't tolerate those outside their ideology. They fight with one another over which policies are more important, and society factionalizes into groups that think their agenda deserves the most attention.

Despite their differences with each other, they share one thing in common: a low view of man. Leaders may not agree with one another, but they unite under the banner of liberalism--to fight the antithetical idea that individuals have intrinsic worth.

They win votes speaking the language of compassion; they are in reality power players, consciously or unconsciously seeking to subjugate others to themselves.

People's views on race, the environment, economics, etc. should *fit into*, not *define*, their world view. Only a view respecting an individual's dignity and

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Government By Wesley Deaton, a junior journalism and biology major

The Role of Government, Part II:
Beyond Protecting Rights

In the last essay, I discussed the main purpose of government, which is to protect the rights of its citizens. I then asked the question, *"How far should a government go beyond protecting its citizens' rights?"* This essay will attempt to provide a general answer to that question.

When does a government (and I will use our own as an example) typically go beyond protecting the rights of its citizens? There are two types of such actions, the first of which is national preservation. Some types of national preservation can be good. For example, if a superpower attempted to invade the United States, the government might have to conscript some of its citizens, thereby abridging their rights. However, by acting to preserve the nation, the government would be preserving the rights of the nation's citizens.

Not all types of national preservation are good, however. Sometimes, as is the case in more totalitarian regimes, a government acts to preserve the nation as an entity, and to keep the status quo. In such instances, the government is acting in the interests of a nationality--not in the interests of individuals, as in the previous example--and in many instances is taking rights away from citizens. Even the United States government has been guilty of this from time to time, as when it censored dissent and unpopular ideas in earlier times.

The second kind of government action that goes beyond rights-protection is when the government provides goods or services. A government can provide a universal good or service (one that is for the entire population), such as social security. Government can also provide goods and services for an individual or small groups, such as funding provided for the National Endowment for the Arts.

Some goods and services can be beneficial, because by strengthening the nation, they strengthen the rights, privileges and security of an individual. However, some goods and services are examples of citizens' money being doled out to benefit a small group of individuals.

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

Government has few excuses to go beyond protecting rights

Is there any reason why government should limit its actions? Definitely. A government is generally funded by the taxes of its citizens. Therefore, government should be as limited as possible, in an attempt to be as nearly burdenless as possible to its citizens. The burdens of government taxation should not outweigh the benefits to its citizens. The burdens of government taxation should not outweigh the benefits to its citizens, otherwise the government does not deserve to exist.

Also, it is important to remember that, in a democratic nation, taxes should not be used to redistribute wealth. Too often, one portion of the population wants certain government services, but they expect the funds to come from some group other than

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

SBP

By Ben Hardwick, a senior political science and psychology major.

The Life of an SBP Candidate

It was a cold and wintry eve as I sat watching one of those cheesy USA network late night movies. The film was *Weird Science*, and it helped remind me exactly when Anthony Michael Hall began his descent into the horrible realm of a B-Movie film career. As I licked my lips (and was welcomed to the delightful combination of Cheetos and Shasta root beer), and slowly drifted off into the land of Freud, I began to enter into a flashback/dream sequence state of existence.

In the dream I was a mad scientist (Is there any other kind?) and was busy putting together a student body president. Completely ignoring the "human should not toy with mother nature" reservation in my mind, I fastened a Ken doll to some electrodes that were "borrowed" from the chem labs. Lightning then descended from a sleet cloud and struck my candidate. "It's Alive!" I shout. As with most movie monsters, however, my candidate began to run amuck. He cleared his throat and spoke the following words:

I am the everyman, and yet I represent no one. My name is Frank, yet you can call me the "Pit King." My visibility in that location is second only to a man who says that I am going to burn in eternal hellfire because of my propensity to wear Levi's loose fitting jeans. I am omnipotent, omnipresent, and a few more "omnis" that I can not remember at this moment.

Perhaps my first step into student politics was my initiation into my fraternity. It makes complete sense to me that the practice of smoking ganja joints the size of small farm animals, and the illegal drinking of alcoholic beverages named after lurid sexual acts in exotic tropical locations would forge a political bond that would last a lifetime. I mean, we did legitimately perform important activities for the community, but damn, you just cannot beat the sizable block vote that I am going to receive.

After being elected to student congress, I did my best to defund programs that were contrary to my personal political affiliation and worked to encourage an opening of the public coffers to organizations that were congruent with my personal beliefs. Most notably, as editor of a conservative campus publication called "The Re-View", I hypocritically called for less student government spending, but begged like a dog for a bone for money to keep my fledgling organization afloat.

As president, I promise to end all racial strife on campus. The solution to ending current divisiveness is increased communication. I will help end homelessness in Chapel Hill. I will find a ride for that gentleman on Franklin Street who has asked on three separate occasions for money to help repair his dysfunctional automobile so that he can drive to Raleigh. I will make "Mortal Kombat II" free at the union. I will improve the food at Lenoir so that the individual components of dishes can be recognized. During my administration, the space in front of Davis Library where the statues used to be will be drilled for oil so that we can eliminate library budgetary strife.

During the election, I will spend ghastly amounts of money to ensure that every classroom (definitely the large ones) has at least ninety "Glamourshots" pictures of myself and my cheesy grin. In addition to courting the fraternity vote, I will attend all the social functions of the organizations in which I "happen" to be a member. Despite the fact that I have not attended a meeting since the resurrection, I will blatantly distribute campaign flyers and cuddle up to potential voters. I will present my platform in the *DTH* and pray towards a higher being that they do not endorse me.

After getting elected I will not do a damn thing that I have previously promised. I will waste taxpayer money to have my hair cut by guys named Christophe. I will shamelessly avoid difficult issues, but manage to show up for all the cool photographic opportunities like the bicentennial. I will shake and stutter when giving speeches to the public, and attend all mandatory functions. I will create a campus survey to mask the fact that I am

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GOVERNMENT

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

their own.

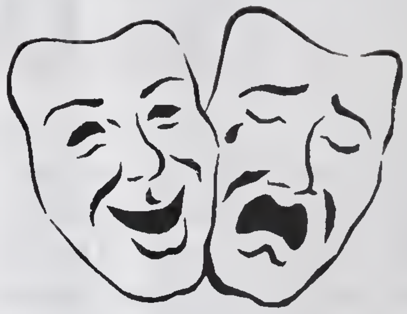
Another reason government should limit itself is because of its inability to act efficiently. Because of its bureaucratic nature, government often performs inefficiently. Therefore, if a private group, individual, business, etc. is able to provide a certain good or service that the government has been providing, it may be a good idea for government to step down and let the private sector take over--because the private sector can usually do it more efficiently.

The third reason government should be limited is because it has the potential to exert immense control over its citizens. If government provides services, funds, etc. to its citizens, it can to some degree control those citizens. Already, the U.S. government exerts powerful control over states. By creating reliance on various forms of federal funding, the national government wields enormous power; it threatens to withdraw funds if a state does not comply with its wishes. This is the method the federal government used to force the states to raise the legal drinking age from 18 to 21.

When should government go beyond the protection of rights and provide goods and services? Although there can be no clear cut-and-dry rule, the following are some good general guidelines. Government should provide a good or service: **(1)** When most people want it, and **(2)** when it can be afforded because of tax cuts or tax raises on a population that is willing to have its taxes raised. **(3)** For the sake of humanity. Earlier, I said that taxes should not redistribute wealth. Sometimes, however, if the only people paying for services are the only ones who need them, there can be no services. If a person, for example, could die without a certain government service, it would be the humane thing to provide that service, even though that service will cost money and will not benefit a large portion of the population.

Government should be as limited as possible, because as government action increases, the rights of individuals decrease.

Music and movie reviews
from The Critic
by Tadd Wilson



Rock *&Reel*

Carter The Unstoppable Sex Machine

"Post Historic Monsters"
IRS Records/1993

For those of you lamenting the end of the Sex Pistols and the death of punk: fear not! The verbal ignominy that was Johnny Rotten is alive and well, and his name is Fruitbat, half of Carter The Unstoppable Sex Machine.

Formed in the late 80s as a response to the musical doldrums of the time, Carter USM was established with the intention of starting a "*post-punk people's revolution*." However, the plans for worldwide revolution failed and Carter USM took its message to the musical masses.

Riding the current tide of techno-industrial rock and packaged rebellion, Carter USM has had surprising success in the U.K., despite government censorship. "*Post Historic Monsters*," the first album to be released in America, is true to the duo's previous form of protest and cynicism. Carter USM rages against virtually all of society's evils: neo-Nazism, David Koresh, the royal family, Baden Powell, war, suicide, commercialism, fascism, politics, Vietnam, etc., etc.

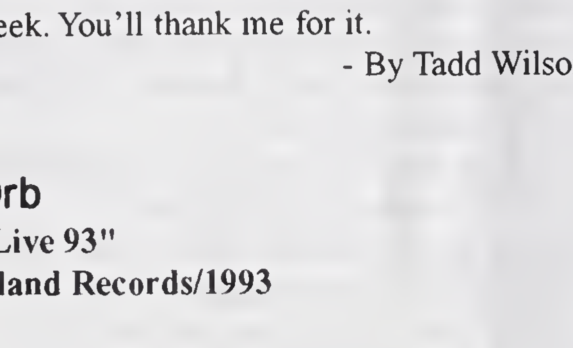
Despite subscribing to rebellious fictions, Carter USM cannot escape its own commercialism. Though the lyrics are amusing (and sometimes poignant, as in "Travis"), and the sound is angry and energetic, Carter cannot avoid its destiny as another "teen angst" band. Even so, the album has its strong points--check "Evil" for an intensity that rivals Ministry and "Mid Day Crisis" for a biting assessment of cult fanaticism. Carter USM roars unchecked through sixteen solid, if not stellar, tracks, and if they are cliche', at least they fill the mold well.

"*Post Historic Monsters*" is highly recommended for Zoo hour during exam week. You'll thank me for it.

- By Tadd Wilson

Orb

"Live 93"
Island Records/1993



Any album that is dedicated to the search for "*Fluffy*" perhaps does not receive the serious consideration that most recordings do.

Here it is: "*Live 93*" from the British group Orb. Despite its humble origins, "*Live 93*" improves with age, "*like a bottle of finest Sisco*," as the wise John South would say. Devoid of concrete words or a determinate meaning, "*Live 93*" is a surreal journey not only around the globe, but through the fantastical world of "*little fluffy clouds*", "*perpetual dawn*" and "*spanish castles in space*."

More tranquil than most techno-sample oriented material, "*Live 93*" resonates blissfully, and at great length: two CDs with more than 70 minutes of music each. Moreover, the quality of the live sound is remarkably close to the studio renditions, yet it is relaxed, not stiff or anticipated as is usual with many live performances.

Finally, the album ends in the realm of ultimate reality, in the synchro-energistic pulse of "*a huge evergrowing pulsating brain that rules from the center of the ultraworld*." Hillary?

In the final estimation, "*Live 93*" from Orb is a good album for relaxation, meditation and even studying. However, if you need even a little spice in your life, joining the cosmic search for "*Fluffy*" may not be the best option for you.

- By Tadd Wilson

SBP

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completely out of touch with the common student.

In conclusion, I hope to work in some small way to effectuate the status quo. I am the one, the only one, I am the God of kingdom come- just give me the prize.

BEEP, BEEP, BEEP my alarm clock chimes and I quickly jump like a Skinner rat to end this powerful negative reinforcer. I awoke in a slow stupor and thought to myself "Wow, what a nightmare. I sure am glad it was just a dream."

Editor's note: My apologies to Mr. Hardwick. We inadvertently left this article out of the last issue.

LIBERALISM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

intrinsic worth can provide a healthy outlook on life. A moral individual will treat all life with respect, regardless of race or economic status. He will recognize his fellow man as a human soul who thinks and feels as he does, not primarily as an "Asian" or a "rich man."

Exploiters, embezzlers, racists, hatemongers, charlatans, liars, cheats, demagogues, murderers, thieves, rapists and all other rogues sin on an individual basis, not because they have a particular skin color or amount of money, but because they lack morality and have character flaws.

Only when a majority of individuals accept moral duty and vision will America turn from its path of self-destruction. Ideas based on respect for the individual are usually credible; ideas that deviate from that assumption bring danger.

SPENDING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

· The Chapel Hill library is moving to
wer digs, and people want to put a
useum or a homeless shelter or something
ually financially prosperous in the old
ilding on Franklin Street. Wait a
inute—aren't we looking for more
venue for the city? How about SELLING
e building and putting it back on the tax
lls? The money could perhaps support
other police officer or insurance to
otect against itinerant Deadheads. Alas, it
pears to be another example of how
vernment grows and grows and grows,
th never a thought of shrinking. "*It's*
rs, and it will always be ours." There has
be a point where the marginal benefits
e outweighed by the liabilities.

· Clip this out and carry it into the
ter's booth this fall: If they're in office,
te against them. Congress, at the urging
President Clinton—Bill, that is—passed
largest tax hike in the history of the
public earlier this year, and it still isn't
ough. The federal government wants
re money to support its health care
gram; the state wants more money for
sons; and the cities want more money for
re police and more office space. Dig
ep, taxpayers, but remember—that extra
ur of overtime or extra notch of produc-
ty isn't worth it.

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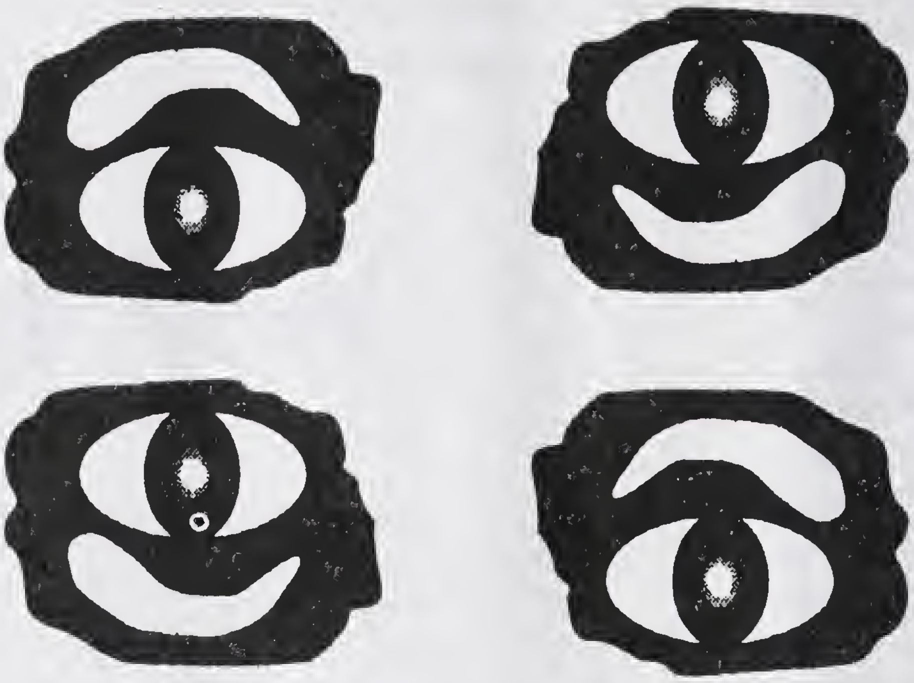

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC

VOLUME VII, ISSUE 7

MAY 1, 1994

Is the United States becoming a

Brave New World?

Coverage Begins on Page 7

ANNOUNCING

the eighth annual

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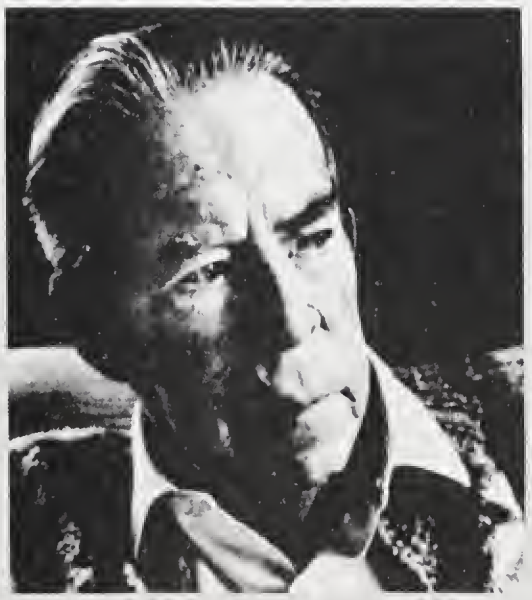

Who was Felix Morley?

And why is the Institute for Humane Studies awarding $7,500 in his honor?

Felix Morley was editor of the *Washington Post* from 1933 to 1940 and a winner of the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished editorial writing. In the *Post* and in subsequent writing, at the height of the New Deal and postwar anti-communism, Morley was deeply committed to a "classical liberal" perspective, emphasizing individual rights, private property, voluntarism, and a noninterventionist foreign policy.

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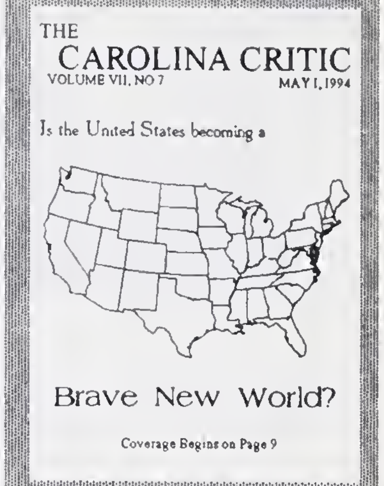

THE
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Is the United States becoming a

Brave New World?

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THE CRITIC COVER

Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* becomes more relevant to the United States every day.

Design by Terence J. McDevitt

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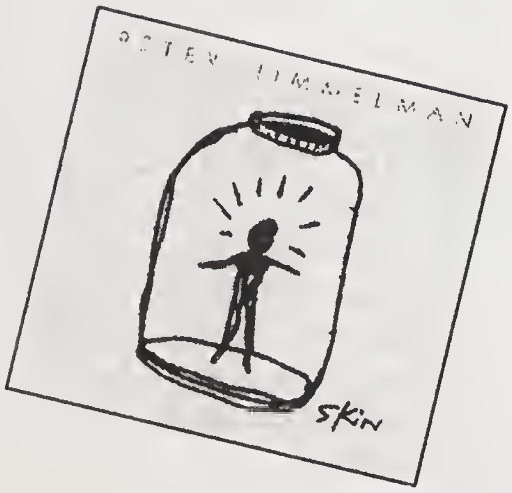

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THE
CAROLINA CRITIC
A student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VII, No. 7

THE CRITICAL EYE

◉ As you are well aware, universities across the country have become the home of PC Nazi-neo-fascists (a name that adequately encompasses their twisted agenda). As a service to students we have decided to out some of these groups. Of course, you probably already know who they are so read on and chuckle at their expense:

-Campus Y- In addition to alienating most of the student body, the Y even manages to alienate its own members.

-Favorite activities for the remaining six members include petitioning for cattle rights while wearing leather sandals and midnight prayers at the altar of Woodstock.

-90% of UNC faculty- Perhaps 90% is a conservative estimate. While many faculty members keep their politics to themselves (and we thank you), those who don't are generally bitter towards the outside world for leaving them behind and seek refuge in that opiate of intellectuals, namely thought policing Marxism.

-Favorite activities include revising university speech codes and burning copies of 'The Wealth of Nations.'

-B-GLAD- A few members of this organization have tainted and embarrassed the entire group by having the pit preacher arrested. Give us a break. A guy named Adolpf once had people arrested for saying things he didn't like.

-Favorite activities include 50 word essays on Darren Allen's contribution to intellectual life at UNC and prayer breakfasts with Jesse Helms.

- South Building- The root of all evil. The occupants of South Building have been largely responsible for the rape of the educational process and the mutilation of the US Constitution through speech codes and other forms of PC thought policing under the guise of sensitivity training and multiculturalism.

-Comrade Hardin (who will likely be replaced by a fuehrer) could have at least challenged some of the happenings during his reign to an open debate rather than the gatherings of ideologues hell-bent on establishing indoctrination ceremonies and brainwashing seminars for students.

-Favorite activity is gourmet cooking. Specialties are waffle fries and jellyfish innards.

- Honorable mention goes to the DTH for being the loudest and most hypocritical of the PC fascists for its endless parade of leftist whiners.

◉ Did you ever notice, the only one in *A Christmas Carol* with any character is Scrooge? Marley is a whiner who f#@!$d over the world and then hadn't the spine to pay his dues quietly; Belle, Scrooge's ex-girlfriend deserted him when he needed her most; Bob Cratchit is a gutless toady without enough get-up-and-go to assert himself; and the less said about that little treacle-mouth, Tiny Tim, the better.

-Harlan Ellison

◉ ...mostly I hate them [art projects], especially the ones funded by government grants. I don't get grants anyway. If art is any good, the government wants to stop it, not pay for it.

-John Waters

◉ All of a sudden there are geezers and duffers and biddies everywhere you look. There didn't used to be this many old people. I remember when it was just the occasional coot waxing nostalgic about outdoor plumbing. Now they're all over the place- arteriosclerosing around on the racquetball courts, badgering skydiving instructors for senior citizen discounts, hogging the Jacuzzi at the singles apartment complex. They're even taking over pop music. I went to see the Who last summer, and a bunch of old farts were playing in the band.

-PJ O'Rourke

CRITIC ALMANAC

Percentage of the parts in each Chrysler Concorde, "the renaissance car of America" that are imported: 28

Average number of phone calls received each hour by the White House during Bill Clinton's first 10 days in office: 2,500

Change since 1970, in the percentage of elderly Americans living in poverty: -13

Change in the percentage of American children living in poverty: +7

Ratio of the divorce rate in cities with a major league baseball franchise to the rate in cities that are applying for one: 3:4

Ratio of the number of women who deal with depression by eating to the number of men who do: 3:1

Ratio of the number of men who deal with depression by drinking or taking drugs to the number of women who do: 5:1

Average number of steps an American adult takes each day: 9,000

Ratio of federal spending on AIDS research to spending on cancer research, per fatality: 13:1

**Source:
Harper's Index**

Mental patients used to have a right to treatment, but now that they have been dumped on the streets, they have an ACLU-protected right to no treatment and, therefore, the right to die unhelped in alleys. According to the ACLU, airline pilots have a right not to be randomly tested for alcohol, leaving passengers with an implied right to crash every now and then.

-John Leo

APHORISMS

Logic is like the sword: those who appeal to it shall perish by it.

-Samuel Butler

For most men life is a search for the proper manila envelope in which to get themselves filed.

-Clifton Fadiman

It is even harder for the average ape to believe he has descended from man.

-HL Mencken

The only thing worse than a man you can't control is a man you can.

-Margo Kaufman

I do not participate in any sport with ambulances at the bottom of a hill.

-Erma Bombeck

Most vegetarians look so much like the food they eat that they can be classified as cannibals.

-Finley Peter Dunne

The love that previously dared not speak its name has now grown hoarse from screaming.

-Robert Brustein

Instant gratification takes too long.

-Carrie Fisher

Liberals are very broad-minded: they are always willing to give careful consideration to both sides of the same story.

-Anonymous

Letters to the editor are accepted. The letter must be signed, with your year and major listed. Length is not a factor in whether it will be printed. Please send your letter to:

The Carolina Critic
01 Steele Bldg. CB 5100
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Chapel Hill, NC 27599

Media

By Wesley Deaton, a junior journalism and biology major

How Friendly Is The 'Watchdog' Media?

PRIVATE, RELIGIOUS AND HOME SCHOOLERS
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U.S. GOV'T.
BEWARE OF WATCHDOG PRESS
TONYA HARDING

ASAY COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH ©1994 CREATORS SYNDICATE, INC.

More than a month ago, I watched CNN footage of a one-day military battle between white and black extremist factions in one of South Africa's provinces. It showed a brief gunfight in which one white man was killed and two were wounded.

The next week, a national news magazine published a picture of the men, all of whom had been killed when it was taken. Under the picture ran a caption saying that the two wounded men had been shot execution-style while pleading for medical assistance. However, the caption left out a few other important details.

For one thing, the writer failed to mention that the wounded men were not pleading to the enemy soldiers at first, because the soldiers hadn't arrived yet. On the CNN news clip, we were shown a close-up of two men pleading for help. But when the camera panned out, it showed a deserted road, with two wounded men pleading for medical help, and a line of a dozen photojournalists oblivious to their pleas, snapping off pictures in a frantic effort to get the best color photo. A few minutes later, the enemy came and executed the helpless men, while photographers witnessed and chronicled the event. The CNN camera, which had been cut off during the execution, cut back on seconds later to show the men lying face-down, blood beginning to pool beneath them, while the soldiers forced all the journalists to leave.

It is interesting that there is a certain inconsistency to journalistic activism. Many journalists certainly have had no trouble in the past taking a less-than-balanced stance on certain social and political issues in America. Some of them even argue that journalists shouldn't have to be unbiased, and can take an activist role in issues. In fact, many journalists have allowed their biases with regard to contemporary problems (abortion, homosexual issues, etc.) to show through at times. Why, then, did these people ignore the pleas of two dying men, and, instead simply watch as they were brutally executed? The answer is simple: greed.

Because the media in America have become so powerful, many journalists have come to view themselves as the proverbial "watchdog" for the public. With this heightened sense of self-worth, they tell America what they believe is the truth of a story, rather than presenting a balanced report and letting the American public decide. Many journalists do like to take an activist stance in social issues. But there is one thing more important to the media than its power, and that is sales.

Sure, somebody at the scene that day probably wanted to get medical help for the men; but, if he had gone, someone else would have gotten all the juiciest photos. The killings made for good color photography--lots of bright red blood, death, horror. Somebody might get a promotion out of this. More important to anyone than helping someone else, than saving a life, was their own self-advancement.

It probably did not take the journalists long to find the wounded men. One of them smelled blood in the air and flew to the scene, then another came, and another. Soon, there was an entire group, circling round the men, sensing their imminent deaths. Rifles crackled. The cameras flashed, each photographer trying to snatch a bit of the flesh for the papers back home, each hoping to get the best for himself. A little grappling for position, a bit of shoving for the prime parts, then, finally, it was over. They packed up their equipment, and headed off in their vans. This story had been picked clean; it was time to move on.

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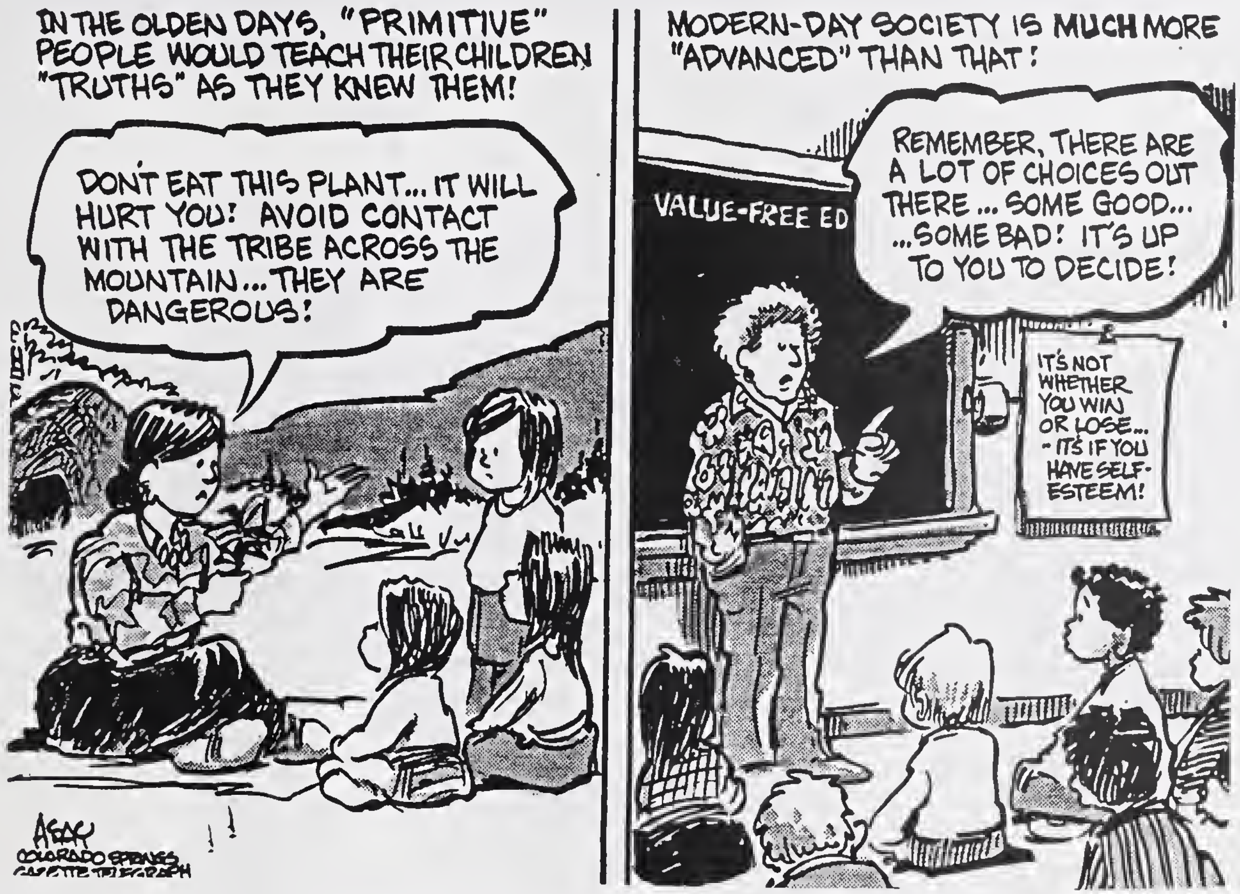
By Jennifer Durham, a senior journalism and history major and editor-in-chief of The Critic

O Brave, Brave New World...A State of Reversal

A state of reversal exists when unimportant things become important in people's minds, and, as a result, the important things are forced into hiding. This state can manifest itself in any number of ways, but it is always an inevitable result of the triumph of the present over the eternal. More specifically, the conflict flares between how to make the most out of the present and how to fulfill one's obligation to the eternal. Nasty consequences follow the ascension of the present-minded into positions of power. Immorality becomes acceptable and even encouraged. Ideas that center around the search for the eternal are suppressed in favor of ideas that promote the present. Anyone who questions the powers that be is in for a terrible fate.


IN THE OLDEN DAYS, "PRIMITIVE" PEOPLE WOULD TEACH THEIR CHILDREN "TRUTHS" AS THEY KNEW THEM!
DON'T EAT THIS PLANT... IT WILL HURT YOU! AVOID CONTACT WITH THE TRIBE ACROSS THE MOUNTAIN... THEY ARE DANGEROUS!
MODERN-DAY SOCIETY IS MUCH MORE "ADVANCED" THAN THAT!
VALUE-FREE ED
REMEMBER, THERE ARE A LOT OF CHOICES OUT THERE ... SOME GOOD... ...SOME BAD! IT'S UP TO YOU TO DECIDE!
IT'S NOT WHETHER YOU WIN OR LOSE... - IT'S IF YOU HAVE SELF-ESTEEM!
ASAY
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* represents one example of a state of reversal, and his classic prophecy has become all too relevant. It is not Orwell's Big Brother that threatens America--it is Huxley's nightmare coming to life.

Neil Postman describes the difference in the two visions of totalitarianism in *Amusing Ourselves To Death*: "*What Huxley teaches is that in the age of advanced technology, spiritual devastation is more likely to come from an enemy with a smiling face than from one whose countenance exudes suspicion and hate. In the Huxleyan prophecy, Big Brother does not watch us, by his choice. We watch him, by ours...*"

Huxley depicts a society in which the state conditions everyone to to think alike from birth. Genetic labs have replaced the family as reproductive units, and the only nstruction children receive comes from the tate. Literature and religion no longer xist, and a callous numbness to death has et in. Man is a soulless machine.

The World Controller (one of only a few rulers) in the story is typical of the powers that be in the United States. He fears any idea that might *"decondition the more unsettled minds among the higher castes--make them lose their faith in happiness as the Sovereign Good, and take to believing, instead, that the goal was somewhere outside the present human sphere; that the purpose of life was not the maintenence of well-being, but some intensification and refining of consciousness, some enlargement of knowledge. Which was, the Controller reflected, quite possibly true. But not, in the present circumstance, admissible."*

The proposed EEOC regulation that would prohibit "religious harassment" in the workplace could have come from the World Controller's pen. How dare people concern themselves with moral duty and religious faith--they might threaten the rights of people who have jobs to do.

In the most general terms, the brave new world represents the triumph of a mechanized, conformist society of drones over a society of soulful and moral individuals. The mechanized world predictably attempts to stamp out all forms of individualism. Art, morals, religion and thought are dead; fluffy entertainment, immorality, worship of instant happiness, and conformity of thought reign supreme. What ensues when the mechanized vision wins is the aforementioned state of reversal, where what is visible serves only the present and the truth is hidden. Sane people are seen as insane, immorality becomes acceptable and is even encouraged, intelligence and insight are discouraged and conformity is glorified. All eyes focus on happiness in the present, and nobody questions the system.

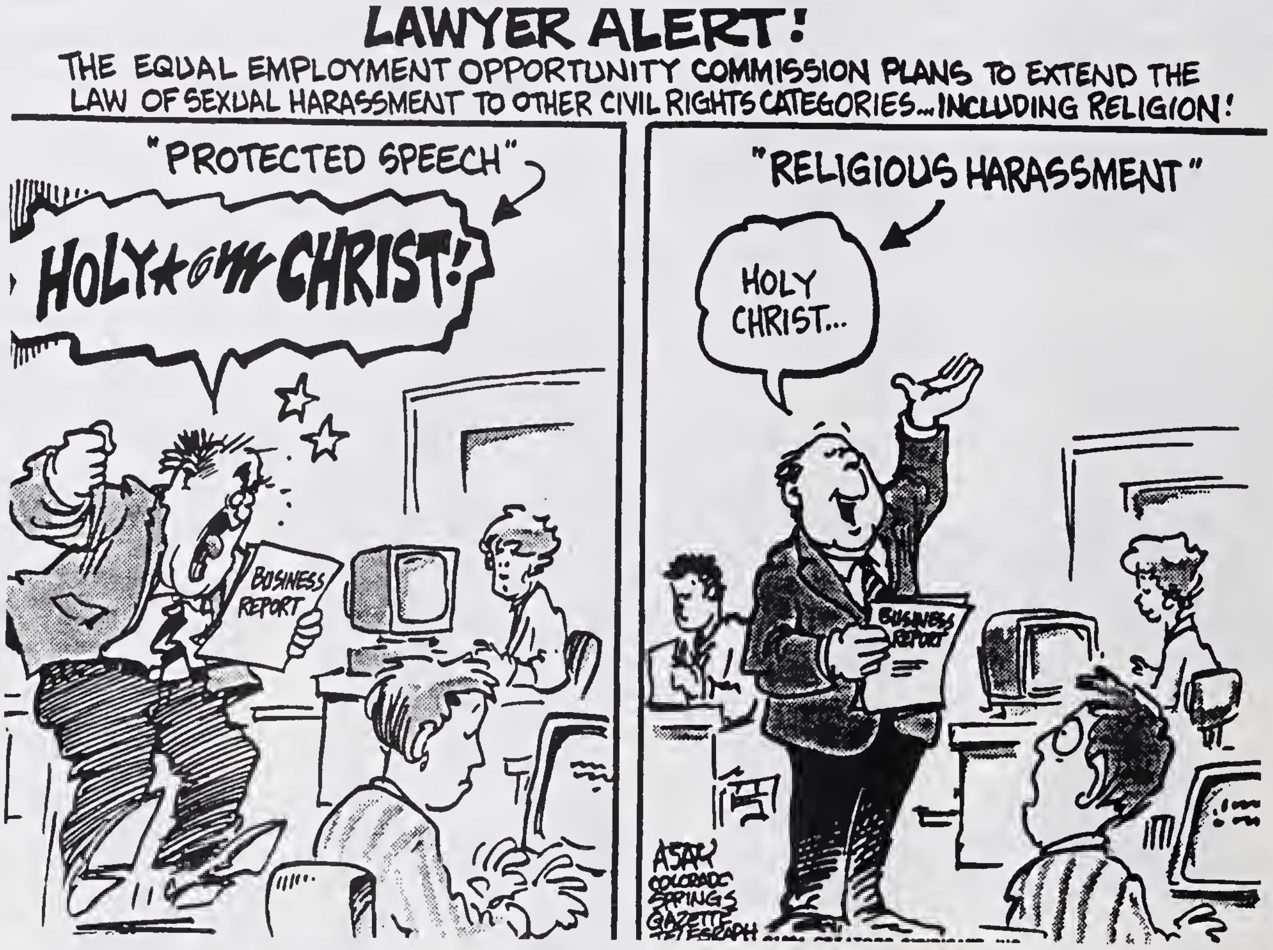
The recent Supreme Court ruling that applies RICO statutes to abortion protestors exemplifies the state of reversal. People who demand the protection of life are either corrupt or lunatics in the eyes of the law. Those who would kill an unborn child have become a class of victims whose 'rights' require legal protection.

The only bastions of sanity (*insanity* in the brave new world) are islands to which defects are deported, and a Savage reservation in New Mexico where families and religion still exist.

People not only don't dare question the system--they lack the insight to perceive that anything is wrong. One official in the book might just as well be describing America: "*...no offence is so heinous as unorthodoxy of behaviour. Murder kills only the individual, and after all, what is an individual?...we can make a new one with the greatest ease...Unorthodoxy threatens more than the life of a mere individual; it strikes at Society itself.*"

The murder of the American individual is mostly symbolic as of now, but it could get worse. His ideas seem inane, he's not attracted to the work force, and he's often forced to be something he's not. He doesn't fit in with the fax machines, politics and sycophantic "yes, sirs" of the working world. The hierarchies of huge retail chains, corporations and government bureaucracies--all run by people who want to work their way up the ladder--are unnatural to his being.

The government, universities and the media propagandize the population with essentially the same line of thought. As in *Brave New World*, there is no truth, only useful, trendy ideas that contribute to the preservation of society as it is. In the 1990s, only deviants don't think women's rights, tolerance of homosexuality and economic equality (all brought about through legislation) are important. You can write about it for a paper, teach about it in a university or work for an agency that makes the laws.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ASAY COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

The media is firmly entrenched in the preservation of the present. Helmholtz Watson, a character in the book renowned for his ability to invent incisive and brilliant phrases, captures the essence of modern journalism: "*That's one of the things I try to teach my students--how to write piercingly. But what on Earth's the good of being pierced by an article about a Community Sing, or the latest improvement in scent organs? Besides, can you make words really piercing...when you're writing about that sort of thing? Can you say something about nothing? That's what it finally boils down to.*"

Watson's observations could not be more telling. Modern journalists can come up with the most original ways to say nothing. Who cares how creative you are when you write stories about Lorena Bobbitt, the president's latest approval rating, or the ticket sales for *Home Alone 2*? Approval ratings have nothing to do with the quality of the president, and the popularity of bad movies is symptomatic of cultural decline. But no newspaper would venture to argue these things--they'll just let you think politicians' approval ratings and popularity of entertainment are the things that matter.

The end result is a facade of false and misleading information. The truth is hidden, and the insignificant becomes significant. Since much of the public gets its information from major news media organizations, the media has a powerful detrimental effect on society.

Sexuality in the brave new world is not far off from today, either. Sex has degenerated from a sacred expression of love to a worthless form of pleasure. Scientists have perfected birth control to accomodate the new immorality, and children are encouraged from an early age to experiment sexually during "*erotic playtime*."

We practically encourage kids to become sexually active now by distributing condoms in schools and teaching first-graders sex education. The teaching of abstinence is, in many school systems, not permitted. Huxley does not talk about other forms of perversion, but modern America's embrace of a 'tolerance for homosexuality' attitude could just as easily have been part of his society--a society where morals are dead.

Huxley described a popular drug, *soma*, that has no side effects and becomes a staple of his nightmarish society. It sends its taker into a blissful dreamland, and it's rationed out every day after work. *Soma*'s real purpose is to take the mind off of the monotonous work people do to serve the system--to convince them they're happier than they really are. The fewer complaints, the better they serve the machine.

Modern America has more than one *soma*. One might speculate that Prozac, the "miracle" drug that contributes to a sense of well-being, could be the drug that helps us endure the jobs we hate.

Neil Postman has argued that television is our *soma*: "*Huxley grasped, as Orwell did not, that it is not necessary to conceal anything from a public insensible to contradiction and narcoticized by technological diversions. Although Huxley did not specify that television would be our main line to the drug, he would have no difficulty accepting Robert MacNeil's observation that '[t]elevision is the **soma** of Aldous Huxley's **Brave New World**.' Big Brother turns out to be Howdy Doody.*"

In a brave new world, genuine art sputters underground and third-rate entertainment rakes in millions. Few things could be more certain in America. The worse the singer, the more his or her records sell. The worse the movie, the more people it attracts. Danielle Steele and Howard Stern write best-sellers, while Joseph Conrad hides in the back of the book store with Dostoevsky.

Literature is dying at the hands of brave new academics that don't believe it communicates any truth, and at the hands of brave new zombies not interested in reading it. In the brave new world, a rare copy of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* is old and in tatters, cherished by the Savage John in the reservation where he lives. That's precisely where American book-burners, academics and readers of Danielle Steele is would like to send it.

Postman warns of the dangers of popular entertainment: "*When a population becomes distracted by trivia, when cultural life is redefined as a perpetual round of entertainments, when serious public conversation becomes a form of baby-talk, when, in short, a people become an audience and their public business a vaudeville act, then a nation finds itself at risk; culture-death is a clear possibility.*"

The suppression of art is characteristic of a brave new world, because art appeals to the universal and challenges the present-minded notions upon which a mechanized

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

By Mark Moore, a graduate student in the school of Journalism and Mass Communication

Solzhenitsyn's Never-Ending War

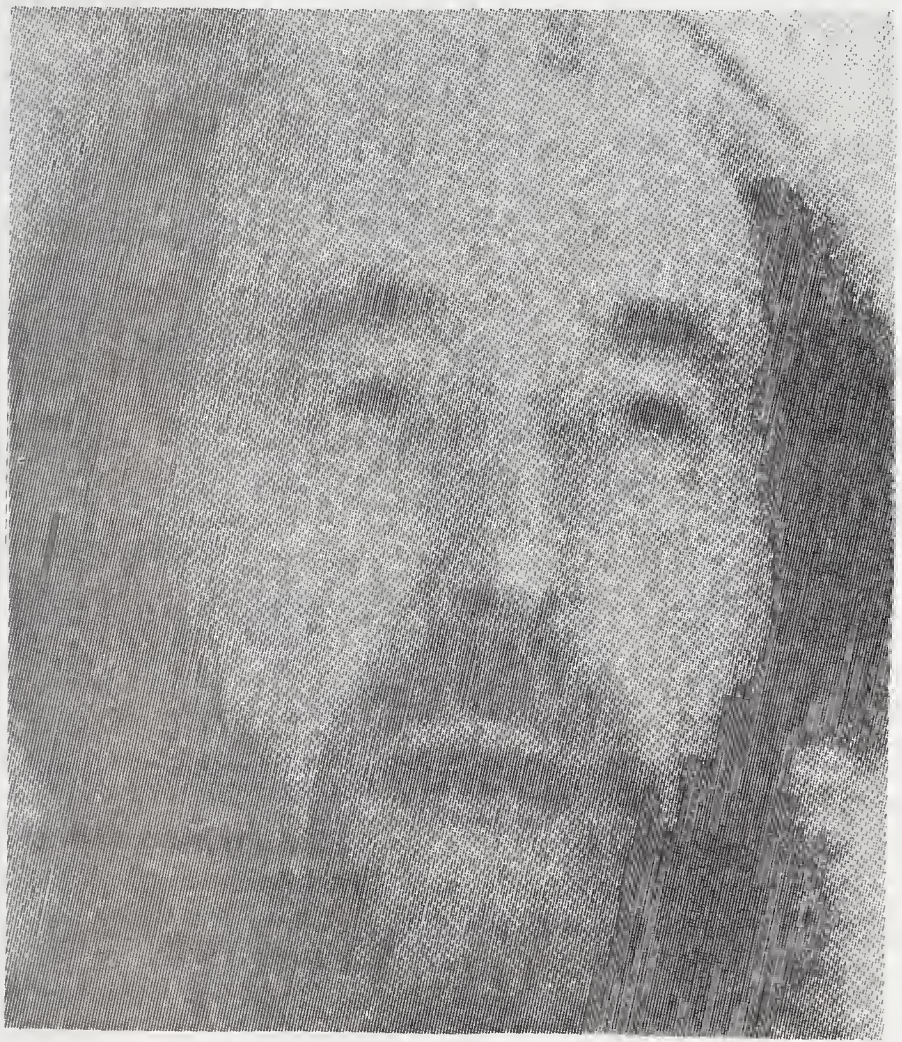
Jonathan Swift once wrote, "*When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the lunces are all in confederacy against him.*"

Swift was speaking of the pretenders, oseudo-intellectuals and power seekers who lways seem to find their way into positions of authority through conformity to the organizational system and who make life ell for the truly talented and wise. The ocial establishment is almost lways run by dunces, for wise men re by nature rebels and outsiders vho speak the truth in defiance of vorldly power.

Exiled author Aleksandr olzhenitsyn recently revealed that e will return to Russia in May. fter nearly eighteen years of edicated writing at his home in avendish, Vermont, the great ussian prophet will soon quietly eave our blessed land in relative bscurity. Few in America realize at the collapse of the Soviet mpire would not have happened ithout the surfacing of olzhenitsyn's writings. olzhenitsyn's life story is like a ving parable in which we see the ight of the spiritual giant in a orld ruled by Lilliputians.

Solzhenitsyn suffered coura-eously in the Gulag prison camps an innocent political prisoner for ght years. Arrested for making nflattering remarks about Josef alin in 1945, Solzhenitsyn was leased upon Stalin's death but as forced to live in exile in entral Asia until 1957. The blication of Solzhenitsyn's first vel, *One Day in the Life of Ivan enisovich,* in November 1962 brought him stantaneous worldwide acclaim. Thereaf-, Solzhenitsyn was constantly censored, rassed and threatened by the Communist rty and the KGB. His writing went derground, and his works were smuggled t of the Soviet Union and published in the st. Solzhenitsyn received the Nobel Prize literature in 1970 to the consternation of Soviet authorities. His work was read by millions in the Soviet Union in secret at the risk of imprisonment. Solzhenitsyn had dedicated himself to exposing the lies and revealing the truth of communism, and the dunces could not let him get away with it.

Solzhenitsyn was too famous to reimprison in the Gulag or to execute, so Leonid Brezhnev ordered Solzhenitsyn exiled on charges of treason in February 1974 after the KGB confiscated a manuscript copy of *The Gulag Archipelago* from an elderly woman whom they arrested and tortured until she finally told them where she had hidden it. The Communists would have preferred to silence Solzhenitsyn forever, but they were forced to settle for a more subtle form of censorship: slander.



Critic Photo Courtesy DTH

Russian author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn returns to Russia this month

Slander is the forte of devious dunces everywhere. But the Communists were expert and systematic about it, as Robert Conquest described, "*Among the weapons they brought to bear on him was a vast disinformation effort by the KGB. This had been in operation long before his expulsion from the USSR.*"

Not long after Solzhenitsyn's initial hero's welcome in the West, the Left-leaning cultural establishment sensed that Solzhenitsyn opposed not only Communism but also the fundamental world view held by the Left in the West. A British writer in *The Guardian* led the first attack: "*Solzhenitsyn, I am afraid, is not one of us. That is to say he is not a liberal. I don't know what exactly he is, but whatever it is it is most peculiar.*"

Solzhenitsyn is in fact a Christian of deep faith, which the Left always seems to find peculiar and unfathomable. Once the cultural establishment in America became aware of his religious faith, they joined in confederacy with the establishment dunces in the Soviet Union in ridiculing, disparaging and slandering him as a religious zealot, an opponent of freedom and a danger to both America and Russia. Nan Robertson summed up the liberal line on Solzhenitsyn in the *New York Times* when she described him as "*messianic, patriotic, utopian and religious in tone; anti-democratic, anti-Western.*" But Solzhenitsyn is a proponent of representative democracy who holds the views of the Founding Fathers in high regard. It is the corrupting influence of the contemporary Left in American politics and culture that he despises.

Solzhenitsyn has been criticized not only by the Left, however, but also by the moderate Republican establishment. Henry Kissinger advised President Ford not to meet or speak with Solzhenitsyn so as not to give any support to Solzhenitsyn's unwanted views or to upset the Soviet leaders. Kissinger ignorantly warned, "*Solzhenitsyn is a notable writer, but his political views are an embarrassment even to his fellow* *dissidents.*” Kissinger had no need to worry since Ford considered Solzhenitsyn to be a “*goddam horse's ass.*”

The fury of the establishment dunces only intensified when Solzhenitsyyn directed his analytical eye and his scathing criticism at America's wayward drift toward the left and secular humanism. In his 1978 speech at Harvard, Solzhenitsyn warned that America had forsaken its spiritual roots and was moving toward a secular materialistic society, which would ultimately result in tyranny.

According to Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and America suffered from the same disease that began “*at the very foundation of thought in modern times. I refer to the prevailing Western view of the world which was born in the Renaissance and has found political expression since the Age of the Enlightenment. It became the basis for political and social doctrine and could be called rationalistic humanism or humanistic autonomy: the proclaimed and practiced autonomy of man from any higher force above him. It could also be seen as anthropocentricity, with man seen as the center of all...The humanistic way of thinking...did not admit the existence of intrinsic evil in man, nor did it seek any task higher than the attainment of happiness on earth. It started modern Western civilization on the dangerous trend of worshipping man and material needs.*”

Solzhenitsyn's message to America was and is essentially the same as his message to Russia: Repent and turn back to God before it's too late. Patrick Buchanan rightly perceived Solzhenitsyn as “*a prophet sent to the West as a final warning that unless its ways are altered, the end is not far distant.*” Conservatives have almost been unanimous in their praise of Solzhenitsyn.

But the Left sees Solzhenitsyn as a threat and twists almost everything he says and writes. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., after the Harvard speech wrote, “*His ideal is a Christian authoritarianism governed by God-fearing despots.*” The *New York Times* attacked Solzhenitsyn in a similar way: “*The argument he raises is not new; it goes back to the beginnings of the Republic and has never disappeared. At bottom it is the argument between the religious Enthusiasts, sure of their relationship to the Divine Will, and the men of the Enlightenment, trusting in the rationality of humankind...[H]e believes himself to be in possession of the Truth...The trouble is, of course, that life run by zealots like Mr. Solzhenitsyn is bound to be uncomfortable for those who do not share his vision or ascribe to his beliefs.*”

The *Times* reveals the primary reason for the liberal establishment's irrational attacks on Solzhenitsyn. He believes that truth and freedom in society depend on a religious foundation. But the liberal establishment believes that a liberal society must be freed of religion and founded on rationalistic humanism. The Left, therefore, sees Solzhenitsyn as a dangerous influence in society.

But the complexity and depth of Solzhenitsyn's thought and experience completely escapes the spiritually blind dunces at Harvard, the *New York Times* and other respected liberal establishment institutions. The Left not only opposes the ideas expressed by Solzhenitsyn but lacks the ability to comprehend them, for Solzhenitsyn may very well be the most profound Christian thinker in the world today and is certainly the greatest Russian writer since Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. Writing in *Commentary* in defense of Solzhenitsyn, Donald W. Treadgold stated a scary truth: “*In our time Christian writers cannot expect a reception based on an understanding of their position.*”

Regardless of the effect of his ideas in America, Solzhenitsyn's influence in Russia cannot be overestimated. Underground literature brought the light of truth into the darkness of the Marxist-Leninist prison-state, and Solzhenitsyn was the brightest star. Several scholars and political experts credit the publishing of *The Gulag Archipelago* as the most important event in the eventual downfall of the Communist system, because it revealed to all intelligent people the evil that pervaded the Marxist-Leninist state and that emanated from the empty core of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. No intelligent person could support the Soviet Union after reading *The Gulag*.

Solzhenitsyn's *Letter to the Soviet Leaders* and essays in *From Under the Rubble* declared the changes that had to be made in the Soviet Union to avoid catastrophe to the nation's people. Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika seemed to be taken directly from Solzhenitsyn's proposals. In *Rebuilding Russia: Reflections and Tentative Proposals*, published in 1991, Solzhenitsyn outlined what must be done following the collapse of the Communist regime to bring about freedom and democracy. Boris Yeltsin

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

NEW WORLD

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

society is founded. Artists place primary importance on emotion, spirituality and morality; brave new worlders concern themselves with what will make their system run efficiently and secure their places in it. When most people are primarily concerned with careers, politics and technology, forced and/or voluntary suppression of art comes into practice. It's unimportant, irrelevant and even threatening to the prevailing mindset.

The Savage, John, has a revealing conversation with the World Controller, Mustapha Mond, that digs to the root of the brave new world, and to our own society as well. The World Controller admits that God probably exists, but is irrelevant to the current state of the world: “*[God] manifests himself as an absence; as though he weren't there at all...Call it the fault of civilization. God isn't compatible with machinery and scientific medicine and universal happiness. Our civilization has chosen machinery and medicine and happiness.*”

One of the most frightening things about *Brave New World* is that the World Controller understands truth but chooses not to accept it. One vision will grant him a position of power; the other will make him an outcast destined for deportation. In his office, he has two sets of books representing two different visions. He keeps one set, containing *The Holy Bible* and such titles as *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, locked in the safe where nobody can see it. Out in full view is the other set, representing the vision he has chosen to follow. Included is a book by “*Our Ford,*” the scientific ‘visionary’ behind the brave new world.

America has not yet become a *Brave New World*, but it is well on its way. The hope lies in the bravery of the Savages who resist. Once the few Savages become destined for John's tragic fate (suicide), we're in trouble.

By TJ Hemlinger, a second year doctoral student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication

UNC's Next 200 Years

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

Where will UNC be in 200 more years?

Happy birthday, UNC. For 200 years you have educated, trained, provoked, entertained and chalenged the residents and leaders of North Carolina, the South, the United States and he world. Now we have to prepare for the next 200 years in a world facing war, famine, "ethnic cleansing," revolution, disease and overpopulation.

Two hundred years ago, when the Old East cornerstone was set, the world faced many of the same problems, however, and umanity and the Republic have survived nd even prospered. The problems UNC lumni must try to solve may be more omplex and certainly have the potential to e more deadly, but we also are more repared for them. Today we have computers, a more educated populace and faster worldwide communication.

What are the challenges for UNC as it eads for its tricentennial and beyond? No ne can predict what the university will be ke when the Class of 2194 graduates. The men who founded the university beneath Davie Poplar weren't familiar with electricity, let alone the microchip. The U.S. Supreme Court had yet to define its role in the fledgling representative democracy; communication with Europe, let alone the Far East, took weeks; we were moving slowly from a *Gemeinschaft* to a *Gesellschaft* society; women were essentially disenfranchised; most blacks were in bondage; American Indians were being pushed from their native lands; and democracy was little more than an experiment.

But the last, best hope for the freedom of man has excelled. People the world over envy America. They buy our products, they emigrate to our shores, they emulate our way of life.

UNC has played an important role in this progress. It will continue to do so, if its leaders don't lose their vision of the world beyond Franklin Street.

The University needs to train leaders for tomorrow. It needs to teach or instill in students self-respect, respect for others, respect for institutions, a thirst for knowledge, a commitment to excellence, a desire to serve their communities, a willingness to work for change, and a willingness to accept change.

If an individual doesn't have respect for himself, then he won't have respect for others. That makes it impossible to care about their welfare and problems. It also is difficult to improve one's own economic status, which is one of the main methods for improving

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

Why Johnny can't read the American classics

Recovering American Literature
PETER SHAW

They've been stolen away from readers by the academic literary establishment—turned into one-dimensional political tracts by critics with ideological axes to grind. And college students are routinely exposed to distorted teaching about the American classics—in the service of political correctness.

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Conservative Week By Jennifer Durham, a senior journalism and history major and editor-in-chief of The Critic

Bay Buchanan

Bay Buchanan's April 5 speech in the Great Hall described the culture war raging on in America. She is correct in her observation that we fighting in a war for control of our culture. The country has strayed far from the moral/religious world view of the Founding Fathers and fallen under the control of relativistic liberals--an evolution which is bringing disastrous results.

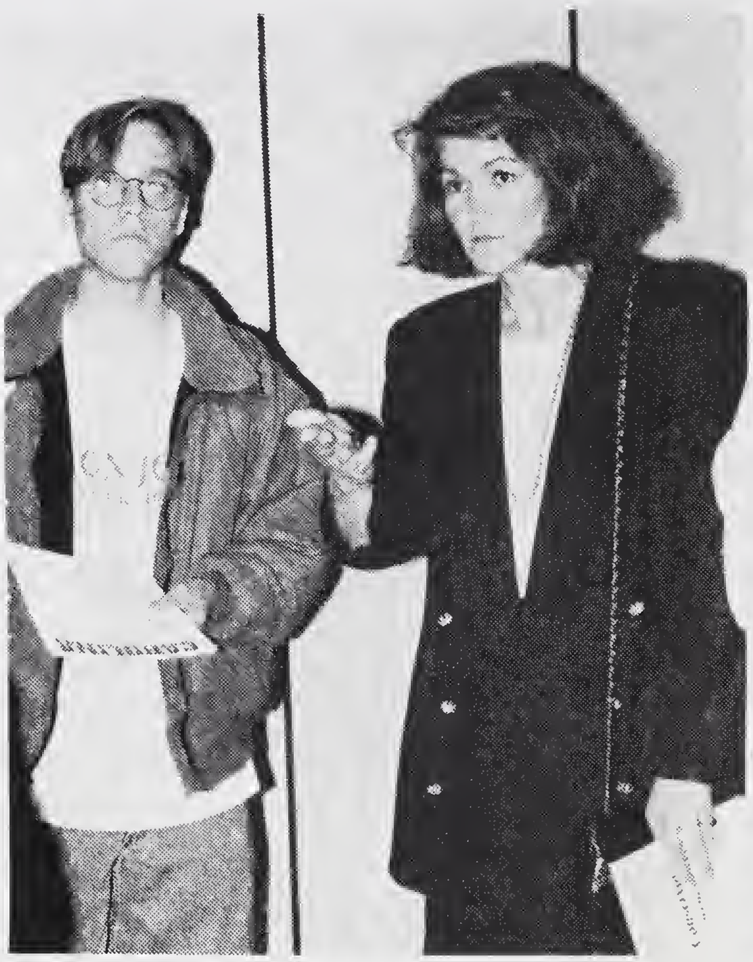
Buchanan pointed out some of the results of the culture war--prohibition of religious imagery in public during the Christmas season, school curriculums aimed at teaching young children about homosexuality, anti-family television shows, and even her son who came home one day and asked to be allowed to use just one bad word in the house.

The United States should do much more to stop the flow of illegal immigrants into the country, she said, for more than one reason. The language barrier creates a problem when immigrant children enter schools, which don't have the resources to accommodate them. Second, a higher proportion of immigrants commit crimes; they threaten the stability of the cities and overload an already strained justice system.

Conservatives have handicapped themselves when it comes to winning the culture war. Buchanan accurately described one of the main weaknesses of the modern conservative movement--conservatives present their ideas in a negative light. Liberals pull the heartstrings with appeals for compassion, and conservatives speak in pragmatic terms. Take, for example, the debate over whether to take action in Bosnia. Liberals who support action garner appeal for their viewpoint with pictures of victims of Serbian persecution. Conservatives who oppose military involvement argue that action won't do much to help the victims, when they should present their case in terms of the lives of American soldiers.

The speech had a couple of weaknesses, however. First, she described the culture war in too narrow of terms. She discussed the culture war in the context of a battle between morality and relativism, which doesn't get to the root of the problem.

The war is between two groups of people. The first contains people who believe there is no truth. They simply invent whatever set of rules will provide them with power in the current society. The second contains people who believe there is truth and an existing reality that must be recognized and adhered to. Relativism is an inevitable result of the first; morality is characteristic of the second. Buchanan might understand these two conflicting philosophies, but she didn't address them.



Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

Bay Buchanan discusses America's culture war

Buchanan's other problem is that she's too political. The subjects she talked about were almost all political--Bosnia, immigration, public school curriculums, school choice, etc. In focusing so much on politics, she implied that our near-ruined culture requires mainly political solutions to rejuvenate it. Like many people involved in politics, she barely addressed the destruction of the broader culture (music, literature, films, the media, etc.) and the humanities.

All in all, however, Buchanan is right. There's a culture war going on out there, and somebody's got to fight the tide of relativistic thinking.

SOLZHENITSYN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

and his advisers have taken Solzhenitsyn's ideas into consideration and have consulted with him several times concerning events in Russia. A recent poll in Russia showed that more Russians support Solzhenitsyn for the presidency than any other possible contender, including Yeltsin. But no American president, Cabinet member or State Department official has ever asked Solzhenitsyn's opinion on anything concerning Russia.

Solzhenitsyn has lived in a kind of self-imposed internal exile since his battles with the American media and academic establishments. His seclusion has given him peace from the harassment of the dunces to concentrate on his literary masterpiece, *The Red Wheel*, which describes the period leading up to the Russian Revolution. The completed work will be published in 1995 or 1996. Solzhenitsyn believes in the power of the written word to move mountains and considers his literary work to be much more important than any personal involvement in politics or the public arena. But now that *The Red Wheel* is finished, Solzhenitsyn desires to return to his homeland to do whatever he can to help his country in its time of dire crisis.

When he was exiled in 1974, Solzhenitsyn boldly prophesied that Communism would be destroyed in Russia during his lifetime, that his censored literary works would be published and that he would return. Twenty years later at the age of 75, the fulfillment of the prophecy will soon be complete. And no one believed him 20 years ago. But prophets are never heeded, except by those who have ears to hear. Farewell and good luck, Aleksandr Isayevich.

Conservative Week

By Tadd Wilson, a sophomore English/pre-law major and assistant editor of The Critic

Lauch Faircloth

On April 7, some 100 people gathered in Carroll Hall to hear Senator Lauch Faircloth speak. After so much liberal pseudo-intellectualism and nihilistic relativism, a strong dose of homegrown "Country Conservatism" was both welcomed and needed.

Senator Faircloth, a Stanley County native and proud North Carolinian, defeated Democrat Terry Sanford in the 1992 senatorial race. Upon winning the election, Sen. Faircloth informed senior Senator Jesse Helms that he had now become the liberal senator from North Carolina. In a rare brand of solidarity, Helms and Faircloth have voted the same on 97 percent of all ballots. Senator Faircloth serves on the Armed Services, Housing and Urban Affairs, and Banking Committees.

According to Senator Faircloth, the most urgent issue facing our country is the national debt, which is presently at $4 and a half trillion and growing by $800 million a day. Moreover, in 14 months, the interest on the debt will be accumulating at nearly $1 billion a day. The problem, according to the senator, is that deficit reduction is a meaningless term. Instead of attacking the source of the problem, deficit reduction is equivalent to merely going into debt more slowly. In essence, "*We are mortgaging our future into infinity.*"

The solution: for now, we must severely cut entitlements. As a nation, we cannot afford to subsidize every unproductive citizen. "*All that we are entitled to is work,*" the senator stated. Also, Senator Faircloth cited the Balanced Budget Amendment as an extreme but necessary means of slashing deficit growth. A major problem, according o Faircloth, is that Congressmen place the nterests of themselves and their districts above the future well being of our nation. Moreover he added, a line-item veto and erm limitations are necessary to further combat abuses of the current legislative system.

Senator Faircloth also attacked the current redistributive policies of the government. Each year, he claimed, the federal government collects $100 billion more in Social Security than it releases, a balance which is consumed immediately by pork hungry legislators. In the direction of welfare reform, Senator Faircloth rejected Clinton's proposals as "*farcical*" and advocated a somewhat draconian policy of revoking benefits for illegitimate and second children.

Critic Photo by Matthew Scott

North Carolina Senator Lauch Faircloth says America's most urgent problem is the national debt

Concerning health care, the senator proclaimed the Clinton plan "*dead in the water.*" While reform is necessary, he said, Hillary and her legalistic friends are not the nations first choice to meddle with 16 percent of the GNP. Senator Faircloth claimed that socialized medicine was not the answer, and that people who could not but 2 acres with $200,000 really shouldn't deal with such an important issue. Faircloth also criticized the Clinton plan for creating 50,000 new bureaucrats along with the 20,000 additional personnel that the federal government hires each year.

In speaking about the Whitewater affair, Senator Faircloth remained doubtful that the truth would emerge, citing the fact that most of the Clinton's documents were destroyed prior to federal subpeonas. The senator said that he hoped Congressional hearings into the matter would commence in June. He also questioned the veracity of Hillary's business savvy. First, he argued, how could an investor with no credit rating or experience make $100,000 from $1000 in the commodities market? And further, if she was such an adept player of the market, how could she explain the Whitewater financial fiasco as a failure due to her "inexperience?." Obviously, somewhere she is lying.

Commenting on the death of Vince Foster, Senator Faircloth believed that Foster did indeed commit suicide, but that his body, "*like a turtle on a fence post*", had some help getting there.

Echoing Bay Buchanan, Senator Faircloth concluded that the decline of America can be attributed to the rampant deterioration of family life and the culture war against traditional values. Faircloth argued that the decline of the two parent family directly parallels the both amount of money spent on welfare and redistributive programs for illegitimate children, and a subsequent rise in poverty and crime.

Ultimately, Senator Faircloth's speech was a standard explication of the conservative position on many contemporary issues. While at times a little artificial and unoriginal, for the most part Senator Faircloth's speech was on target, and his fielding of questions added an air of familiarity and conversation to the proceedings. In the final estimation, the Senator's words may be important not only for what they say, but for the fact that the conservative voice was heard here.

At the close of his speech, Senator Faircloth urged students to push conservatism ahead, "*To get involved in politics and don't be intimidated.*" A difficult task at a university that is so "open-minded" and tolerant of dissenting opinions.

The Carolina Critic would like to thank all who participated in Conservative Awareness Week, and we extend Senator Faircloth our most sincere gratitude for taking the time to speak as our guest.

Bits By Tadd Wilson, a sophomore English/pre-law major and assistant editor of The Critic

Tidbits

As we close the 1993-94 school year, the Critic would like to offer you some points to ponder.

From our campus community; did you ever wonder...

Why the *Carolina Review* supposedly has 22 staff writers, yet 7 of the 13 stories in the latest smear were written by 2 of the staff members, namely Charleton and Lauce?

Why the only person to write a letter to the editor of the *Review* was in fact Chris Tuck, the very editor's friend and former accomplice in the much celebrated case of the B-GLAD membership list?

Why the DTH claims to be an objective "newspaper," yet it has the impartiality to run a full page Focus on homosexuals on Straight Pride Day?

How our new Student Body President, George Battle, can urge the members of Student Congress to be "morally correct" then turn around and demand that they not judge anyone?

How our new SBP can claim to be morally correct?

Why one must read Virginia Woolf in a political theory lecture class that also includes Machiavelli, Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau and Karl Marx?

Why the Campus Y is condemned?

Why Wilma Mankiller receives front page coverage while a U.S. Senator and a former Secretary of the Treasury are banished to page 3?

Why gay pride is a positive thing and straight pride is somehow associated with Hitler?

Why Alan Martin has to kiss ass to keep his column?

Why Darren Allen's extracurricular activities surprise anyone anymore?

Why B-GLAD asks family rights advocates to "be consistent" while at the same time silencing all opposition in the name of rights?

From around the nation, and the world...

If Lorena Bobbitt is an example of women's empowerment, why did she have to claim to be insane? And why couldn't she have met someone like Bill Clinton, or a nice Kennedy?

In related news, the Bobbitt syndrome has spread world-wide in what appears to be an international reverse genital mutilation scheme (funded by the Campus Y). Persons in Turkey, South Korea, Germany and Zimbabwe have all lost their heads, so to speak.

What is Ted Kennedy doing on the Senate Ethics Committee? Maybe he was asked to attend the Clarence Thomas hearings as an expert witness? At least he stays away from Transportation.

A bulletin to all guilt ridden liberals, anti-colonialists and other assorted pity mongers: Tuberculosis was present in America BEFORE Columbus ever sailed the ocean blue, so his tenure as Germ Warfare/Genocide advocate has been denied.

Why was there not a single doctor on Hillary's health care committee? I know it's an old question, but where is the answer?

And finally, why do the Commander-in-Chief and her husband believe that Bhoutros Bhoutros Gali is better qualified to handle American armed forces than the Chiefs of Staff? It must be from all the success the U.N. had in Lebanon and Somalia.

Think about it...

200 YEARS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

government, law and schools are the mortar that holds society together. When one of them cracks or crumbles, then society suffers. We cannot prosper as individuals or collectively without a strong foundation, and that foundation is constructed of institutions.

We also must continue to contribute to the body of knowledge. Universities already are the centers for much of the research conducted in the United States. That must continue, and researchers and faculty must involve students and relate their findings to them and to the world the students soon will be inhabiting.

The University must continue to set high standards and demand that students and faculty meet those standards. The University cannot expect its products to excel in an increasingly complex and dangerous world if they can't compete with the products of other universities. For UNC graduates are not competing just with each other for class standing or grades or scholarships or jobs or impact. They are competing with graduates of NC State, Wake Forest, Duke, Virginia, South Carolina, Harvard, Yale, etc. We cannot be provincial or parochial and expect to have an impact.

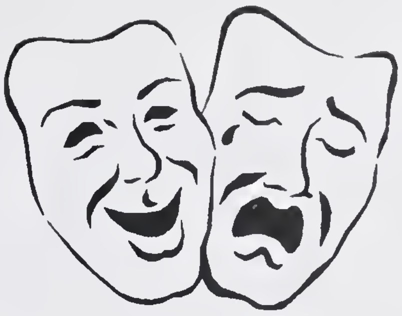
UNC alumni must serve their communities, whether they go back home to Mount Airy, Raleigh or Wilmington. That has a rippling effect, for if we make Asheville a better place then Buncombe County is a better place, North Carolina is a better place, the South.... We cannot live, work, function or prosper in isolation.

That goes with being willing to accept change. If we mindlessly fight or resist change, then progress can be slowed or stalled. Change is inevitable, and we must anticipate it, accept it and learn to prosper from it.

We are moving toward a fully integrated global economy. Trade barriers are coming down, borders are more open, communication is instantaneous, financial markets are intertwined and respond to occurrences thousands of miles away. This is the world UNC must prepare its students for so that they can survive, compete and excel.

Music and movie reviews
from The Critic
by Jennifer Durham

Rock *&Reel*



Peter Himmelman
"Skin"
Epic

Skin is an album of significant depth about the evolution of a man's soul, Peter Himmelman's perception of reality and his undying search for the truth.

Himmelman's vision comes out through the journey of "Ted's" soul. Ted is "*the most abhorrent person. Ted is consumed. He is in hot pursuit--chasing the shadows of an illusory world.*"

Judging from the "Prelude," Ted is fast-talking, self-glorifying and concerned about money and women. A car accident brings his life on Earth to an abrupt end, and Ted's soul floats out of his skin and into "*a state that some naively refer to as death...or 'The End*,'" as Himmelman explains in his narrative.

Ted then passes a miserable amount of time in this state. In "11 Months In The Bath of Dirty Spirits," he finds himself in a coliseum with a host of angels laughing at him, and the torturous events of his life playing out on a big screen. The soul out of his skin no longer has "*the apparatus of his brain to rationalize the ruthless manner in which he wasted his opportunities on Earth.*"

"Clean," is the next stop for Ted's soul, and he finds himself in a perfect place where there's no deception or distortion. He's "*clean for the first time.*" But the bliss is only temporary. Much to his dismay, Ted soon finds himself destined to return to Earth as a baby.

In "Disposable Child," Ted re-enters Earth in the skin of an unwanted child. "Regular Daydreams" finds him grown up and leading a conventional life, where "*the neighbors are playing Yahtzee and drinkin' iced tea.*" Sensing that there's something wrong, he's "*waiting for the face of God to appear.*"

"With You" and the beautiful "Shilo" find Ted devoted to his wife, and "Laugh My Beloved" to his son. They give his soul hope in a hostile world, and he rejoices at the birth of his son: "*May you always remember the place where you're eternally bound/May God bring you blessings even greater than the ones we've found.*"

Ted focuses his eyes on the eternal in the midst of a multitude who only think of themselves in the present--a choice which sets anyone at odds with society. He realizes he sees a reality most people don't, and he naturally feels isolated. In the deeply soulful "Easy To Be Broken," Ted finds himself struggling and alone: "*I got a thousand questions for God and man/I got a head full of answers I can't understand/Why the lies grow fat the children get crushed/The static gets applause and the truth gets hushed.*"

His life on Earth degenerates in "The 5th Of August," where he longs to spend time with his love who understands him. Deep frustration sets in in "Nowhere Else To Go" and "Chaos and Void." Ted's drama ends with "Been Set Free," where he concludes: "*I have believed in money/but all I got was greed/I have believed in vengeance/but all I did was bleed...If I had only believed in love/I could have been set free.*"

Skin is about much more than the journey of Ted's soul--it's also about Peter Himmelman. His vision of reality and his search for truth pervade all of his albums. On some of *Skin*'s songs, Himmelman is probably Ted. Himmelman, an Orthodox Jew, has no doubt confronted the same questions and experiences as Ted on his own journey through life. How do you look beyond the present when everyone else is obsessed with it? Does it all matter? How do you stand alone in the midst of it?

Himmelman is a talented electric/folk/rock musician, and he's a rare visionary in the midst of short-sighted buffoons. Like Ted, he's on a journey. Though he might not have reached his destination, it's illuminating to watch him travel. *Skin* is his sixth solo release (all of them are good), and his vision matures with each album.

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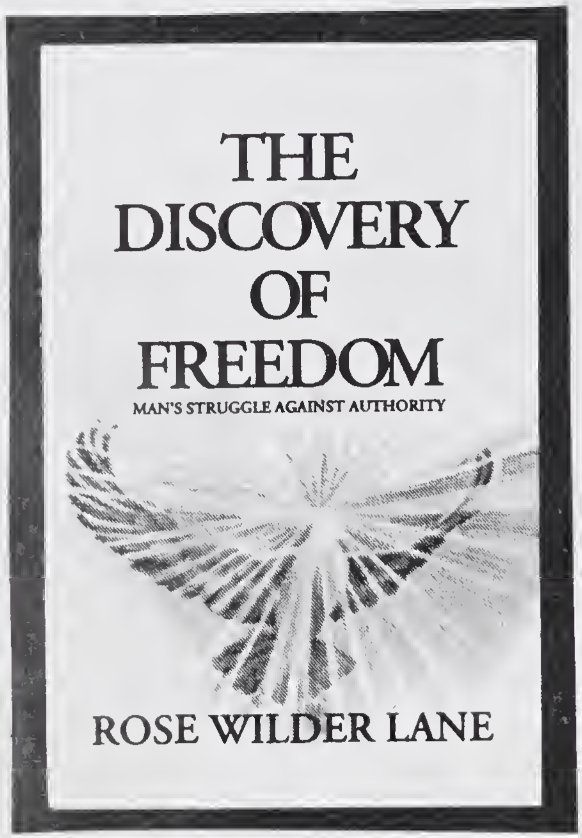

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HE CAROLINA CRITIC

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OCTOBER 1, 1994

Minority Hiring

A Look Inside The Hiring Policy at UNC

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John Locke

Adam Smith

Ayn Rand

history • economics • philosophy

Milton Friedman

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political science

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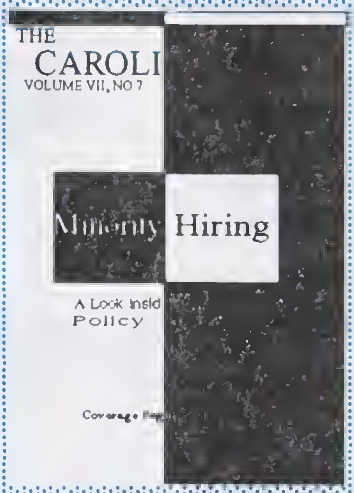

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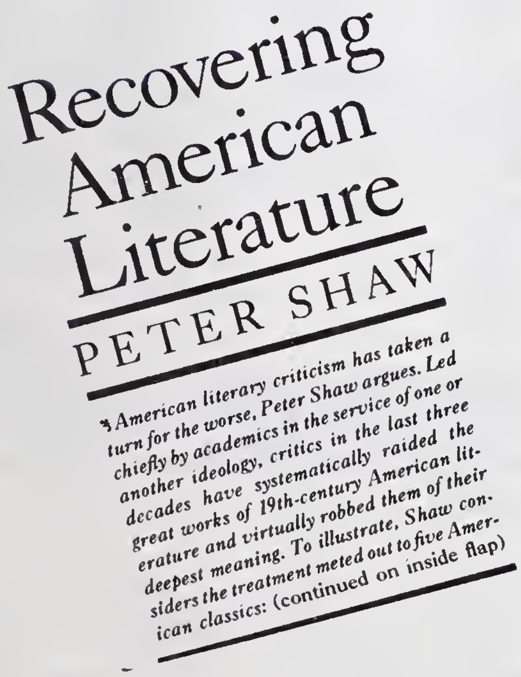

Recovering American Literature

PETER SHAW

American literary criticism has taken a turn for the worse, Peter Shaw argues. Led chiefly by academics in the service of one or another ideology, critics in the last three decades have systematically raided the great works of 19th-century American literature and virtually robbed them of their deepest meaning. To illustrate, Shaw considers the treatment meted out to five American classics: (continued on inside flap)

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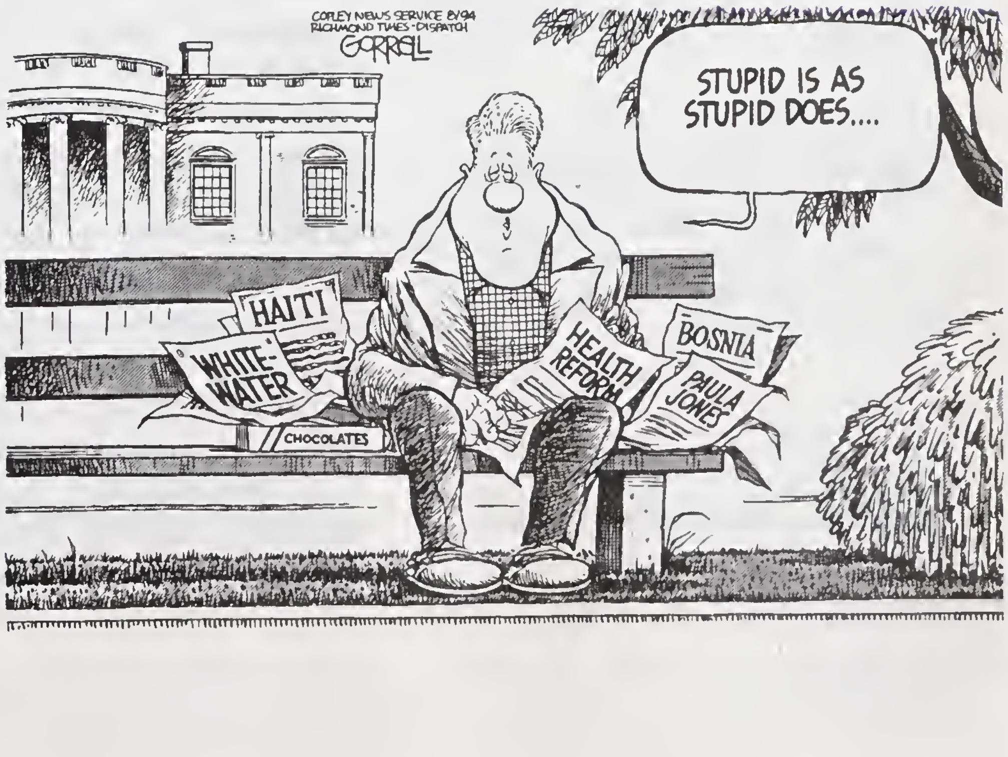

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THE
CAROLINA CRITIC
A student Journal of News & Opinion
Volume VIII, No. 1

THE CRITICAL EYE

The *Critic* would like to thank the Union for finally putting the chairs back into the gallery. This popular study area has regained at least some of its usefulness in the wake of the "Bodily Functions" exhibit. While we can't be sure, we theorize that the artist either has a deep seated love for Lenoir cereal bowls or is recovering from a traumatic childhood experience involving alphabet soup. In the spirit of subject-object interaction, the exhibit also included a straight-jacket, presumably just in case an unaware viewer suddenly realized that state tax dollars go to pay for such expression.

The Mona Lisa reproduction gives a glimmer of hope that the artist has seen or even heard of the concept of quality, yet Mona's ever so endearing moustache leads one to believe she would rather be in the Pit on Oct. 11, National Coming-out Day, than hanging on the Union wall.

We concede however, that the artist did have at least one flash of brilliance. In a gripping display of self-parody, the artist managed to paint a large butt on the wall. At the very least, we know exactly what bodily function this exhibit stems from.

Continuing on the excretory theme, we turn now to Student Government. Since the passage of the Minority Recruitment Bill and the recall of two political adversaries, Student Body President George Battle III has apparently had his head up in a cloud. Despite calls from every quarter for an end to the personal vendettas and powergrabs, the microdrama continues.

All in all, this scenario just keeps going on like a bad dream, or a cheap French film. The last time we checked, there wasn't a section of the Code that made being petty- minded and spineless a requirement for serving in Student Government. You can just hear the "Battlegate" tapes from Suite C: "Of course we're not involved in any way. He was just my father's-uncle's-nephew's-son's-Senior Adviser's-roomate." So much for separation of powers, or ethics for that matter..

Interestingly enough, Mr. President is levelling accusations at others for their political activities: "Johnathan Jordan is probably one of the most manipulative individual's that I have ever seen" (*DTH* Sept. 16, 1994). When asked to comment on this accusation, Representative Jordan expressed concern that this statement implied "that Mr. Battle is avoiding both mirrors and his Executive Branch meetings." Rep. Jordan did state that Mr. Battle's accusations were, in a word "ludicrous."

Of course, the DTH's favorite son can do no wrong (after all he is morally correct, right?), even if he wants to spend student fees capriciously for projects that throw money at students who may never enroll at Carolina.

For those who believe that history repeats itself, consider the case of Charles I of England after he tried to override his legislative branch. Check the year 1649, but be careful not to lose your head.

As far as Speaker Monica Cloud, our book review staff recommends strongly: the Student Code; and for a hefty intellectual exercise, *Robert's Rules of Order.* Concerning further comment, we abstain.

Personal kudos to Mr. Jonathan Dervin. We understand that the Drama Department is awarding Mr. Dervin an honorary degree for his rivetting imitation of Robert Bork.

As a parting note, we are pleased to announce that Oliver Stone is offering the entire Student Government roles as extras in his upcoming Schwarnenegger sequel, Total Recall II.

Congratulations to Provost Richard McCormick for being the person to use the word "diveristy" the most times in a single lifetime. Graduate students at MIT have unsuccessfully attempted to duplicate McCormick's record using a Cray supercomputer; however, their efforts failed when the computer burned out. Our European correspondent reports that the task is now being taken up by unemployed Russian physicists.

The NAACP made headlines when it announced it would investigate the recall of Lavonda Burnette. The logic required to justify such a move is ludicrous. "She lied outright to her constituents, illegally used the name of a prestigious public institution and

Publisher Letter

From the Editor and Publisher:

At long last, the staff of the *Carolina Critic* is proud to present our first issue for the 1994-95 school year. Since the spring, we ahve overcome numerous difficulties, including graduation, financial concerns, and unexpected vacancies. Moreover, we have devoted large amounts of time and effort to deciding where exactly we fit into the scheme of things, as a publication at Carolina and as part of a movement as a whole. Thus, we have physically put onto paper our vision and mission. As our vision, "*We seek the establishment of an unfettered pursuit of truth at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*" As our mission to achieve such lofty goals, "*We will expose all actions that hinder the pursuit of truth at this university, including the politicization of the university by the administration and faculty, violations of students' rights to free speech and free inquiry, and policies that deteriorate academic quality and standards. The Carolina Critic will contribute to the quest for truth, guided by the principles of constitutionally limited government, individual liberty and traditional notions of morality.*" We encourage all who share our vision to join us.

Throughout its history, the *Carolina Critic* has been a breeding ground for right-wing activists and journalists. John Hood, a founder of the *Critic*, is currently a Vice-President at the John Locke Foundation, a contributing editor to *Reason* magazine, and a syndicated columnist. Jeff Taylor, another founder, is National Political Reporter for Evans and Novak. Other notable staffers include lawyer David Hood, Bob Lukefahr of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, and Rick Henderson at *Reason* magazine. Without a doubt, it is an honor and a privilege to follow in the footsteps of such noteworthy individuals.

Though we have delayed over a month in delivering our first issue, we feel that the time was well spent both in terms of quality of the product and certainty concerning our endeavor as a publication. We hope that you will find our premiere issue interesting, even provocative, and if you disagree, as many have and will, at least take a chance and think about the ideas being presented to you. If you happen to agree, perhaps you too should take a chance, and put your own ideas forward in our pages.

Best Wishes for the 94-95 Schoolyear,

Stephen Fletcher, Publisher

Tadd Wilson, Editor in Chief

---

compromised her ethics in general; therefore she is being recalled simply because she is black." Brilliant. Actually, rumor has it that Burnette is being groomed for Ben Chavis' old job based on the above qualifications.

● "Let's hope nothing happens to Jimmy Carter, with Bill Clinton just a heartbeat away from the Presidency" *(National Review). Critic* informants at the Baghdad Hilton report that Jimmy Carter has already made advance reservations.

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Wesley Deaton, Senior History Major

Tenets of Freedom: Protection, Punishment and

This is the first of a year-long series of columns run in the *Critic*. In this column, I will attempt to discuss the nature of several ideas which are politically to the right and often conservative-- though they may not always fit into the category of Conservative with a capital 'C'. What I want to do in these columns is lay the theoretical groundwork for an ideology. It is an ideology of logic and common sense, an ideology that cherishes the individual, and the rights of individuals, an ideology that abhors extraneous government. In short, it is an ideology of individual freedom; thus, I have labelled my ideas "tenets of freedom." Some may find these ideas too basic, self-evident, or excruciatingly self-explanatory. However, it is my desire to begin from the bottom up; by first explaining the basics, I can then launch into discussions of more specific issues. One has to start somewhere. I will begin this year with an essay concerning the role of justice in a nation.

The most immediate goal of the justice system should be to protect the citizens it serves. Therefore, the first intention of the justice system should be to incarcerate those people who would trample on the rights of the masses. Although this may not be the ideal long-term solution to the problem, it is the beginning, and removes the immediate threat of that criminal to the community. Incarceration can be viewed as punishment, and in itself often is. But more than that, it is a means by which society can shield itself from those who pose a threat to the rights of its members.

The second goal of the justice system should be to deal punishment to criminals, and to make criminals pay restitution-- either to individuals or to society. Punishment (in theory) serves two purposes: first, to deter the punished from committing additional crimes, and second, to deter would-be offenders.

Restitution serves a different function: its purpose is to repay (not necessarily in monetary terms) a debt to society. Ideally, it would consist of undoing the wrong that had been done (e.g., a thief repaying what was stolen) but in fact, this cannot always be accomplished, as in cases of murder. Retribution consists of (a) the acknowledgement that the criminal owes a debt of some kind to an individual or group, and (b) an attempt to fully repay this debt in some form, along with the realization that some debts can never be fully repaid.

Although the concepts of punishment and retribution are intertwined, they are not interchangeable, a mistake often made by critics (both liberal and conservative) of the justice system. Many people confuse punishment with retribution. To use an example: the recent caning of Michael Fay in Singapore. Many proponents of the punishment said it was a good payback for his alleged vandalization of dozens of cars. These proponents thought, quite literally, that the price of the vandalism was "taken out of his hide." This is not true. The caning was used as a deterrent to keep Fay from committing further acts of destruction and to discourage would-be offenders by saying, "This is what will happen to you." This was no form of retribution. If the Singaporean justice system forced Fay to pay for the damage or clean up his own mess, he would then have been dealt retribution.

Punishment and retribution are both necessary. Punishment is needed to deter the criminal, and others like him, from future wrongdoing. Retribution is necessary for victims, who deserve repayment for there losses. Punishment without retribution is one step above revenge. Retribution without punishment is simplybuying or working one's way out of a wrongdoing.

Often in dealing with the question of punishment and retribution the question of human rights arises: does the punishment abridge the offender's rights? Although this essay will not attempt to delineate what is fair and unfair punishment, it will make a few observations and establish some general guidelines.

First, it must be noted that an offender has fewer irghts than a regular citizen. Because laws are ideally written to protect the rights of others, the offender has encroached upon others' rights by breaking the law. Although an offender breaks laws with the hope that he will go unpunished, he must realize that if caught, he will no longer be treated as an ordinary, law-abiding citizen. For example, American citizens have the right to not be detained by their government. A person who commits a felony gives up this right, and can be imprisoned.

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Some right are inalienable, such as freedom of religion. However, some rights may be lost by engaging in law-breaking actions. Therefore, it is not to be expected that an offender would have the same rights as a non-offender. The degree of offense can determine the amount of rights taken away from the offender.

In general, the greater the right upon which an offender infringes, the fewer rights he shall retain. This is why a murderer, at least in theory, is punished more severely than a petty thief. The latter infringed someone's property rights; the former took someone's right to life.

The third, and probably most difficult, goal of the justice system should be rehabilitation. However, this goal should be placed below the other two in priority and chronological order. Rehabilitation, in its most simple and ideal terms, is the act of changing an offender so that when he re-enters society he is no longer a threat, and is instead a law-abiding citizen.

Rehabilitation is the last step in the process of justice. First, the immediate threat to society is removed via incarceration. Next, the wrongs hsould be righted (restitution) and measures taken to prevent future crime (punishment). Finally, there comes a point, except in extreme cases, where the offender will be released, and herein lies the reason for rehabilitation. The primary purpose of rehabilitation should be to change the offender so that he no longer threatens society. It is also desirable that the criminal be rehabilitated for his own good-- that is, so he can become a better person. Government cannot, and should not be primarily in the job of making men better themselves; but it should try to make offenders better so that the rights of other individuals are made safer. In general though, if a criminal is rehabilitated, it is to the mutual benefit it is to the mutual benefit of himself *and* society.

Rehabilitation is a difficult goal, and is difficult to measure. The major problem with rehabilitation is that it is constrained, and rightfully so, by the legal limits of incarceration. If an offender's sentence expires in five years, he can leave after such time, rehabilitated or not.

However, there are many cases in which offenders are allowed to leave before their full sentences are fulfilled. In such cases the major factor in determining whether the offender should be released should be his state of rehabilitation: has the offender been changed so that, if released early, he will no longer pose a threat? If there is even a hint of doubt, the offender should remain incarcerated until the prison is obliged to release him. In prison, the offender poses no societal threat, and thus justice's main purpose is fulfilled. If the justice system lets an offender out before it is obliged, and is not fully certain that the criminal is harmless to society, then it has failed to fully protect the citizenry.

Often, those in sociological/ psychological circles place heavy emphasis on rehabilitation. This is fine in itself, but rehabilitation should never be the primary purpose of the justice system. It should be simply another preventive measure taken to protect society.

Currently, justice is viewed too narrowly by members of the political right and left. On the left, critics argue that the main goals of justice should be to change the offender into a better person, neglecting the moral debt owed to society or the need for protection of society from these individuals. On the right, critics are concerned with the short-term protection of society, but often fail to see the need of something that will protect society in the long-term, once the offender is released. Only by looking at the three-fold purpose of justice can the ideal of justice be realized.

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Gabrielle Loperfido, A
graduate student in the
Curriculum of
Comparative Literature

Student Congress

A "Rump" Parliament?

I was not going to comment on the recent events surrounding Student Congress and the Minority Recruitment Act.

So much for stated intentions.

Yesterday, I resigned my representation of District 5 to Student Congress.

I think it important to step back from our focus on the events themselves and look at and perhaps even reflect on them in the larger context of the university as it exists for all of us now.

My reaction to the whole affair, and to the larger problems of Student Congress of which recent events are symptomatic, might best be summed up in Frederick Turner's reaction to his discovery of the finite determinism of tic-tac-toe. In his Beauty: The Value of Values he attempts to describe the difference between the indescribably beautiful and the indescribably ugly. He identifies the indescribably beautiful as "both simple and infinitely deep." He identifies the indescribably ugly as "too incoherent for beautiful — the game as it first appeared, a simple set of rules generating an infinite play of strategy — had turned into the ugly, a superficial complexity concealing a wretched automatism."

Turner instinctively links his reaction to tic-tac-toe to the world in which we begin to exist as adults: "We experience this quality sometimes in committee meetings, especially where an elaboration of due process disguises the voracious and cruel neediness of personal interest."

There is something very beautiful in experiencing the political process in representational democracy. Political participation has long been held to be the highest good of human activity: noble, high-minded, moral.

We would be foolish, however, to refuse to acknowledge when that process breaks down. None of us has behaved in a manner that may be held to be above

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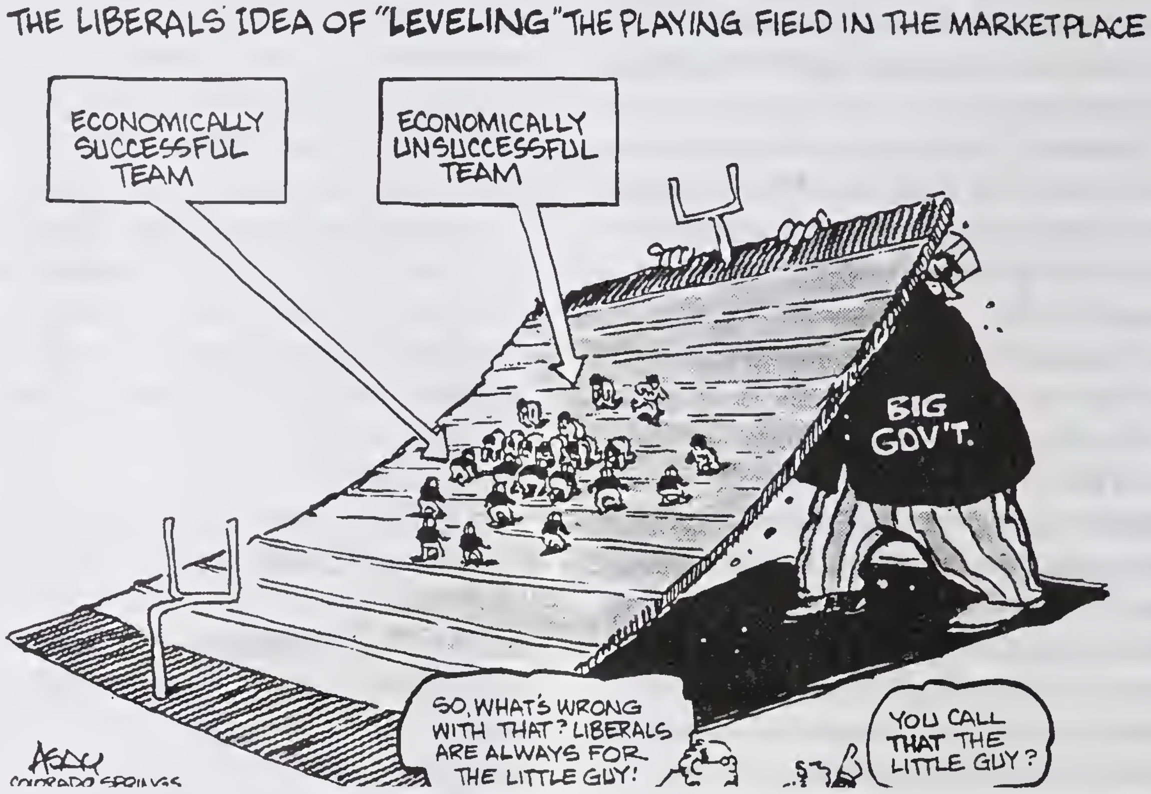
Tadd Wilson, junior English Pre-Law and Editor in Chief of the *Critic*

The Minority Hiring Policy


THE LIBERALS' IDEA OF "LEVELING" THE PLAYING FIELD IN THE MARKETPLACE
ECONOMICALLY SUCCESSFUL TEAM
ECONOMICALLY UNSUCCESSFUL TEAM
BIG GOV'T.
SO, WHAT'S WRONG WITH THAT? LIBERALS ARE ALWAYS FOR THE LITTLE GUY!
YOU CALL THAT THE LITTLE GUY?
ASAY COLORADO SPRINGS

After even a cursory examination of the faculty at UNC-Chapel Hill one finds the names of professors that have climbed to the highest echelons of academic achievement: John Shelton Reed, Richard Richardson, Craig Calhoun, Mark Reed and Chuck Stone, to name a bare few. This list does not even come close to recognizing all of the faculty members who have made extraordinary contributions to their fields. Indeed, merely gaining a position on the faculty at Carolina is an achievement, some would say a miracle, in its own right.

We as students should feel fortunate for the opportunities afforded us in working with and learning under such outstanding individuals. For over two centuries, UNC-Chapel Hill has recognized the absolute necessity of an accomplished faculty, a sentiment echoed by Francis Burton Craige, a member of the class of 1897: "teachers are more important than buildings, as a great university is a collection of *great teachers*." Indeed, the administration is entrusted with a nearly sacred duty: to hire and retain the *most qualified* individuals to serve on the faculty. The University itself has a three part mission, which the faculty are chosen to carry out: teaching, research, and public service. As Stephen Birdsall, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences states in a *Charlotte Observer* editorial, "we must hire, retain and support multitalented faculty who engage in all three aspects of our mission."

Unfortunately, there is mounting evidence that the faculty hiring strategy does not serve the goals of the University, nor does it fulfill the mission set forth by Dean Birdsall. Instead of individual qualification and academic potential, extraneous factors are becoming determinant in the hiring process, betraying Craige's vision and polluting Dean Birdsall's prescription for the University.

According to the report "Minority Faculty Recruitment in the Division of Academic Affairs" by Provost Richard L. McCormick, "Today and for the future, our University's ability to maintain and enhance its academic excellence depends upon the creation of a racially diverse faculty" (p. 1). One cannot help but notice the switch in rhetoric from Birdsall to McCormick: "multitalented" has been replaced by "racially diverse."

In measuring what is acceptable, or "sufficient" diversity, McCormick relies upon shaky statistical grounds: "UNC-CH's full-time faculty is 3.2% Black, while our student body is nearly 10% Black and our state is 22% Black. ...UNC-Chapel Hill cannot be content with these numbers" (p. 1). Like the proponents of the nobly intended yet misguided Minority Recruitment Bill, the purveyors of these statistics have a seriously myopic view of numerical significance. Regardless of the causes of under-representation, at the present time, forcing university student bodies into direct proportionality with the population of the state would introduce large numbers of indisputably unqualified students into an environment in which they could not reasonably expected to break even, much less thrive. Moreover, undeniably qualified individuals would be left out arbitrarily.

Forcing anything close to such proportionality upon university faculties would constitute an unmitigated debasement of academic quality. These hiring and recruitment policies are symptoms of a trendy new ideology of "trickle down" equality, the faulty assumption that putting more minorities at the top of the academic ladder helps other ascend to the same level. Such practices are mere "cosmetic hiring," policies aimed at creating the illusion of equality while failing to deal with the fundamental socioeconomic and cultural reasons for unequal representation among students and faculty. In short, the *artificial* creation of a diverse faculty does nothing to alleviate the causes of a homogenous academy; rather, such policies merely perpetuate themselves, paradoxically sowing the illusion of equality and deflecting attention away from the true problems of racial inequality.

Instead of aspiring to provide a forum for all viewpoints, philosophies, and perspectives, such policies assume that race is the salient characteristic informing people's academic opinions. The McCormick plan is, in short, "a steady nurturing of the conviction that racial diversity is essential to academic excellence" (p. 2).

Not surprisingly, the internal debate among the faculty is being stifled toward the end of presenting a united public front, a party line as it were:"The first ..goal in progress... will materialize when the university opinion leaders begin to state it repeatedly and when there is a larger body

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of minority faculty and students to prove its truth" (p. 2). Thus, not only is the debate being stifled, but the ends of the policy, more minority representation, are being posited as a means to judge the program.

Equally troubling are the methods McCormick outlines for the achievement of a state of sufficient diversity. According to the report, "vacant faculty positions would be defined in such a way as to maximize the opportunity to make a minority appointment" (p. 3). In other words, the position is explicitly *not* to be necessarily filled by the most qualified applicant; in fact, the position will be virtually closed to all applicants save for minorities

This policy is especially unfair in the context of the ultra-competitive academic job market. For untenured Ph.D.'s, the search for tenure track employment is hard enough without having opportunities denied *a priori* by restrictive hiring practices. Moreover, the McCormick policy is a violation of the University's own "Policy on Nondiscrimination." To quote from *Opportunities: Information for Underpresented Students*: "It is the policy of the University of North at Chapel Hill that educational and *employment decisions* should not be based on *irrelevant factors or personal characteristics that have no connection with academic abilities or job performance.* Among the traditional factors which are generally irrelevant are *race*, sex, religion, and national origin." Simply defining positions as "minority specific" is a underhanded way of circumventing merit based hiring and official University policy.

Along with "passive" policies concerning minorities, the report proposes a hyperactive role for the university in recruiting minority scholars. However, as a result of overzealous recommendations on the part of administrators, searches are to be conducted and funded regardless of reasonable expectation. The report demands, "relentless attention to details of every search that yields even a minimum promise of bringing a minority faculty member to Carolina" (p. 2). This waste of time, personnel and tax dollars for less than acceptable results seems ludicrous, especially in the wake of fiscal difficulties that have contributed to UNC fall from top 25 status, yet such measures are to be employed not only for the sake of "diversity" as an abstract ideal but for the sake of faculty job security: "The Search Committee Chair would know that his/her reputation in the department, school and University would be enhanced by a successful recruitment effort. Everyone involved in the search would know that the department chair and dean expected and intended it to be successful" (p. 3). Thus, faculty reputation is to be staked on the ability to attract minorities, not necessarily the most qualified applicant. Echoes of McCarthyism surface when one considers the possibility that tenure and promotional considerations could be based on hiring capacity rather than on an individual's academic qualifications. Also, if a search is intended from the outset to be successful, what is the purpose of having a selection process at all? Once again, quality is potentially and likely to be sacrificed for political expedience.

Not only are positions being reserved for minorities, but positions are in effect being created, regardless of need: "Departments and schools would experiment with *untraditional* faculty appointments, for example, one or two *pre-doctoral* years at an *assistant professor* salary, coupled with a university commitment to a *tenure track position* upon completion of the Ph.D." (p.3).

Thus, the pre-doctoral student is put at a pay level he/she is unqualified for, and is furthermore guaranteed a tenure track job. Unfortunately, other "historically included" individuals would have to compete amongst themselves for other appointments. The logical inference from this practice is that a minority graduate student is at least equal to an assistant professor, another clear violation of the University's Policy. While it is reasonable that, as the report states, "Market conditions often require added salary or other dollars for minority faculty appointment", such financial expenditures for the appointing of untested, *pre-doctoral* graduate students is indefensible.

The question also remains as to how the administration can justify experimenting with untraditional faculty when there are not even enough "regular" faculty to provide adequate sections of elementary English composition courses. This policy is doubly ridiculous in light of the fact that, according to a January 1993 report by Dean Birdsall, *48.3%* of tenured faculty taught between *1 and 3 hours of class per week*, while 83.6% taught between 1 and 6 hours per week, hardly the most efficient use of resources. The sacrificing of a skills-oriented class for the benefit of subjects of questionable merit is another glaring departure from the University's stated policy, as well as from the mission of the University set forth by Dean Birdsall.

Perhaps the most radical and frightening method suggested by the McCormick report is the effort to sow academic seeds among younger students, the "pipeline problem" as it is called: "For example, we could begin to target North Carolina students in the *8th or 9th grade* and provide them with the appropriate forms of aid over the next 15 years of their lives, as they progress through high school, college and graduate school" (p. 4). Even in the interest of diversity, there is no reasonable justification for the use of University and state dollars for targeting *14 and 15 year --olds* for university positions, when these select students may never graduate high school, go to college, go to Carolina, or pursue academic employment. Even the most devoted proponents of the "diversity equals excellence" mentality cannot fail to see the futility and gross inefficiency in such an irresponsible use of anyone's money, especially that of taxpayers. Also, the recruitment of high school freshmen and sophomores blatantly departs from any notion of hiring the most qualified individuals to serve on the faculty.

In the interests of completeness, the report outlines procedures for dealing with minority scholars after a successful hiring. First, the idea of "cohort hiring" is introduced, i.e., hiring minority scholars as groups and keeping them together as discreet units: "The goal of the initiative would be to bring to UNC-Chapel Hill a cohort of minority scholars who come to Carolina together and stay here together" (p. 3). While such collectivization of minorities smacks of separatism, a report to the Faculty Council by the Chancellor's Committee on the Status of Minorities and the Disadvantaged submitted February 14, 1994 states, "CCSMD was particularly delighted with that conspicuous expression of the commitment to the objectives of excellence and diversity and with the suggestions of `thematic hires'." The Committee report also called for, "*expanded roles* for department EOO's [Equal Opportunity Officers] to assure that registries of minority candidates are fully *exploited*", leading one to believe that the Committee itself is primarily concerned with tightening its grip on departments and using minority graduate students as vehicles to its own

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interests, i.e., cosmetic hiring.

Second, the report demands a "retention at all costs" approach specifically for minorities: "Will he or she have every opportunity to qualify for promotion and tenure? Will he or she have research support? Protection from excessive committee appointments? Freedom from the automatic assumption that he/she is a specialist in minority affairs and a ready mentor for every minority student?" (p. 4). In a sense, the minority scholar is guaranteed the ideal employment, complete with advancement, financial backing and freedom from the household duties of a university professor. All others must compete for these conditions, a situation bound to sow resentment throughout the faculty, potentially costing the University qualified individuals and worsening the conditions the lead to disproportionate racial representation in the first place. Moreover, the minority scholar himself may be adversely affected in that the incentive to strive for benefits is largely removed. Without equitable competition, the safeguards of quality scholarship are threatened.

In conclusion, the McCormick report hiring policies fail to integrate themselves within the true mission of the university, for several reasons. The faculty hiring policy (a) subverts the three part mission of the university by favoring color over quality (of any color); (b) reduces the quality and number of core educational courses available to students; (c) irresponsibly wastes university and state funds for projects of dubious merit and gross inefficiency; (d) ultimately sows resentment among the faculty, paradoxically further alienating the minority; (e) dilutes competition such that the minority scholar need not worry about advancement, publishing, etc.; and (f) violates the University's explicit rejection of employment decisions based on race as stated in the "Policy on Nondiscrimination." In short, McCormick's recommendations, though undoubtedly intended benignly, simply mask and even exacerbate the problems that they claim to alleviate.

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Tadd Wilson, junior English Pre-Law and Editor in Chief of the *Critic*

Recovering American Literature

By Peter Shaw

Recovering American Literature, by Peter Shaw.

1994, Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, Chicago, 203pp.

As any current student of literature can tell you, modern literary criticism has become inextricably bound to politics. Emerging from the Continental post-structuralism of Derrida and Lacan, deconstruction has become the fashionable criticism among American academics, largely because it allows one to reconstruct any literary piece along ideological lines. As a result, both critics and authors are being judged not by their literary or scholarly merit, but by the "correctness" of their reconstructed interpretations.

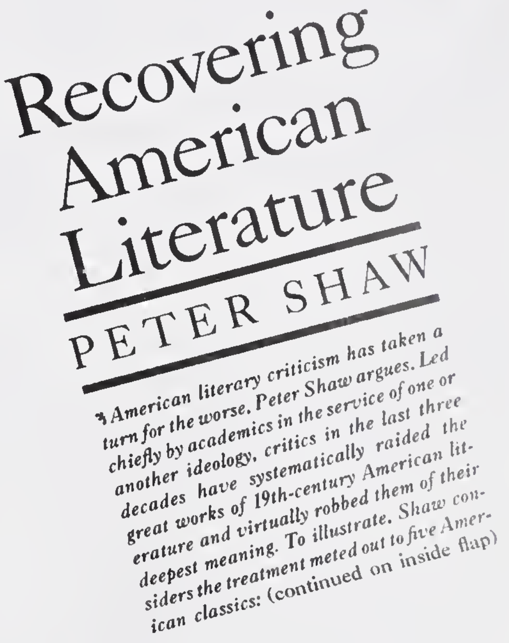
In ***Recovering American Literature***, author Peter Shaw continues his long and often lonely crusade against the defamation and fragmentation of our nation's rich literary tradition. Dr. Shaw exposes the essential politicization of literary criticism by examining the ideologic reconstruction doled out to five 19th-century American classics: *The Scarlet Letter*, *Moby Dick, Billy Budd, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, and *The Bostonians*. With engaging precision, Shaw details how each work has been systematically robbed of its meaning only to be reinterpreted in terms acceptable to the radical orthodoxy controlling modern literary criticism. Shaw blames this new establishment for the intellectual decline of literary analysis: "No public discussion of them can any longer appear without paying its homage to militant feminism, Marxism, or one or another version of anti-Americanism," he writes. "American literature has been lashed to an ideological procrustean bed from which barely a critic in the land is willing to rescue it."

Concerning Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, modern critics have twisted the complex and thoughtful explication of a moral dilemma into a critique of Hawthorne himself: "Obsessed with the radical politics they imagine Hester to share, contemporary critics limit themselves to the question of whether Hawthorne is or is not politically correct. But having jettisoned literary values, they have no way of disputing even this crude question with one another." Ironically, Hawthorne warns specifically against this manipulation of truth for political ends. Indeed, modern critics have "reduced to the single dimension of ideology a book whose central concern is precisely the warping effects of ideology."

In similar fashion, Herman Melville's great epic *Moby Dick*, far from being an adventure story, is now regarded, against Melville's own protestation, as an allegorical warning against the evils of the "ship of state": capitalism, unjust force, even nuclear weaponry. Ahab's burning quest is no longer a personal vendetta against the white whale but an example of "the capitalist search for wealth and the patriarchal search for power." Another of Melville's classic sea tales, *Billy Budd*, is now construed as foreshadowing "the triumph of militarism and imperialism in America." Like *The Scarlet Letter* and *Moby Dick, Billy Budd* has been ravaged by critics who "allow themselves to treat the story as confirming their own political opinions."

"Clearly the free discussion of American literature is being stifled by a new radical orthodoxy." Peter Shaw

Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has likewise been plundered of literary value and moral force. Sadly, the critics' efforts to condemn Twain and reconstruct the tale "correctly" stem from rather sophomoric impulses. Shaw writes, "Oddly enough given the presumed sophistication of professional criticism, the demand that literature aid in the resolution of human problems represents one of the most primitive of literary reactions: the wish that the story turn out differently."



Recovering
American
Literature
PETER SHAW

❧ *American literary criticism has taken a turn for the worse, Peter Shaw argues. Led chiefly by academics in the service of one or another ideology, critics in the last three decades have systematically raided the great works of 19th-century American literature and virtually robbed them of their deepest meaning. To illustrate, Shaw considers the treatment meted out to five American classics:* (continued on inside flap)

The Bostonians, a narrative by Henry James, has faced "correct" reconstruction similar to that which Twain endures. Though James strives to prove that "sensible but unromantic point that normal human feelings like those of romance can be distorted in periods when politics becomes a cultural battleground," his message is lost on modern critics. Now, his novel is "a critique of the power relationships and unequal gender roles assigned within marriage, ...another predictable fall of *woman* to the seduction in the garden, to the slavery of the human race, to nature's decoy to secure mothers for the race. [italics in original]" The novel itself has become the cultural battleground, dominated by critics with any number of radical, ideological axes to grind.

Ultimately, Shaw's argument is not a call to purge literature of politics but to extend of literary criticism beyond mere "correct reconstruction." In fact, Shaw does not endorse the removal of politics from literature but the conscientious reading of literature as something more than simply political commentary. Dinesh D'Souza, author of *Illiberal Education*, writes, "*Recovering American Literature* embodies all the qualities we have come to expect from Peter Shaw's criticism: thoughtful

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

Cultural Diversity

J. Darren Clark, freshman

New Multicultural Requirement Conceived in Idealism, Birthed in Rhetoric

Perhaps there is a misunderstanding as to the implications of the new Cultural Diveristy requirement. Recently added to the general education curriculum, the requirement would, in theory, complement the existing non-Western comparative historical perspective. According to Provost Richard McCormick, the general education curriculum, "is designed to prepare students for life, for them to be intellectually alive... such a program can only help them. Similarly, a recent Faculty Council report reveals that the goal of this requirement is to allow, "students from all backgrounds to have an opportunity to understand cultural diversity as it affects their own lives."

Multiculturalism; cultural diversity; both are misnomers, as the new requirement could actually be dubbed an anti-Western cultural requirement. In light of the trend established by the last five years of intellectual multiculturalism, it would be logical to assume that the new requirement will be a pointed challenge to the widely-loathed Eurocentric tradition in academia. The requirement has not been designed to promulgate the Afrocentrisms of Leonard Geoffries or Molefi Asante. Nor will it markedly extoll the virtues and contributions of the Asian or Arabic cultures. Rather, it will focus largely on the "racist", "imperialist" and "genocidal" tendencies innaccurately ascribed solely to Western culture. Of course, not all of the opponents of the new requirement challenge its viability for the above reasons; genuine diversity may be found in the plethora of arguments against it. Such a broad range of criticism cannot be denied. The National Association of Scholars, for example, will undoubtedly challenge the UNC faculty with serious questions about the validity of a multicultural agenda, especially concerned with its effects on academic liberty and educational standards. Lloyd Kramer, UNC professor of history, is part of the liberal academic opposition to organizations such as the NAS. He claims that such organizations merely add a "polemical passion" to the multicultural debate, and he refuses to deal seriously with their arguments. Kramer, a fierce dogmatic proponent of "diversity" (itself an unqualified, vague term at best) labels any criticism of such as inveterately conservative. Evidently Professor Kramer is oblivious to the fairly open liberal opposition to the requirement. Nat Hentoff, former president of the ACLU and proponent of the Cambridge Declaration, is an example of such liberal opposition. Ironically, the Cambridge Declaration was conceived in the ultra-liberal womb of Harvard University, yet it allows for bipartisan criticism of mandatory diversity as well as a non-politicized opposition to a multicultural agenda. The Declaration states, "We believe that although the Western traditon is not above criticism, a knowledge of it is fundamental to good citizenship, and should be an important part of every student's college education." Moreover, the Declaration is explicit in its criticism of enforced diversity: "... these multicultural programs, by focusing on the actions of some leaders and practices which at times have resulted in colonialism and imperialism, have depreciated great Western principles of human liberty, such as freedom of speech, limited government, division of powers, and private property."

Conservatives, classical liberals, left liberals and even Marxist critics have finally discovered common ground: their opposition to a multicultural agenda. Local criticism of the cultural diveristy requirement is certainly not lacking. The new requirement, according to UNC sociology professor Craig Calhoun, is no longer "intellectually serious", and was developed, "by those who don't work on it, and thus the real concerns are not dealt with." A member of the Cultural Diversity Committee, Calhoun fears that the requirement has been watered down with political undercurrents, and can not achieve the ideal of "diversity" it strives for. One is forced to wonder if ideal is too lofty a term. Perhaps rhetoric is more apt. Bullshit is even better. To conclude, the University Of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, an acknowlegded nexus of liberal thinking, has witnessed a depressing exercise in the politics of academia. Rather than promoting genuine learning and multiculturalism, the administration has chosen instead to advocate the perception of such.

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reproach. If we have enough time and effort to argue over "who said what" and hidden agenda, perhaps the undergraduate and graduate education here is not demanding enough.

The bill in question very nobly aimed at increasing access of underprivileged (I can only hope that such is what is meant by "minority") to our very dear and precious resources here at Carolina. (A discussion of whether such a bill may be funded by student fees I will leave for another time.)

Beyond the "he said, she said" nature of recent public dialogue, and to put all this in a larger context, an overarching irony cannot escape my notice: Given the way we have all been acting, I would have a hard time convincing anyone why he or she would want to come to Carolina, let alone why it would be to his or her advantage to do so.

Tadd Wilson, junior English Pre-Law and Editor in Chief of the *Critic*

DOES NORTH CAROLINA — OR ANY STATE —NEED A LOTTERY?

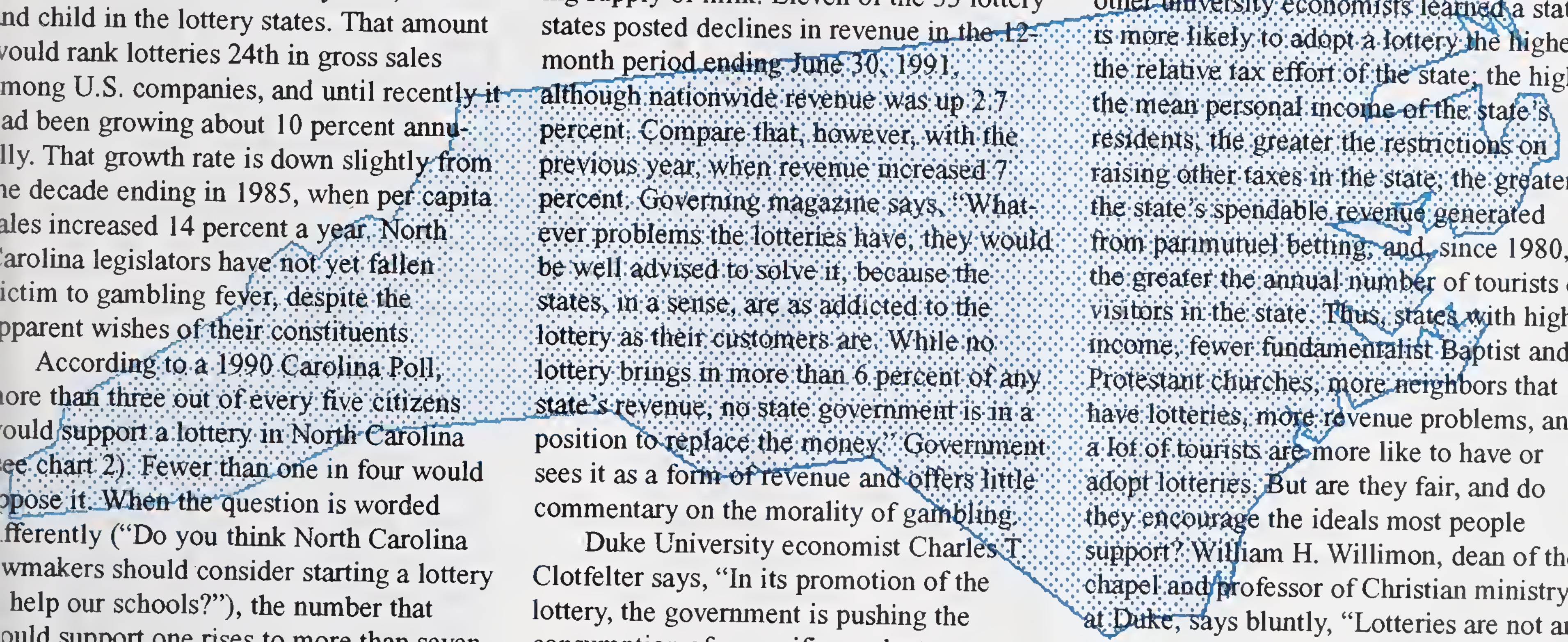
State governments must address ever-increasing demands from constitu ents for new or expanded services, they are handed unfunded mandates from the federal government, and they look at continually rising costs for existing ser-vices. However, there are limited sources of revenue, and thus many states are turning to otteries as a seemingly easy and profitable ax base.

Since New Hampshire instituted the irst state-run lottery in 1964, the fever has spread. Currently 33 states — not including North Carolina — and the District of Columbia have lotteries. Citizen-gamblers wagered $20 billion on them in 1991 (see chart 1), about $109 for every man, woman nd child in the lottery states. That amount would rank lotteries 24th in gross sales mong U.S. companies, and until recently it ad been growing about 10 percent annu-lly. That growth rate is down slightly from he decade ending in 1985, when per capita ales increased 14 percent a year. North Carolina legislators have not yet fallen ictim to gambling fever, despite the pparent wishes of their constituents.

According to a 1990 Carolina Poll, ore than three out of every five citizens would support a lottery in North Carolina ee chart 2). Fewer than one in four would oppose it. When the question is worded fferently ("Do you think North Carolina wmakers should consider starting a lottery help our schools?"), the number that ould support one rises to more than seven ut of 10 (see chart 4). However, the pport for a state-run lottery is eroding ghtly, falling from 66.2 percent who ould support it in 1989 to 61.3 percent in 90. According to Business Week, gam-ng is part of the weekly, even daily, utine of tens of millions of Americans.

"The rationale of legalization (of teries) was there'd be less gambling, but re's more," says Vicki Abt, a sociologist Penn State University. "And it's the worst ne in town, worse than one-armed ndits. People assume that being state-run ike having the Good Housekeeping seal.

But the odds on state lotteries are far rse than just going to a bookmaker." The ls, indeed, are "vanishingly small," according to two Clemson University economists. For example, the odds in winning the Illinois lottery were more than one in seven million. In another lottery, they are about 13 million to one. Nonetheless, lotteries continue to appeal to legislators and to players. California and Massachusetts have reported participation rates of more than 80 percent. Oregon is experimenting with legalized sports betting. South Dakota is offering video lottery terminals, which is similar to a video slot machine. In their first nine months, they took in $127 million, four times the state's Lotto revenues. This cash cow, while certainly not going dry, isn't producing an ever-increasing supply of milk. Eleven of the 33 lottery states posted declines in revenue in the 12-month period ending June 30, 1991, although nationwide revenue was up 2.7 percent. Compare that, however, with the previous year, when revenue increased 7 percent. Governing magazine says, "Whatever problems the lotteries have, they would be well advised to solve it, because the states, in a sense, are as addicted to the lottery as their customers are. While no lottery brings in more than 6 percent of any state's revenue, no state government is in a position to replace the money." Government sees it as a form of revenue and offers little commentary on the morality of gambling.



Duke University economist Charles T. Clotfelter says, "In its promotion of the lottery, the government is pushing the consumption of a specific product, a product whose only public virtue is that it generates revenue." Why do states rely on lotteries instead of a fair and equitable tax system, especially since they are encouraging their citizens to adopt a "something-for-nothing" attitude? There are several reasons, beyond the unwillingness to face voters after raising their taxes or reducing the size of government. Two Florida State University political scientists tested several hypotheses and found them true: Ñ-The worse the fiscal health of a state's government — that is, the greater its expenditures relative to its revenues — the more likely it is to adopt a lottery. Ñ-For all states, a lottery is most likely to be adopted in an election year. In states with more than two years between gubernatorial elections, adoption is least likely in the year immediately following an election. Ñ-The poorer the fiscal health of a state's government, the stronger the effect of elections on the probability that the state will adopt a lottery. Ñ-The lower the level of personal income in a state, the lower the probability that the state will adopt a lottery. Ñ-The greater the proportion of a state's population adhering to fundamentalist religions, the lower the probability that the state will adopt a lottery. Ñ-The probability that a state will adopt a lottery is positively related to the number of states that border it that have already adopted. In addition, three other university economists learned a state is more likely to adopt a lottery the higher the relative tax effort of the state; the higher the mean personal income of the state's residents; the greater the restrictions on raising other taxes in the state; the greater the state's spendable revenue generated from parimutuel betting; and, since 1980, the greater the annual number of tourists or visitors in the state. Thus, states with higher income, fewer fundamentalist Baptist and Protestant churches, more neighbors that have lotteries, more revenue problems, and a lot of tourists are more like to have or adopt lotteries. But are they fair, and do they encourage the ideals most people support? William H. Willimon, dean of the chapel and professor of Christian ministry at Duke, says bluntly, "Lotteries are not an easy way to make everyone a winner but rather a heavy tax which hits hardest those who can ill afford to pay." An economics professor at Michigan State University notes, "Most forms of gambling attract betting by low-income people in greater proportion to income than by high-income people and hence represent highly regressive sources of revenue. Indeed, lotteries are two to three times more regressive than sales taxes. The Michigan lottery is twice as regressive as the income tax. The proportion of family income spent on lottery tickets declines 12 percent for every 10 percent increase in income." Two sociologists estimate that lotteries are the equivalent of a sales tax of 60 to 90 percent. Worse, the players are predominantly working class,

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working poor and the out-of-work underclass. Twenty percent of the players buy about 65 percent of the tickets.

Furthermore, as Clotfelter notes, "Within income classes, blacks bet more heavily than whites." A Canadian economist sums it up, saying lotteries redistribute income from low- to high-income groups. This occurs because the revenues from lotteries go to programs that are not aimed at the poor or lower socioeconomic classes. In California, for example, the lottery was established on the promise that 34 cents of every dollar would go to education. Since then, however, says the California school chief, the money has simply replaced school funding rather than augmented it. In addition, expenditures on lottery tickets hurts the state in other ways. Three University of North Florida political scientists proved that revenue sources decline proportionately with the growth of lottery revenues.

"Recipients of government services supported by all sources of state government revenue need also be alerted that they are likely to face a funding shortfall that will only accelerate with the growth of the state's lottery." But that's not all. The same study revealed that "to the extent that lottery ticket purchases supplant purchases from the private business sector, investment expenditures motivated by sales growth will be stifled.

Because business investment is at the heart of economic growth, this too is likely to suffer." It concludes bluntly, "Lotteries as a source of funding are neither efficient nor equitable substitutes for more traditional tax sources." That isn't slowing down most governments. In their rush to raise income even as revenues are leveling off, they are plugging more money into advertising to encourage more people to play and to spend even more money. Clotfelter reports that New Jersey's lottery director admits, "We're taking an infrequent user and trying to make him into a more frequent user." States spent $257 million on advertising in 1991, and that figure will only increase.

Advertising Age reports that the Massachusetts Lottery Commission spends $12 million on marketing, including research and public relations. Michigan's annual advertising budget is $15 million. Some states aren't increasing their advertising budgets. The man who runs the New York state lottery says lawmakers are reluctant to increase advertising when "at the same time they are being forced to reduce overall spending on school aid. It seems incongruous and it's very difficult to explain to a constituent." Conversely, he says, it is difficult to come up with the revenue legislators want without spending money they are unwilling to spend. What is the effect of this advertising? As Willimon judges, "Through advertisements, backed up by the clout and the authority of state government, Americans are being told that they can escape the dreariness of work through gambling. The desire to gamble is not simply being accommodated by the government — an argument dear to lottery proponents; rather, the desire to gamble is being stimulated by the government." The Iowa lottery commissioner, not surprisingly, disagrees.

"Playing the lottery is a form of recreation that's no more harmful for most people than going to movies or bowling," he says. But should government promote it? "You're marrying the government's insatiable revenue needs with people's propensity to gamble," says a lottery industry consultant in Business Week. Part of the problem is the relatively small payout of state lotteries. The typical state lottery pays only 50 cents in prizes for every dollar wagered (see chart 3).

Racetracks pay out more than 80 cents, and Atlantic City casinos must pay out 75 by law. Clotfelter says, "Promoting lotteries does more than persuade the public that playing is a good investment.

At one level, the sales job may be viewed as values education, teaching that gambling is a benign or even virtuous activity that offers a desirable escape from dreariness of work and the confines of limited means. Not only does lottery advertising endorse gambling per se, it also endorses the dream of easy wealth that motivates most gambling. Yet this is not the materialism of hard work and perseverance but rather of genies and magic lamps, rooted in hopes, dreams and superstition." Willimon concurs. "Lotteries may undercut the ethic of work and achievement, replacing it with an ethic of luck. The lottery craze is evidence of the government's abdicating responsibility for the care and well-being of people; it is an assault upon the poor and the uninformed by governments that are being irresponsibly financed." Conclusion Higher income citizens are shifting the burden of state taxation to other citizens. In other words, they are redistributing income in their favor. Furthermore, the revenue from lotteries is not going to help the poor.

Sixteen of the 28 states with lotteries in 1988 earmarked the funds for purposes unrelated to poverty or services for the poor. Thus, lotteries are double good for higher income taxpayers. State legislators and executive branch officials are using lotteries to avoid making tough choices on funding government. They see lotteries as an easy method to accomplish two ends: raise revenue and give the people what they want. Instead, they are placing a regressive tax on the poor, funneling money away from program that could help the poor, and failing to reduce the overall tax burden on citizens. The responsibility of the media is to report on the social and economic costs of lotteries as well as publicizing the winners. This won't sit well with lottery officials, of course. The director of the Massachusetts lottery pulled advertising from two newspapers, one that staged a story about minors buying tickets and another that ran what he considered a hatchet job on him.

But if we in the media inform and educate the public, then they can make intelligent decisions on whether they want to support a lottery or responsible taxation.

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analysis, clear and rigorous prose, rich and unexpected turns of argument and phrase. This book demonstrates that it is possible to read literature and be highly conscious of the political, without descending into the merely ideological." In short, Peter Shaw endeavors to return literary criticism to that which it once was: a multifaceted, intellectual endeavor dedicated to the *expansion* of reasoned interpretation, not its *suppression*.

Peter Shaw's literary criticism has appeared in Partisan Review, Commentary, the American Scholar, and the Virginia Quarterly Review. A member of the National Council on the Humanities, a founder and former chairman of the National Association of Scholars, and a former associate editor of Commentary, he has also written The Character of John Adams, American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution, and The War Against the Intellect. He lives and writes in New York City.

"Respect and Tolerance."

"Being involved is `in.'"

"Involvement makes a difference."

Those are the benign-sounding messages of North Carolina Students Teach and Reach, a state-wide project of People for the American Way.

Since 1990 NC STAR has been sending college volunteers into elementary, middle and high school classrooms to act as role models and foster discussion on discrimination, social justice, and diversity. The program has grown to include more than 300 students on 22 North Carolina college and university campuses, reaching more than 17,000 public school students.

The goals are simple: to mold young minds into accepting the multicultural agenda and to promote social activism.

Last year, some Carolina students joined the effort. Here, the project is run through Students for the Advancement of Race Relations (SARR), a Campus Y subcommittee. So far, "NC STARs" have been admitted into several classrooms at Chapel Hill's middle schools. Every other week or so an NC STAR representative takes an hour of class time for a tolerance building session.

The volunteers are supposed to facilitate and moderate discussions, not lecture. The idea is to extract through open discussion the prejudices students have learned from parents, friends, or simply a "fear of the unknown" and replace them with acceptance and celebration of whatever is different. In Chapel Hill, NC STAR (not an official school policy, but the individual choice of a teacher) coincides with an aggressive multicultural curriculum put into place last summer by the Chapel Hill-Carrboro school board following heated public clashes, including protest from some parents.

The project's literature reveals an essential component of the group's philosophy: the viewing of America as a "patchwork quilt," implying that "all different cultures live together peacefully to create a whole without losing your cultural identity." Gone are the days when America was known worldwide as "melting pot," where only ideas and principles really matter. Apparently even the "tossed salad" analogy has already lost its trendy appeal.

Taken literally (if that is possible) the patchwork quilt analogy means different races, and different cultures, can only live together as long as they remain segregated. "Society," then, could only exist within homogenous ethnic or cultural communities, or households, and any notions of a society of the whole would be impossible to construct. This logic becomes difficult to defend when one considers that one individual may carry the traits of several different cultural groups. NC STAR is a local manifestation of Arthur Schlessinger's "cult of ethnicity" or more accurately, a cult of culture, which includes the cults of gender and sexual orientation.

In the Fall of 1993, not long after the program first started in Chapel Hill, an NC STAR volunteer from UNC visited an 8th grade language arts class at Culbreth Middle School. The volunteer was an open lesbian, donning a nose ring and starkly alternative dress. Students seemed unable to get past her appearance. She posed the question, "Is there any group of people you don't feel tolerant toward?" One student spoke up, saying, "yeah, faggots." The classroom erupted, becoming circus-like. The volunteer proved unprepared to control the situation.

"She didn't handle it well; it didn't go well, from any body's standpoint," said the mother of one 8th grader. "These are obviously amateurs going into the classroom, and they have attitudes and perceptions and beliefs that they are trying to further that don't have anything to do with language arts."

Eighteen to 21-year-old students cannot be expected to have expert skills in mediation, nor does NC STAR's training program seem to compensate for the inadequacy. Training for the volunteers consists of a three-hour session with an expert in mediation and facilitation. The training manual and curriculum is a 13-page document consumed largely by an outline and bibliography. That is not the type of "intensive training" that produces experts.

Experts or no experts, some other Chapel Hill parents have been turned off by NC STAR's overall purpose. Pamela Mee decided to prevent her 7th grade daughter from participating in the program last Spring when it came to her Phillips Middle School classroom.

For Mee, the program represented an affront to her parental rights, an attempt to undermine the values and beliefs of her family. "Lots of topics are discussed that I felt are not appropriate," she said. "I really believe that values have to be taught at home."

In fact, program participants seem intent on attacking biases instilled in students by their families (through religion or other means). In November of last year, Marc Craighead, a UNC senior and an NC STAR volunteer, described to the *Daily Tarheel* the procedure for opening discussion in the classroom sessions. "In the first session, we might just talk about their family life to get an idea of where they are coming from," he said. "This will give us a framework for setting our goals, and we will get an idea of how to approach other topics."

Mee said she was not offered an official opt-out option, but made the decision after seeing some literature on NC STAR, which her child brought home from school. If more parents were aware of the program's content, she said, more would choose to opt-out. Still, that is not the solution.

"I don't think there should be an opt-out option, I think there should be an opt-in option. Why do we have to be monitoring every possibly objectionable thing that the school is presenting? We expect the kids to be sent there to learn to read and to write. There are a lot of programs that have nothing to do with that. And if people want those programs, then why shouldn't they have to opt-in? Why do we have to opt-out?"

By Scott Holt, Assoc. Editor of the *Critic*

Mee, fed up with the direction the towns' public school system is taking away from learning and toward political indoctrination now home-schools her children.

NC STAR is not just about opening minds. One of the primary objectives is "involvement." That is, making "social justice crusaders" out of North Carolina's youth. Specifically, the objective reads, "to help young people become more involved in improving human relations in their schools and communities, through service and participation."

The pretense for such involvement, is the group's narrow-minded understanding of good citizenship "working for equal justice and respecting others for their differences as well as their similarities." One example of this is, "cleaning up racist or bigoted graffiti." (Apparently that is only racist and bigoted graffiti, not just any old dirty paint scrawlings. It is unclear how erasing a few words off the side of an alley wall is going to increase social justice. Perhaps this is just a warm-up exercise for the muscle flexing that is to come in next summer's Gay Pride March on Washington.)

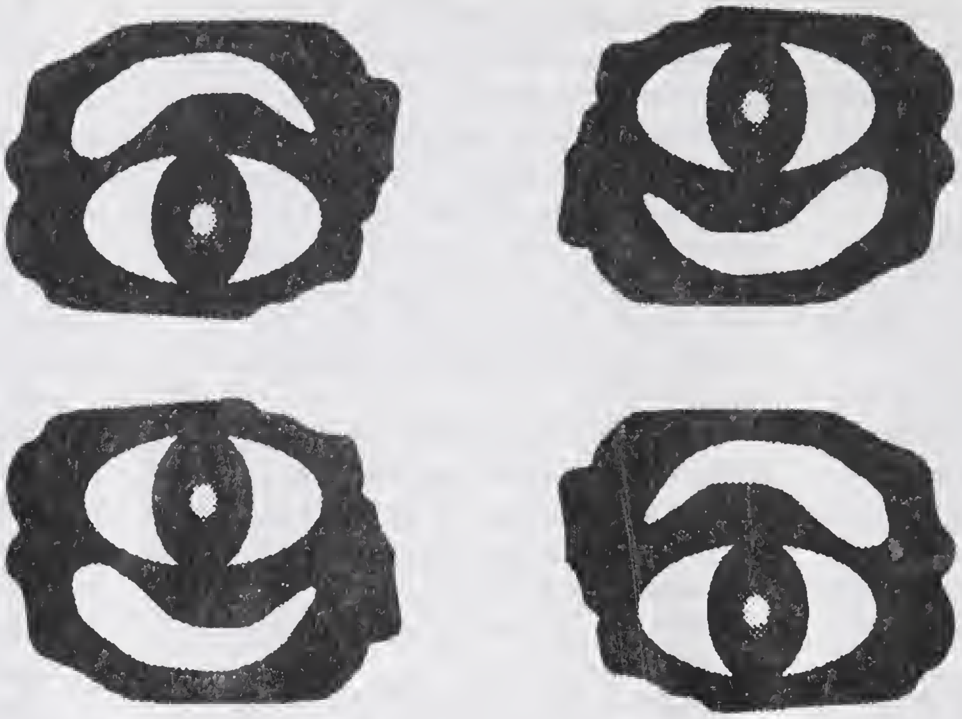
Indeed, NC STAR seems to incorporate a narrow view of society in general. An unnamed middle school teacher quoted in official literature says, "NC STAR addresses the most important issue facing our democratic society how we can all live together and respect our differences."

Notably, some large segments of American society do not fit under NC STAR's big tent of tolerance. Almost none of the heroes listed in handouts for students are white males, for example. Conservative and classical liberal viewpoints are excluded from the bibliography.

The blatant political nature of NC STAR has not prohibited it from garnering support and endorsements in non-political places_including big business. Financial contributors include the RJR Nabisco Foundation, Consolidated Diesel Company, and several North Carolina foundations have given money to the project. Endorsements have come from the North Carolina affiliates of the National Education Association, the Association of School Boards, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the North Carolina Department of Education.

On the UNC campus, NC STAR is co-sponsored by the North Carolina Teaching Fellows program.

NC STAR began on the 30th anniversary of the Greensboro sit-ins. One wonders what those brave individuals would think of the ideas of "social justice" advanced by this program. Would they accept the "patchwork quilt" philosophy? Or would they say the multicultural, youth crusaders of the 90's have abandoned the patterns of integration and social harmony that were the hallmark of their movement?



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